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HERODOTUS.

To face p. 1.

THE

HISTORY

OF

HERODOTUS.

A NEW ENGLISH VERSION, EDITED WITH COPIOUS NOTES AND APPENDICES, ILLUSTRATING THE HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY OF HERODOTUS, FROM THE MOST RECENT SOURCES OF INFORMATION; AND EMBODYING THE CHIEF RESULTS, HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHICAL, WHICH HAVE BEEN OBTAINED IN THE PROGRESS OF CUNEIFORM AND HIEROGLYPHICAL DISCOVERY.

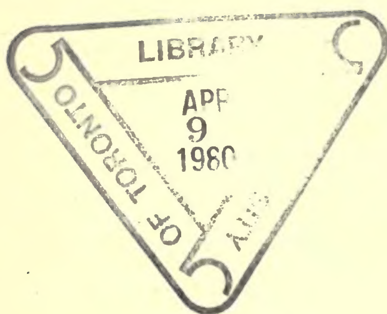
BY
GEORGE RAWLINSON, M. A.,
LATE FELLOW AND TUTOR OF EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD.

ASSISTED BY
COL. SIR HENRY RAWLINSON, K.C.B., AND SIR J. G. WILKINSON, F.R.S.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

With Maps and Illustrations.

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PREFACE.

Seven years have elapsed since this work was first promised to the public. It was then stated that its object would be at once to present the English reader with a correct yet free translation, and to collect and methodise for the student the chief illustrations of the author, which modern learning and research had up to that time accumulated. The promise thus made might without much difficulty have been redeemed within the space of two or three years. Parallel however with the progress of the work, which was commenced at once, a series of fresh discoveries continued for several years to be made—more especially on points connected with the ethnography of the East, and the history, geography, and religion of Babylonia and Assyria—the results of which it seemed desirable to incorporate, at whatever cost of time and labour. Great portions of the present volume had thus, from time to time, to be rewritten. This circumstance, and the unavoidable absence of Sir Henry Rawlinson from England during three years out of the seven, will, it is hoped, be deemed sufficient apology for the delay that has occurred in the publication.

Some apology may also seem to be required for the project of a new translation. When this work was designed, Herodotus

already existed in our language in five or six different versions. Besides literal translations intended merely for the use of students, Littlebury in 1737, Beloe in 1791, and Mr. Isaac Taylor in 1829, had given "the Father of History" an English dress designed to recommend him to the general reader. The defects of the two former of these works—defects arising in part from the low state of Greek scholarship at the time when they were written, in part from the incompetency of the writers—precluded of necessity their adoption, even as the basis of a new English Herodotus. The translation of Mr. Isaac Taylor is of a higher order, and had it been more accurate would have left little to desiderate. The present translator was not however aware of its existence until after he had completed his task, or he would have been inclined, if permitted, to have adopted, with certain changes, Mr. Taylor's version. It is hoped that the public may derive some degree of advantage from this redundancy of labour in the same field, and may find the present work a more exact, if not a more spirited, representation of the Greek author.

There are, however, one or two respects in which the present translation does not lay claim to strict accuracy. Occasional passages offensive to modern delicacy have been retrenched, and others have been modified by the alteration of a few phrases. In the orthography of names, moreover, and in the rendering of the appellations of the Greek deities, the Latinised forms, with which our ear is most familiar, have been adopted in preference to the closer and more literal representation of the words, which has recently obtained the sanction of some very eminent writers. In a work intended for general reading, it was thought that unfamiliar forms were to be eschewed; and that accuracy in such matters, although perhaps more scholar-like, would be dearly purchased at the expense of harshness and repulsiveness.

It has not been considered desirable to encumber the text with a great multitude of foot-notes. The principal lines of inquiry opened up by the historian have been followed out in "Essays" which are placed separately at the end of the several "Books" into which the history is divided. In the running comment upon the text which the foot-notes furnish, while it is hoped that no really important illustration of the narrative of Herodotus from classical writers of authority has been omitted, the main endeavour has been to confine such comment within reasonable compass, and to avoid the mistake into which Larcher and Bähr have fallen, of overlaying the text with the commentary. If the principle here indicated is anywhere infringed, it will be found that the infringement arises from a press of modern matter not previously brought to bear upon the author, and of a character which seemed to require juxtaposition with his statements.

The Editor cannot lay this instalment of his work before the public without at once recording his obligations to the kindness of several friends. His grateful acknowledgments are due to the Rector and Fellows of Exeter College for the free use of their valuable library; to Dr. Bandinel, librarian of the Bodleian, and the Rev. H. O. Coxe, sub-librarian of the same, for much attention and courtesy; to Professor Lassen of Bonn, for kind directions as to German sources of illustration; to Dr. Scott, Master of Balliol, for assistance on difficult points of scholarship; and to Professor Max Müller, of this University, for many useful hints upon subjects connected with ethnology and comparative philology. Chiefly, however, he has to thank his two colleagues, Sir Henry Rawlinson and Sir Gardner Wilkinson, for their invaluable assistance. The share which these writers have taken in the work is very insufficiently represented by the attachment of their initials to the notes and essays actually contributed by

them. Sir Henry Rawlinson especially has exercised a general supervision over the Oriental portion of the comment; and although he is of course not to be regarded as responsible for any statements but those to which his initials are affixed, he has in fact lent his aid throughout in all that concerns the geography, ethnography, and history of the Eastern nations. It was the promise of this assistance which alone emboldened the Editor to undertake a work of such pretension as the full illustration from the best sources, ancient and modern, of so discursive a writer as Herodotus. It will be, he feels, the advantage derived from the free bestowal of the assistance which will lend to the work itself its principal and most permanent interest.

OXFORD, *January 1st*, 1858.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

ON THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF HERODOTUS.

CHAPTER I.

OUTLINE OF THE LIFE OF HERODOTUS.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE SOURCES FROM WHICH HERODOTUS COMPILED HIS HISTORY.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE MERITS AND DEFECTS OF HERODOTUS AS A HISTORIAN.



THE HISTORY OF HERODOTUS.

THE FIRST BOOK, ENTITLED CLIO.

APPENDIX TO BOOK I.

ESSAY I.

ON THE EARLY CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY OF LYDIA.

ESSAY II.

ON THE PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF ASIA MINOR.

ESSAY III.

ON THE CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY OF THE GREAT MEDIAN EMPIRE.

ESSAY IV.

ON THE TEN TRIBES OF THE PERSIANS.—[H. C. R.]

ESSAY V.

ON THE RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT PERSIANS.

ESSAY VI.

ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF BABYLONIA.—[H. C. R.]

ESSAY VII.

ON THE CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY OF THE GREAT ASSYRIAN EMPIRE.

ESSAY VIII.

ON THE HISTORY OF THE LATER BABYLONIANS.

ESSAY IX.

ON THE GEOGRAPHY OF MESOPOTAMIA AND THE ADJACENT COUNTRIES.

ESSAY X.

ON THE RELIGION OF THE BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS.—[H. C. R.]

ESSAY XI.

ON THE ETHNIC AFFINITIES OF THE NATIONS OF WESTERN ASIA.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

LIST OF MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

WOODCUTS.

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ON THE

LIFE AND WRITINGS OF HERODOTUS.

CHAPTER I.

OUTLINE OF THE LIFE OF HERODOTUS.

Impossibility of writing a *complete* life of Herodotus. His time, as determined from his History. Date of his birth, as fixed by ancient writers, B. C. 484. His birthplace —Halicarnassus. His parents, Lyxes and Rhœo—their means and station. A branch of his family settled in Chios, probably. His education, and acquaintance with Greek literature. His travels, their extent and completeness. Their probable date and starting-point. Circumstances of his life, according to Suidas and other writers. Political adventures—their truth questioned. Residence at Samos—doubtful. Removal to Athens. Recitation of his work there. Reward assigned him. Alleged recitations in other Greek cities. The pretended recitation at Olympia. Thucydides and Herodotus. Herodotus and Sophocles. Men of note whom Herodotus would meet at Athens. Reasons for his leaving it. Colonisation of Thurium. Men of note among the early colonists. The History of Herodotus retouched, but not originally composed, at Thurium. Some large portions may have been written there; and his History of Assyria. State of Thurium during his residence. Time and place of his death. Herodotus probably unmarried: his heir Plesirrhoüs. His great work left unfinished at his decease.

A RECENT writer has truly observed, that to attempt a complete or connected life of Herodotus from the insufficient stock of materials at our disposal, is merely to indulge the imagination, and to construct in lieu of history "a pleasant form of biographical romance."[1] The data are so few—they rest upon such late and slight authority; they are so improbable or so contradictory, that to compile them into a biography, is like building a house of cards, which the first breath of criticism will blow to the ground. Still certain points may be approximately fixed; and the interest attaching to the person of our author is such, that all would feel the present work incomplete, if it omitted to bring together the few facts which may be gathered,

[1] See Colonel Mure's "Critical History of the Language and Literature of Greece," vol. iv. p. 243. The romance has since been written. *in two volumes*, by Mr. Wheeler.

either from the writings of Herodotus himself or from other authorities of weight, concerning the individual history of the man with whose productions we are about to be engaged. The subjoined sketch is therefore given, not as sufficient to satisfy the curiosity concerning the author which the work of Herodotus naturally excites, but as preferable to absolute silence upon a subject of so much interest.

The time at which Herodotus lived and wrote may be determined within certain limits from his history. On the one hand it appears that he conversed with at least one person who had been an eye-witness of some of the great events of the Persian war;[2] on the other, that he outlived the commencement of the Peloponnesian struggle, and was acquainted with several circumstances which happened in the earlier portion of it.[3] He must therefore have flourished in the fifth century, B. C., and must have written portions of his history at least as late as B. C. 430.[4] His birth would thus fall naturally into the earlier portion of the century, and he would have belonged to the generation which came next in succession to that of the conquerors of Salamis.[5]

These conclusions, drawn from the writings of Herodotus himself, are in close accordance with those more minute and definite statements which the earliest and best authorities make with regard to the exact time at which he was born. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who as an antiquarian of great research and a fellow-countryman of our author, is entitled to be heard with

[2] See Book ix. ch. 16.

[3] He mentions the Peloponnesian war by name in two places (vii. 137, ix. 73), and notices distinctly the following events in it:

1. The attack on Platæa by the Thebans, with which it commenced (vii. 233).
2. The betrayal of Nicolaüs and Aneristus, the Spartan ambassadors, and of Aristeus, the Corinthian, into the hands of the Athenians by Sitalces (vii. 137).
3. The ravaging of Attica by the Peloponnesians in one of the earlier years of the war (ix. 73).

He may also coverly allude to the war in the following places: v. 93, and vi. 98.

[4] Herodotus mentions one or two events the *probable* date of which is about B. C. 425, as the desertion of Zopyrus, son of Megabyzus, to the Athenians (iv. 160); and a cruel deed committed by Amestris in her old age (vii. 114). He also speaks in one place (vi. 98) of the reign of Artaxerxes, who died B. C. 425, apparently as if it was over. He may therefore have given touches to his history as late as B. C. 424. The passages which have been imagined to point to a still later date (i. 130. iii. 15, and ix. 73) have been misunderstood or misapplied. Their true meaning is considered in the footnotes upon them.

[5] Many incidental notices confirm this. Herodotus conversed in Sparta with a certain Archias, a grandson of an Archias who fell in Samos about B. C. 525 (iii. 55). He was also acquainted with a steward of Ariapeithes, the Scythian king, who was a contemporary of Sitalces, the ally of Athens in the year B. C. 430. He travelled in Egypt later than B. C. 462 (iii. 12).

special attention on such a point, tells us that his birth took place "a little before the Persian war."[6] Pamphila, the only ancient writer who ventures to fix the exact year of his nativity, confirms Dionysius, and makes a statement from which it would appear that the birth of Herodotus preceded the invasion of Xerxes by four years.[7] The value of this testimony has been called in question, but even those who do not regard it as authoritative admit, that it may well be adopted as in harmony with all that is known upon the subject, and "at least a near approximation to the truth."[8] It may be concluded therefore that Herodotus was born in or about the year B. C. 484.

Concerning the birthplace of the historian no reasonable doubt has ever been entertained either in ancient or modern times. The Pseudo-Plutarch indeed, in the tract wherein he has raked together every charge that malice and folly combined could contrive against our author, intimates a suspicion that he had falsely claimed the honour of having Halicarnassus for his birthplace.[9] But Plutarch himself is a witness against the writer who has filched his name,[1] and his testimony is confirmed by Dionysius,[2] by Strabo,[3] by Lucian,[4] and by Suidas.[5] The testimony of Herodotus, which would of itself be conclusive were it certain, is rendered doubtful by the quotation of Aristotle, which substitutes at the commencement of the history the word "Thurian" for "Halicarnassian."[6] Apart, however, from this, the all but universal testimony of ancient writers, the harmony of their witness with the attention given to Halicarnassus and its affairs in the history, and the epitaph which appears to

[6] Judicium de Thucyd. (c. 5, vol. vi. p. 820). The words used are—Ἡρόδοτος γενόμενος ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τῶν Περσικῶν.

[7] Ap. Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic. xv. 23. "Hellanicus initio belli Peloponnesiaci fuisse quinque et sexaginta annos natus videtur; Herodotus *tres et quinquaginta*; Thucydides quadraginta." (See Müller, Fragm. Hist. Gr. vol. iii. p. 521.)

[8] See Mure, p. 254. Pamphila seems spoken of somewhat too slightingly when she is called "an obscure female writer of the Roman period." The frequent quotation of her writings by Aulus Gellius and Diogenes Laertius is a proof that she was far from *obscure*. Photius, too, whose extensive reading adds a value to his criticism, speaks favourably of her work, and especially as containing "several necessary points of historical information." (τῶν ἱστορικῶν οὐκ ὀλίγα ἀναγκαῖα. Bibl. Cod. 175, p. 389.) That Pamphila was a careful and laborious student of history seems certain from her having made an Epitome of Ctesias (see Suidas).

[9] De Malign. Herod. vol. ii. p. 868 A. The writers who, like Duris (Fr. 57), and the Emperor Julian (ap. Suid.), simply call Herodotus "a Thurian," need not mean to question his Halicarnassian origin.

[1] De Exilio, II. p. 604 F.

[2] Jud. de Thucyd. l. s. c.

[3] xiv. p. 939. [4] Vol. iv. p. 116. [5] S. v. Ἡρόδοτος.

[6] Rhet. iii. 9. See note [1] to Book i. ch. i.

have been engraved upon the historian's tomb at Thurium,[7] form a body of proof the weight of which is irresistible.

Of the parents and family of Herodotus but little can be said to be known. We are here reduced almost entirely to the authority of Suidas, a learned but not very careful compiler of the eleventh century, to whose unconfirmed assertions the least possible weight must be considered to attach. He tells us in the brief sketch which he has left of our author, that he was born of "illustrious" parents[8] in the city of Halicarnassus, his father's name being Lyxes, and his mother's, Dryo, or Rhœo;[9] that he had a brother Theodore; and that he was cousin or nephew of Panyasis, the epic poet. To the last of these statements very little credit is due, since Suidas confesses that his authorities were not agreed through which of the parents of Herodotus the connexion was to be traced,[1] and the temptation to create such a relationship must have been great to the writers of fictitious letters and biographies under the empire. But the name of his father is confirmed by the epitaph preserved in Stephen,[2] and the station of his parents by the indications of wealth which the high education of our author, and his abundant means for frequent and distant travel, manifestly furnish. The other statements of Suidas acquire, by their connexion with these, some degree of credibility; and the very obscurity and unimportance of the names may induce us to accept them as real, since no motive can be assigned for their invention. Herodotus may therefore be regarded as the son of Lyxes and Rhœo,[3] persons of

[7] The epitaph, which is given both by Stephen (ad voc. Θούριος) and by the Scholiast on Aristophanes (Nub. 331), did not indeed mention Halicarnassus, but implied it by speaking of the historian as "sprung from a Dorian land"—Δωριέων πάτρης βλαστόντ' ἄπο.

[8] Ἡρόδοτος, Λύξου καὶ Δρυοῦς, Ἁλικαρνασσεὺς, τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, καὶ ἀδελφὸν ἐσχηκὼς Θεόδωρον. Suidas ad voc. Ἡρόδοτος.

[9] See Suidas ad voc. Πανύασις.

[1] Some said that the father of Panyasis, whom they called Polyarchus, was brother to Lyxes, the father of Herodotus; others that Rhœo, our author's mother, was the epic poet's sister. (Suid. l. s. c.)

[2] The epitaph, which Brunck has placed in the third volume of his Analecta (Epig. 533, p. 263), consists of four lines of elegiac verse, and runs as follows:—

Ἡρόδοτον Λύξεω κρύπτει κόνις ἥδε θανόντα,
Ἰάδος ἀρχαίης ἱστορίης πρύτανιν·
Δωριέων πάτρης βλαστόντ' ἄπο, τῶν ἄρ' ἄπλητον
Μῶμον ὑπεκπροφυγὼν Θούριον ἔσχε πάτρην.

[3] It seems certain that the double form of the name arises from a corruption of the text of Suidas. Bähr (Comment. de Vitâ et Scriptis Herod. § 2) proposes to regard the form Dryo as the true one. But since Dryo is an unknown name, whereas Rhœo belonged certainly to the mythic history of the neighbourhood (see Apoll. Rhod. ap. Parthen. Erot. c. 1), the latter has clearly the better claim to be preferred.

good means and station in the city of Halicarnassus. That he had a brother Theodore is also probable.

It has been thought that Herodotus must have had relations of rank and importance settled in the island of Chios.[4] In speaking of an embassy sent by a portion of the Chians to the Greeks about the time of the battle of Salamis, he mentions, without any apparent necessity, and with special emphasis, a single name—that of a certain "Herodotus, the son of Basileides."[5] This man, it is supposed, must have been a relative, whom family affection or family pride induced the historian to commemorate; and if so, it is certain from his position as one of the chiefs of a conspiracy, and afterwards as ambassador from his countrymen, that he must have been a personage of distinction —a conclusion which is confirmed by the way in which Herodotus introduces his name, as if he were previously not unknown to his readers.[6]

This is a point, however, of minor consequence, since it is not needed to prove what is really important—the wealth and consideration of the family to which our author belonged.

The educationof Herodotus is to be judged of from his work. No particulars of it have come down to us. Indeed, the whole subject of Greek education before the first appearance of the Sophists is involved in a good deal of obscurity. That the three standard branches of instruction recognised among the Athenians of the time of Socrates—grammar, gymnastic training, and music—were regarded throughout all Greece, and from a very early date, as the essential elements of a liberal education, is likely enough;[7] but it can scarcely be said to have been demonstrated. Herodotus, it may, however, be supposed, followed the course common in later times—attended the grammar-school, where he learnt to read and write, frequented the palæstra where

[4] Col. Mure accidentally says "Samos" for Chios, and speaks of Herodotus the son of Basileides as a *Samian* (vol. iv. p. 253).

[5] Herod. viii. 132.

[6] Τῶν καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Βασιληΐδεω ἦν. When a new character is introduced, and Herodotus does not consider him already known, he commonly omits the article. (See vi. 127, where none of the suitors of Agarista have the article except Megacles, the son of Alcmæon.)

[7] Some writers have maintained that in Dorian states the first branch (*γράμματα*) was wholly, or almost wholly, omitted (Müller, Dorians, vol. ii. p. 328, E. T.; Grote's Hist. of Greece, vol. ii. p. 526). But Colonel Mure has shown that this imputation is unfounded (Remarks on two Appendices to Grote's History, p. 1 et seqq.). The three branches are recognized by Ephorus as obtaining from an early time in Crete (Fr. 64, Müller, vol. i. p. 251), and Plato seems to regard them as universally agr ed upon (Alcib. I. p. 106 E; Amat. p. 132; Theag. p. 122; Protag. pp. 25 E and 26 A. B.)

he went through the exercises, and received instruction from the professional harper or flute-player, who conveyed to him the rudiments of music. But these things formed a very slight part of that education, which was necessary to place a Greek of the upper ranks on a level, intellectually, with those who in Athens and elsewhere gave the tone to society, and were regarded as finished gentlemen. A knowledge of literature, and especially of poetry—above all an intimate acquaintance with the *classic* writings of Homer, was the one great requisite;[8] to which might be added a familiarity with philosophical systems, and a certain amount of rhetorical dexterity. Herodotus, as his writings show, was most thoroughly accomplished in the first and most important of these three things. He has drunk at the Homeric cistern till his whole being is impregnated with the influence thence derived. In the scheme and plan of his work, in the arrangement and order of its part, in the tone and character of the thoughts, in ten thousand little expressions and words, the Homeric student appears;[9] and it is manifest that the two great poems of ancient Greece are at least as familiar to him as Shakspeare to the modern educated Englishman. Nor has this intimate knowledge been gained by the sacrifice of other reading. There is scarcely a poet of any eminence anterior to his day with whose works he has not shown himself acquainted. Hesiod, Olen, Musæus, Archilochus, the authors of the Cypria and the Epigoni, Alcæus, Sappho, Solon, Æsop, Aristeas, Simonides of Ceos, Phrynichus, Æschylus, Pindar,[1] are quoted, or referred to, in such a way as to indicate that he possessed a close acquaintance with their writings. Prose composition had but commenced a very short time before the date of his history.[2] Yet even

[8] See Plat. Rep. Books ii. and iii., Protag. l. s. c.

[9] See Jäger. Disp. Herod. p. 5; Bähr, De Vitâ et Script. Herod. § 3; Mure, vol. iv. pp. 515–6, and especially the valuable collection of passages in his Appendix, pp. 551–2. Dahlmann has, curiously enough, omitted this point.

[1] Hesiod, ii. 53, iv. 32; Olen, iv. 35; Musæus, vii. 6, viii. 96, ix. 43; Archilochus, i. 12; the author of the Cypria, ii. 117 (compare i. 155); of the Epigoni, iv. 32; Alcæus, v. 95; Sappho, ii. 135; Solon, v. 113; Æsop, ii. 134; Aristeas, iv. 13; Simonides, v. 102, vii. 228; Phrynichus, vi. 21; Æschylus, ii. 156; Pindar, iii. 38. Note also the quotations from less well-known poets, as Bacis, viii. 20, 77, 96, ix. 43, and Lysistratus, viii. 96. With regard to the passages supposed to be plagiarisms from Sophocles (i. 32, ii. 35, and iii. 119), see notes *ad loc.* The only poets of eminence anterior to his time, with whom Herodotus does not show any acquaintance, are Callinus of Ephesus, Tyrtæus, Simonides of Amorgus, Stesichorus, Epimenides, and Epicharmus. He notices Anacreon (iii. 121) and Lasus of Hermioné (vii. 6), but without any mention of their writings. Expressions like that at the beginning of vi. 52 (Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὁμολογέοντες οὐδενὶ ποιητῇ) indicate the confidence which he feels in his complete acquaintance at least with all the cyclic and genealogical poets. (Compare ii. 53 and 120.)

[2] With Pherecydes of Syros (ab. B. C. 550), according to the common tradition;

here we find an acquaintance indicated with a number of writers, seldom distinctly named, but the contents of whose works are well known and familiarly dealt with.[3] Hecatæus especially, who must be considered as his special predecessor in the literary commonwealth, is quoted openly, or tacitly glanced at in several passages;[4] and it may be questioned whether there was a single work of importance in the whole range of Greek literature accessible to him, with the contents of which he was not fairly acquainted.

Such an amount of literary knowledge implies a prolonged and careful self-education, and is the more remarkable in the case of one whose active and inquisitive turn of mind seems to have led him at an early age to engage in travels, the extent of which, combined with their leisurely character, clearly shows that a long term of years must have been so occupied. The quantum of travel has indeed been generally exaggerated,[5] but after every deduction is made that judicious criticism suggests as proper, there still remains, in the distance between the extreme limits reached, and in the fulness of the information gained, unmistakeable evidence of a vast amount of time spent in the occupation. Herodotus undoubtedly visited Babylon,[6] Ardericca near Susa,[7] the remoter parts of Egypt,[8] Scythia,[9] Colchis,[10] Thrace,[11] Cyrêné,[12] Zante,[13] Dodôna,[14] and Magna Græcia;[15]—thus covering with his travels a space of thirty-one degrees of longitude (above 1700 miles) from east to west, and

but at any rate not earlier than the beginning of the sixth century. (See Mure, vol. iv. p. 51.)

[3] See the following passages:—ii. 15, 16, 20, 22, and vi. 55.

[4] Openly, ii. 143, and vi. 137; tacitly, ii. 21, 23, and iv. 36.

[5] It is no doubt difficult to draw a distinct line between the manner of speaking which shows Herodotus to have seen what he describes, and that which merely indicates that he had heard what he relates from professed eye-witnesses. Most writers on the subject have accepted as proof of the presence of Herodotus on the spot a mention of anything as "continuing to this time." Hence it has been supposed that he visited Camicus in Sicily (Dahlmann, p. 40, E. T.; Heyse de Herod. Vit. et Itin. p. 139; Bähr, vol. iv. p. 397); and by some that he reached Bactria (Mure, iv. p. 247; Jäger, Disput. Herod. p. 20). But the expression relied on does not in itself imply presence, and no writer has ventured to regard it in this light in every place where it occurs. It has never been supposed, for instance, that Herodotus reached the banks of the Oarus, and saw the forts, said to have been erected by Darius, "whose ruins were still remaining in his day" (iv. 124). Something more then is required than this expression. I have regarded as necessary to prove presence either a distinct assertion to that effect, or the mention of some *little* point, which only an eye-witness would have noticed, and which one who received the account from an eye-witness would, even if told, not be likely to have remembered,—as the position of Ladicé's statue in the temple of Venus at Cyrêné (ii. 181).

[6] i. 181–3. [7] vi. 119. [8] ii. 29. [9] iv. 81. [10] ii. 104.
[11] iv. 90. [12] ii. 181. [13] iv. 195. [14] ii. 52. [15] iv. 15, v. 45.

of twenty-four of latitude (1660 miles) from north to south. Within these limits moreover his knowledge is for the most part close and accurate. He has not merely paid a hasty visit to the countries, but has examined them leisurely, and is familiar with their scenery, their cities small and large, their various wonders, their temples and other buildings, and with the manners and customs of their inhabitants. The fulness and minuteness of his information is even more remarkable than its wide range, though it has attracted less observation. In Egypt, for instance, he has not contented himself with a single voyage up and down the Nile, like the modern tourist, but has evidently passed months, if not years, in examining the various objects of interest. He has personally inspected, besides the great capital cities of Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis, where his materials for the history of Egypt were chiefly collected,[1] the comparatively unimportant towns of Sais,[2] Bubastis,[3] Buto,[4] Papremis,[5] Chemmis,[6] Crocodilopolis,[7] and Elephantiné.[8] He has explored the lake Mœris,[9] the Labyrinth,[10] the line of the canal leading into the Arabian gulf from the Nile,[11] the borders of Egypt towards the Sinaitic desert,[12] and portions of the tract, which he calls Arabia, between the valley of the Nile and the Arabian Gulf or Red Sea.[13] He is completely familiar with the various branches into which the Nile divides before reaching the sea,[14] and with the course followed by the traveller at different seasons.[15] He knows intimately the entire broad region of the Delta,[16] as well as the extreme limits of Egypt beyond it, both eastward[17] and westward.[18] Again, in Asia Minor, his native country, he knows well, besides Caria,[19] where he was born, Lydia, with its rich plains[20] and great capital city, Sardis;[21] Mysia,[22] the Troas,[23] the cities upon the Hellespont,[24] Proconnesus,[25] Cyzicus,[26] the mouth of the Thracian Bosphorus,[27] the north coast;[28] and again, on the south, Cilicia, with its two regions, the flat,[29] and the mountainous;[30] Lycia,[31] Caunus,[32]

[1] ii. 3. [2] ii. 28, 130, 169, &c. [3] ii. 137. [4] ii. 75, 155.
[5] iii. 12. [6] ii. 91. [7] ii. 148. [8] ii. 29.
[9] ii. 149. [10] ii. 148. [11] ii. 158, 159.
[12] iii. 5, 12. [13] ii. 75; comp. 8 and 12.
[14] ii. 17. [15] ii. 97. [16] ii. 5, 15, 92–98, &c. [17] ii. 6, iii. 5.
[18] ii. 6, 18. [19] i. 171, 172, 174, 175, &c. [20] i. 80.
[21] i. 80, 84, 93, &c. [22] vii. 42. [23] ii. 10, vii. 43.
[24] i. 57. [25] iv. 14. [26] Ibid. [27] iv. 86.
[28] Ibid. Comp. i. 76, ii. 104, &c. On his visit to Colchis, Herodotus would necessarily pass along the whole of this coast. He appears to have gone ashore occasionally—at the mouth of the Parthenius, ii. 104; at Themiscyra, iv. 86.
[29] vi. 95. [30] ii. 34. [31] i. 176. [32] i. 172.

Ephesus,[33] the mouths of the Mæander, Scamander, and Caystrus rivers,[34] and something of the interior, at least along the line of the royal road from Sardis to Susa,[35] which he most probably followed in his journey to and from Babylon. In Greece Proper he has visited, besides the great cities of Athens,[1] Sparta,[2] and Thebes,[3] the sanctuaries at Delphi,[4] Dodôna,[5] and Abæ in Phocis;[6] the battle-fields of Thermopylæ,[7] Platæa,[8] and Marathon;[9] Arcadia,[10] Elis,[11] Argolis,[12] the promontory of Tænarum,[13] the isthmus of Corinth,[14] the pass of Tempé,[15] Creston in Chalcidicé,[16] Byzantium,[17] Athos[18] and (apparently) the entire route followed by the army of Xerxes on its march from Sestos to Athens.[19] In the Levant he has evidently made himself acquainted with almost all the more important islands. With Samos he is completely familiar,[20] and he has visited besides, Rhodes,[21] Cyprus,[22] Delos,[23] Paros,[24] Thasos,[25] Samothrace,[26] and probably Crete,[27] Cythera,[28] and Ægina.[29] Elsewhere his travels have, no doubt, less of this character of *completeness*. He knows little more of Scythia than its coast between the mouths of the Danube and Dnieper; he has not penetrated very far into Thrace; his knowledge of Syria and Phœnicia may have been gained from once or twice coasting along their shores;[30] east of the Halys his observations are confined to a single route; in Africa, setting aside Egypt, he shows no personal acquaintance with any place but Cyrêné; and west of Greece, he can only be proved to have visited the cities of Crotona, Thurii and Metapontum.[1]

[33] i. 92, ii. 10, &c. [34] ii. 10.

[35] The description of the route (v. 52) appears to me that of an eye-witness. If Herodotus visited Babylon, which I regard as certain, he would naturally follow it as far as the cross-road which led from Agbatana to that city, issuing undoubtedly from Mount Zagros by the pass of Holwan. The Greeks of his time sometimes reached Babylon by crossing from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates, and then descending the river in a boat (i. 185), but Herodotus does not appear to have taken this route.

[1] v. 77. [2] iii. 55. [3] i. 52. [4] i. 14, 19, 25, 50, &c. [5] ii. 52.
[6] viii. 27. [7] viii. 198–200, 218, 225, &c.
[8] ix. 15, 19, 25, 51, &c. [9] vi. 102, 111, 112.
[10] i. 66, vi. 74, 127. [11] iv. 30, vii. 170. [12] vi. 77.
[13] i. 24. [14] viii. 121. [15] vii. 129.
[16] i. 57. [17] iv. 87. [18] vii. 22.

[19] This appears from the manner of his descriptions, as well as from their general fidelity. It has been perceived by almost all the commentators (Bähr, iv. p. 396; Dahlmann, p. 43; Mure, iv. p. 246, &c.).

[20] ii. 182, iii. 47, 54, 60, 142, iv. 88, 152, vi. 14, &c.
[21] ii. 182, iii. 47. [22] v. 114. [23] ii. 170, vi. 98. [24] vi. 134. [25] ii. 44.
[26] ii. 51. [27] iii. 59. [28] i. 105. [29] v. 83, 88.

[30] Landing of course from time to time, as at Tyre (ii. 44), at the Nahr el Kelb (ii. 106), and perhaps at Gaza or Cadytis (iii. 5).

[1] Heyse is the writer who has exaggerated most grossly the extent of our

It is not possible to determine absolutely the questions, which have been mooted, concerning the time when, and the centre, or centres, from which these travels were undertaken. An opinion, however, has been already expressed that they were commenced at an early age. The vigour and freshness of youth is the time when travel is best enjoyed and most easily accomplished; and the only hints derivable from Herodotus himself concerning the date of any of his journeys, are in accordance with the notion, that at least the more distant and important of them belong to his earlier rather than his later years. If anything is certain with respect to the events of our author's career, it is that his home during the first half of his life was in Asia Minor, during the last in Magna Græcia. Now the slightest glance at the map will show that the former place, and not the latter, Halicarnassus (or possibly Samos), and not Thurium, is the natural centre whence his various lines of travel radiate. One of the most curious facts patent upon the face of his history is the absence of any personal acquaintance, or indeed of any exact knowledge, of upper Italy, Sardinia, Sicily, Carthage —the countries most accessible to a traveller whose starting-point was Thurium. It seems as if, on taking up his residence at that town in about his fortieth year, the enterprising traveller had subsided into the quiet student and recluse writer.[2] To descend to particulars, it is clear that his visit to Egypt,[3] with which some of his other journeys are necessarily connected,[4] took place after the revolt of Inarus (B. C. 460); for he states, that he saw the skulls of those who were slain in the great battle of Papremis by which Inarus established himself;[5] and yet it could not have been long after, or he would scarcely have

author's travels. He regards him as having visited not only Agbatana (which is a common opinion), but Acarnania and Ætolia, the Illyrian Apollonia, the Veneti, Thera, Siphnus, Eubœa, Sicyon, and most parts of Sicily (see his inaugural dissertation 'De Herodoti Vitâ et Itineribus,' Berlin, 1827). The grounds which he deems sufficient are often absurdly slight. Bähr adopts Heyse's views, except where they are most extravagant (vol. iv. pp. 391–7). Dahlmann is somewhat more moderate. Col. Mure's summary (vol. iv. pp. 246–8) is judicious, though scanty. The only points in it from which I should dissent, are the statements that Herodotus "penetrated to Ecbatana," and "possibly to parts of Bactria" (p. 247).

[2] It is not meant that he did not write before this time, or travel after it, but that after he came to Thurium he travelled very little, probably only in Magna Græcia, and once to Athens, occupying himself almost entirely in literature.

[3] Col. Mure supposes (vol. iv. p. 247) that he may have visited Egypt repeatedly, but of this there is no trace in the History. Rather the perpetual use of the aorist tense (*ἐλθών—ἐτραπόμην*, ii. 3; *ἰδών*, ii. 12; *ἐδυνάσθην—ἐγενόμην*, ii. 19; *ἐλθών*, ii. 29; et passim) gives the contrary impression.

[4] Those to Tyre and Thasos, which he undertook in order to investigate the age of Hercules (ii. 44).

[5] iii. 12.

been received with so much cordiality and allowed such free access to the Egytian temples and records. There is every reason to conclude that his visit fell within the period—six years, from B. C. 460 to B. C. 455, inclusively—during which the Athenian armies were in possession of the country,[6] when gratitude to their deliverers would have led the Egyptians to receive any Greek who visited them with open arms, and to treat him with a friendliness and familiarity very unlike their ordinary jealousy of foreigners. His Egyptian travels would thus fall between his twenty-fourth and his twenty-ninth year, occupying perhaps nearly the whole of that period; while his journeys to Tyre and Thasos would follow shortly after. A single touch in the Scythian researches indicates a period but little removed from this, for the visit of our author to Scythia. He speaks of having gathered certain facts from the mouth of Timnes, "the steward of Ariapeithes."[7] This expression indicates that Ariapeithes was then living. But if Ariapeithes immediately succeeded Idanthyrsus, as is probable,[8] he can scarcely have outlived B. C. 450, sixty years at least from the accession of his predecessor. Probably therefore Herodotus was in Scythia before that date.

We may now consider briefly the few facts which have come down to us, on better or worse authority, with regard to the vicissitudes of our author's life. Suidas relates,[9] that he was forced to fly from Halicarnassus to Samos by the tyranny of Lygdamis, the grandson of Artemisia, who had put his uncle (or cousin) Panyasis to death; that in Samos he adopted the Ionic dialect, and wrote his history; that after a time he returned and took the lead in an insurrection whereby Halicarnassus obtained her freedom, and Lygdamis was driven out; that then, finding himself disliked by the other citizens, he quitted his country, and joined in the Athenian colonisation of Thurium, at which place he died and was buried. Of these statements the only ones confirmed by other writers are the removal of our author to Thurium at the time of its first settlement or soon afterwards, and his death and burial at the same place. The former is a point on which all are fully agreed;[1] but the latter is much controverted.[2]

With regard to the political episode, which, if true, would be the most notable adventure in our author's whole career,

[6] Thucyd. i. 109: ἐκράτουν τῆς Αἰγύπτου Ἀθηναῖοι.

[7] iv. 76.

[8] See note to Book iv. ch. 80.

[9] Sub voc. Ἡρόδοτος.

[1] See Strab. xiv. p. 939; Plut. de Exil. II. p. 604 F.; Steph. Byz. ad voc. Θούριοι; Plin. H. N. xii. 4; Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 331.

[2] Vide infrà, p. 18.

the slender authority of Suidas cannot be held to establish it against the absolute silence on so remarkable a matter of all former writers. Undoubtedly it *may* be true, but this is the utmost that can be said in its favour. Probability leans decidedly the other way. If Herodotus had been a tyrannicide, it is very unlikely that no orator or panegyrist should ever have noticed the fact. If he had lived on terms of such deadly hostility with the royal family of his native town, it is scarcely to be imagined that he would have expressed himself quite so warmly[3] towards the chief glory of that family, Artemisia. The tale seems blunderingly contrived to account for certain circumstances connected with our author which were thought to require explanation, namely, why he wrote in the Ionic dialect ; why he treated at such disproportionate length of the affairs of Samos ;[4] why he spoke so strongly on the advantages of constitutional over despotic government ;[5] and why he quitted his native land and retired to Thurium. The foundation for the tale was found in the last line of his epitaph, and possibly, in the facts of Halicarnassian history ; but the epitaph was misconstrued, and the history garbled by the intrusion into it without warrant of our author's name. We may gather from the epitaph, which may well be received as genuine, that no political motive caused his retirement from Halicarnassus, but that he fled from *ridicule*[6] —ridicule drawn down, it may be conjectured, by the over-credulous tone of his history, which would little suit the rising generation of shrewd and practical free-thinkers. The transfer of residence to Samos is most likely a fiction. It is not required to account for his adoption of the Ionic dialect, since that was the form of language already consecrated to prose composition,[7] and if he wrote at all he could not fail to use the character of speech which the prose writers of his day had one and all preferred as best adapted to their branch of literature. Neither is it implied in any thing which he himself says of the island, for his acquaintance with its buildings and localities is not greater than might have been acquired by one or two leisurely visits, and the length at which he treats the history may be accounted for on moral grounds.[8]

[3] See especially Book vii. ch. 99, and Book viii. chs. 87 and 101.

[4] Book iii. chs. 39–59, 120–128, 139–149. [5] v. 66, 78.

[6] Μῶμος (which is the word used in the epitaph) is not mere "ill-will," "dislike," or "envy," but distinctly "ridicule." It is a rare word in the early writers, and would not have been used where μέμψις suited the verse equally well, unless intended in its peculiar signification.

[7] See Mure's Literature of Greece, vol. iv. p. 114.

[8] Vide infrà, page 76.

Herodotus probably continued to reside at Halicarnassus, taking long journeys for the purpose of historical and geographical inquiry, till towards the year B. C. 447, when, being about thirty-seven years of age, and having brought his work to a certain degree of completeness, though one far short of that which it reached finally, he removed to Greece Proper, and took up his abode at Athens. Halicarnassus, it would appear, had shortly before cast off her tyrants and joined the Athenian confederacy,[9] so that the young author would be welcomed for his country's sake no less than for his own. Athens had just begun to decline from the zenith of her prosperity. After having been for ten years sole mistress of central Greece from the isthmus of Corinth to the borders of Thessaly, she had, not without certain preliminary disasters, received at Coronea a blow, which at once reduced her to her former limits, and threatened to have yet more serious consequences. The year B. C. 446 was one of gloom and sad expectation. Revolt threatened from various quarters, and in the ensuing spring the five years' truce would expire and a Peloponnesian invasion might be expected. It was in this year, if we may believe Eusebius,[1] that a decree passed the Athenian assembly, whereby a reward was assigned to Herodotus on account of his great historical work, which he had read publicly to the Athenians.[2] The Pseudo-Plutarch,[3] though himself discrediting the story, adds some further particulars, which he quotes from Dyillus, an Athenian historian of good repute towards the end of the fourth century B. C. This writer declared that the decree on the occasion was moved by Anytus, and that the sum voted as a gift was ten talents (above 2,400*l.*).

According to the common report, it was not at Athens alone that Herodotus made his work known by recitation. He is represented by some writers as a sort of prose rhapsodist travelling from place to place, and offering to each state at a price a niche in the temple of Fame. The Pseudo-Plutarch brings him to Thebes,[4] and Dio Chrysostom to Corinth,[5] in this capacity; but the latter tale is apparently unknown to the great collector of

[9] See Dahlmann's Life of Herodotus, ch. i. § 3. We are not obliged to reject either the fact or the date of Lygdamis's overthrow, because we question the part assigned to Herodotus in the transaction.

[1] Chron. Can. Pars II. p. 339; Ol. 83. 4.

[2] The reading may have been, as Scaliger (ad Euseb.) suggested, a single sustained recitation at the great Panathenaic festival, but I should rather suppose a series of more private exhibitions.

[3] De Malign. Herod. II. p. 862 A.

[4] De Malign. Herod. II. p. 864 D.

[5] Orat. xxxvii. p. 456. Marcellinus (Vit. Thucyd. p. x.) has evidently heard the same story.

slanders. It is scarcely necessary to observe that these calumnious fictions, invented by those whose self-love was wounded by our author's candour, deserve no manner of credit. It is certainly not impossible that Herodotus may have recited his work at other places besides Athens; but there is no evidence that he did so. His work was not one to gain him reward or goodwill generally, and Thebes, a place fixed upon by the Pseudo-Plutarch, was one of the last where he could expect to be received with favour.

In addition to these tales there has come down to us a circumstantial account of another, and more important recital, which Herodotus is supposed to have made before collected Greece at the great Olympian festival. This story, which has attracted more attention than it merits, rests upon the two low authorities of Lucian and Suidas.[6] It is full of inconsistencies and improbabilities,[7] was unknown to the earlier writers,[8] and is even contradicted by another version of the matter which obtained sufficient currency to give rise to a proverb. According to an ancient grammarian, men who failed to accomplish their designs were likened in ordinary speech to "Herodotus and his shade;" the explanation being that Herodotus had wished to recite his history at Olympia, but had delayed from day to day in hopes of a cloudy sky, till the assembly dispersed without his having effected his purpose.[9] This version of the story has at once more internal probability and more external support than the other, for the proverb must certainly have been in common use; but it may well be doubted whether Herodotus can ever have seriously contemplated such an exhibition, for the whole tone of the work—its candour, its calmness, its unsparing exposure of the weakness, pettiness, and want of patriotism generally prevalent

[6] Lucian, who lived six centuries after Herodotus, and is the first writer that mentions the Olympian recitation, was a freethinking rhetorician and philosopher, very ignorant of history, and quite above feeling any scruple about perverting or inventing it. His disregard of truth has been copiously exhibited by Dahlmann (Life of Herod. ch. II. § 4). His piece entitled 'Aëtion or Herodotus' was written for a Macedonian audience, not likely to be very critical, on whom he might expect to palm easily a tale so turned as to involve a compliment both to them and to their city. (See its conclusion, vol. iv. p. 123, ed. Hemsterhuis.)

[7] Herodotus is represented as coming straight from Caria to Olympia, with his Nine Muses all complete, as determining not to recite at Athens or anywhere else but at the Great Games, as reading his entire history at a stretch to the whole assemblage, and as carrying off unanimous applause!

[8] As Pliny and the Pseudo-Plutarch, who both make statements incompatible with Lucian's story: Pliny, that the work was first composed at Thurium; the Pseudo-Plutarch, that its whole object was detraction, and that it was written not to gain fame, but to gratify a malignant spirit.

[9] In Montfaucon's Bibliothec. Coisl. Cod. clxxvii. p. 609, as I learn from a note of Col. Mure's (vol. iv. p. 261).

through Greece at the time of the Persian war—unfitted it for recitation before a mixed audience, like that at Olympia, composed of Greeks gathered from all quarters. The reasons which render improbable a recitation at Thebes or Corinth, tell with tenfold force against an Olympian reading, which might have pleased the Athenians, Eginetans, and Platæans present, but would have infinitely disgusted all the other hearers.

With the pretended recitation at Olympia is usually [1] connected another story, which need not, however, be discarded with it, since it has an independent basis. Olorus, with his young son Thucydides, is represented as present on the occasion, and the latter is said to have been moved to tears by the recital. Herodotus, remarking it, turned to Olorus, who was standing near his son, and said: "Olorus, thy son's soul yearns after knowledge." These details, it is plain, suit better a private reading to an audience of friends at Athens than a public recitation to the vast concourse at Olympia, where the emotion of an individual would scarcely have attracted notice. And it is remarkable that Marcellinus, who seems to be the original source from which later writers drew,[2] neither fixes the scene of the event at Olympia, nor says anything of the age of Thucydides. The anecdote may, therefore, without violence be transferred to the time when Herodotus was making his work known at Athens, and we may accept it, so far at least as to believe that Thucydides, then about twenty-four years of age,[3] became acquainted with our author through his recitations at that place, and derived from that circumstance the impulse which led him to turn his own thoughts to historical composition.

It is probable that Herodotus about the same time made the acquaintance of the poet Sophocles. Six years later it seems certain that the great tragedian wrote a poem in his honour, the opening words of which have been preserved by Plutarch,[4] and three years before he wrote it Herodotus had quitted Athens for Thurium. The acquaintance is thus almost necessarily deter-

[1] By Suidas (sub voc. Θουκυδίδης), Photius (Bibliothec. Cod. lx. ad fin. p. 59), and Tzetzes (Chil. i. 19).

[2] The date of Marcellinus is uncertain, but from his style and from the authors he quotes, I should incline to regard him as anterior to Photius. Suidas copies Photius, with improvements; Photius, I think, drew from Marcellinus.

[3] If we accept the statement of Pamphila (Frag. 7).

[4] See his treatise, "An seni gerenda sit republica?"—Op., vol. ii. p. 785, B. The words quoted are:

'Ωδὴν 'Ηροδότῳ τεῦξεν Σοφοκλῆς ἐτέων ὢν
Πέντ' ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα——

As Sophocles was born in the year B. C. 495, the poem must have been written B. C. 440.

mined to the space between B. C. 447, when Herodotus seems to have transferred his abode to Athens, and B. C. 443 when he removed to Italy. Sophocles was then at the zenith of his reputation. He had gained his first tragic prize twenty-one years earlier, in B. C. 468, and for ten years, since the death of Æschylus, had been almost without a rival. A little later than the departure of Herodotus for Thurium he exhibited his tragedy of the Antigoné,[5] in which a thought occurs which seems borrowed from our author,[6] and almost immediately afterwards he held the highest office in the state, being chosen Stratêgus together with Pericles in the year of the Samian expedition (B. C. 440).

If then an intimacy sprang up at this date between the poet and the historian, we may conclude that the latter was introduced during his stay at Athens to that remarkable galaxy of intellectual lights which was then assembled in that city. The stately Pericles, his clever rival—Thucydides, the son of Melesias, the fascinating Aspasia, the haughty and eloquent Antipho, the scientific musician Damon, the divine Phidias, Protagoras the subtle disputant, Zeno the inventor of logic, the jovial yet bitter Cratinus, the gay Crates, Euripides, the master of pathos, Sophocles, the most classic even of the ancients, with a host of minor worthies, formed a combination[7] which even at Athens was rarely, if ever, equalled. The rank of Herodotus in his own country was perhaps enough to give him free access to the highest society which Athens could furnish; but if not, as the friend of Sophocles and Olorus,[8] men of the most exalted position, he would be readily received into the first circles. Here then he would be brought into contact with the most cultivated minds, the highest intellects of his age. In Asia Minor he had perhaps known Panyasis, the epic poet (his relative, according to Suidas); Melissus the philosopher, who defended Samos against Pericles; Chœrilus,[9] who sang of the Persian war; and possibly

[5] Probably in B. C. 441, as his election to the office of Stratêgus in the following year was considered to have been the consequence of the admiration which the play excited. (Aristoph. Byzant. ad Soph. Ant. præf.)

[6] See note to Herod. iii. 119.

[7] Anaxagoras left Athens in B. C. 450 (Diog. Laert. ii. 7), before I suppose the visit of Herodotus to have commenced. He returned some years afterwards, but it is uncertain when. Gorgias *may* have been in Athens during our author's stay, at least if he really conversed with Pericles. (Philostrat. vit. Sophist. I. ix. § 1.) Ion of Chios, the tragedian Achæus, Euphorion the son of Æschylus, Stesimbrotus the biographer, the architect Hippodamus, and the artists Alcamenes, Agoracritus, Callimachus, Callicrates, Ictinus, Mnesicles, would be among the lesser luminaries of the time and scene. Socrates was grown up, but perhaps scarcely known.

[8] The anecdote concerning Thucydides implies that Olorus was already known to Herodotus.

[9] Suidas ad voc. *Χοιρίλος*.

Hellanicus, Charon, Xanthus Lydus, and Damastes ; but these were none minds of the first order, and they were scattered among the Asiatic cities from Halicarnassus to Lampsacus. At Athens he would for the first time find congregated an intellectual world, and see genius of the highest kind in all its shapes and aspects. The effect would be like that which the young American author experiences when he comes with good introductions to London. He would feel that here was the real heart of the Hellenic body,—the true centre, at least, of literary Hellas,—the world whose taste he must consult, whose approval was fame, whose censure was condemnation, whose contempt was oblivion. He would find his spirit roused, and his whole nature braced, to strain every nerve, in order to maintain his place in the literary phalanx which had admitted him into its ranks. He would see imperfections in his work unobserved before, and would resolve to make it, so far as his powers went, perfect. He would look at the masterpieces in every kind which surrounded him and say, "My work too shall be in its kind a masterpiece." To this perhaps we owe the wonderful elaboration, carried on for twenty years after his visit to Athens, which, as much as anything else, has given to the History of Herodotus its surpassing and never-failing charm.

It is not difficult to imagine the reasons which may have induced our author, in spite of the fascinations of its society, to quit Athens, and become a settler in one of her colonial dependencies. At Athens he could have no citizenship,[1] and to the Greek not bent on money-making, or absorbed in philosophy, to be without political rights, to have no share in what formed the daily life and occupied the constant thoughts of all around him, was intolerable. "Man is not a man unless he is a citizen," said Aristotle ;[2] and the feeling thus expressed was common to the Greek nation. Besides, Athens, like every capital, was an expensive place to live in, and the wealth which had made a figure at Halicarnassus would, even if it were not dissipated, have scarcely given a living there. The acceptance by Herodotus of a sum of money from the Athenian people would seem to indicate that his means were now low. They may have been exhausted by the cost of his long journeys, or have suffered from his leaving Halicarnassus. At any rate his circumstances may

[1] In later times the citizenship was granted lavishly, not only to foreigners but to freedmen. (Andoc. de red. c. 22, p. 86, 30 ; Demosth. c. Aristocr. &c.) But the difficulty of obtaining it was far greater in the time of Pericles. And the trouble and expense (Demosth. c. Neær. p. 1349, 20) would deter many.

[2] Pol. i. 1.

well have been such as to lead him gladly to embrace the invitation which Athens now offered to adventurers from all parts of Greece, whereby he would acquire at her hands a parcel of land (κλῆρον), which would place him above want, and a new right of citizenship. Accordingly, in the year B. C. 443, when he had just passed his fortieth year, Herodotus, according to the unanimous testimony of ancient writers,[3] joined the colonists whom Pericles was now sending out to Italy, and became one of the first settlers at Thurium.

The settlement was made under circumstances which were somewhat peculiar. Sybaris, one of the Achæan colonies in Magna Græcia, after attaining to an unexampled pitch of prosperity,[4] had been taken and destroyed by the Crotoniats (B. C. 510). The inhabitants who escaped fled to Laüs and Scidrus,[5] places previously belonging to them, and made no effort to recover their former home. But fifty-eight years afterwards (B. C. 452) their children and grandchildren, having obtained some foreign assistance, reoccupied the site of the old city, which soon rose from its ruins. Upon this the jealousy of Crotona was once more aroused, and again she took arms and expelled the Sybarites from their town. They did not however now submit, but sent ambassadors into Greece to beg for assistance against their enemies. Pericles received the envoys with warmth, procured a decree of the people in their favour, and sent out the colony in which Herodotus participated. It was composed of Greeks from all quarters, and placed under the direction of a certain Lampon, who was thought to possess prophetic powers.[6] The new colonists were to unite with the old Sybarites, and a single city was to be built, in which all were to enjoy equal rights and privileges. The colony left Athens in the spring of B. C. 443,[7] and established itself without any opposition from the Crotoniats. A town was built near, but not on, the site of the ancient Sybaris, and was called Thurium, from a spring in the neighbourhood; it seems

[3] See Strab. xiv. p. 939. Plutarch de exil. vol. ii. p. 604, F. Plin. H. N. xii. 4. Suidas ad voc. Ἡρόδοτος, &c.

[4] Strabo says that four of the Italian nations were subject to Sybaris; that she ruled over twenty-five cities, and brought into the field against Crotona 300,000 men (vi. p. 378). Scymnus Chius gives the number of her full citizens as 100,000 (ver. 344). Diodorus agrees with Strabo (xii. 9).

[5] See Herod. vi. 21.

[6] Schol. Aristoph. Av. 521; Plut. vit. Pericl. c. 6; Polit. Præced. vol. ii. p. 812, D.; Suid. ad voc. Θουριομάντεις. Diodorus (xii. 10) makes Lampon and Xenocritus joint leaders.

[7] Diodorus places its establishment in the year B. C. 446 (xii. 9). The date commonly given is B. C. 444; but Clinton has shown satisfactorily that the colony was really sent out in the spring of B. C. 443. (F. H. vol. ii. p. 58, Ol. 84. 2.)

to have been planned by Hippodamus, the architect of the Piræus, who laid it out in a number of straight streets, with others crossing them at right angles, a style of building which afterwards went by his name.[8] It was scarcely finished when dissensions broke out between the new-comers and the ancient Sybarites, the latter of whom are accused of advancing absurd claims to a pre-eminence over the foreign colonists. An appeal was made to arms, with a result most disastrous to those whose arrogance had provoked it. The Sybarites were worsted, and, if we may believe Diodorus, well nigh exterminated;[9] and the victorious foreigners, having strengthened themselves by receiving fresh immigrants, proceeded to order their polity on a plan copied apparently from the arrangements which prevailed at Athens. They divided themselves into ten tribes, named from the principal races of which the colony was composed,[1] and while modelling in all probability their political institutions on the Athenian type, adopted for the standard of their jurisprudence the legal code of Charondas.[2] Under these circumstances they became rapidly a flourishing people, until in the year B.C. 412, after the failure of the Sicilian expedition, they revolted from their mother city, and expelled all the Athenian colonists.[3]

Among the settlers who accompanied Herodotus from Athens are some names to which a special interest attaches. Hippodamus, the philosopher and the architect of the Piræus,[4] Lysias the orator, then only in his fifteenth year, with his brother

[8] Cf. Hesych. Lex. in voc. Ἱπποδάμου νέμησις, and Photius, Λεξ. Συναγ. p. 111. For the application of the style to Thurium, see Diod. Sic. xii. 10, ad fin.

[9] Diod. Sic. xii. 11. The brief notice of Aristotle (Pol. v. 2, Συβαρῖται—πλεονεκτεῖν ἀξιοῦντες ὡς σφετέρας τῆς χώρας ἐξέπεσον) agrees, except that he speaks of expulsion rather than extermination. Diodorus allows that a certain number escaped (xii. 22, sub fin.). These are perhaps the Sybarites of whom Herodotus speaks (v. 44).

[1] The tribes were as follows: three Peloponnesian, named Arcas, Achaïs, Elea; three from central Greece, Bœotia, Amphictyonis, Doris; and four from Athens and her dependencies, Ias, Athenaïs, Eubœis, Nesiotis. An organisation of this kind, proceeding upon ethnic difference, was more common in Dorian than in Ionian states. (See Herod. iv. 161, and v. 68.)

[2] Diodorus (l. s. c.) imagines that Charondas actually legislated for the Thurians, being one of the citizens: τὸν ἄριστον τὸν (l. τῶν) ἐν παιδείᾳ θαυμαζόμενον (l. θαυμαζομένων) πολιτῶν Χαρώνδαν. So the Scholiast on Plato (p. 193, Ruhnk.), and Valerius Maximus (vi. 5, § 4). But he was really a native of Catana, and lived two centuries earlier. (See Hermann's Pol. Antiq. of Greece, § 89). The Thurians only adopted his code, as did so many of the Italiot and Siceliot towns (Arist. Pol. ii. 9; Heraclid. Pont. xxv.), and even the remote city of Mazaca in Cappadocia (Strab. xii. p. 782).

[3] Dionys. Hal. Lys. sub init. vol. v. p. 453, ed. Reiske; Plutarch, vit. X. Orat. § 8. (Op. ii. p. 835, D.)

[4] See Photius and Hesychius, ad vocc. Ἱπποδάμου νέμησις, and Ἱπποδαμεῖα ἀγορά. For his philosophy, compare Aristotle (Pol. ii. 5) and Stobæus (Florilegium, vol. iii. p. 338, T. 103, 26). Photius calls Hippodamus "a meteorologer."

Polemarchus,[5] the friend of Socrates,[6] are the most famous. The last two were sons of Cephalus, a native of Syracuse, whom Pericles had persuaded to settle at Athens,[7] the gentle old man in whose house Plato has laid the scene of his great dialogue, the Republic. It is not impossible that Protagoras may have been, if not among the first settlers, yet among the early visitants, for some accounts made the Thurians derive their laws from him.[8] Empedocles, too, the philosopher of Agrigentum, is stated by a contemporary writer[9] to have visited Thurium very shortly after its foundation, and it is not unlikely that he made it his abode until his death. Thus the new colony had its fair share of the intellect of Greece, and Herodotus would not be without some kindred spirits to admire and appreciate him.

At Thurium Herodotus would seem to have devoted himself almost entirely to the elaboration of his work. It has been asserted in ancient[1] and strongly argued in modern[2] times, that his history was there first composed and published. But the assertion, as it stands, is absurd;[3] and the arguments adduced in support of it are not such as to command assent. It is proved that there are portions of the work which seem written in southern Italy,[4] and that there are others which could not have been composed till long after the time when Herodotus is said to have settled at Thurium.[5] But those who urge these places as

[5] Plutarch. vit. X. Orat. (l. s. c.); Phot. Bibl. Cod. 262, p. 1463. Dionysius (l. s. c.) makes him accompanied by two of his brothers.

[6] Plat. Rep. book i. § 1., et seqq.

[7] So Lysias himself declares (Orat. c. Eratosth. p. 120, 26).

[8] Heraclid. Pont. ap. Diog. Laert. ix. 50.

[9] Glaucus of Rhegium (Fragm. 6), reported by Apollodorus (Fr. 87). The anonymous life of Thucydides, usually prefixed to his work, speaks of that writer as having been at Thurium—which is called Sybaris—between its foundation and B. C. 422. But this authority is of very little weight. Other celebrities among the early Thurians are Tisias, the Syracusan, the inventor of rhetoric (Phot. Bibl. loc. s. cit.; Cic. de Invent. II. 2, &c.), and Cleandridas, the father of Gylippus (Thucyd. vi. 104; Antioch. Fr. 12).

[1] Plin. H. N. xii. "Urbis nostræ trecentesimo decimo anno ... auctor ille (Herodotus) historiam eam condidit Thuriis in Italiâ."

[2] See Dahlmann's Life of Herodotus, ch. iii. § 2.

[3] Since it makes Herodotus write his whole history *in one year*.

[4] As iv. 15, and 99, and vi. 127. Dahlmann adds iii. 136–8, and v. 44–5; but these passages may just as well have been written in Asia. It is admitted that Herodotus "may have comprehended Italy in the plan of his *early* travels," so that "accurate knowledge" of the localities, supposing that it appeared (which may be questioned), would not prove the passages to have been written *in Italy*.

[5] The following are the only passages of which this can be said with any certainty: iii. 160, ad fin.; v. 77, ad fin.; vii. 114, ad fin.; 133–7, and 233, ad fin.; and ix. 73, ad fin. Dahlmann would add iv. 80, where Sitalces is mentioned as a man already known; v. 93, where Hippias is made to speak of the calamities which the Corinthians would suffer at the hands of Athens; vi. 98, where he thinks the reign of Artaxerxes is spoken of *as past;* vii. 151, where there is a reference to the embassy

conclusive omit to remark, that from their parenthetic character they are exactly such passages as a writer employed for many years in finishing and retouching his composition might conveniently have added to the original text. That this is in every case the appearance they present, a glance at the passages themselves will show.[6] They can always be omitted not only without detriment, but sometimes with manifest advantage to the sense and connexion of the sentences.[7] This fact is a strong indication that they are no part of the original work, but insertions made by the author as points bearing upon his history came to his knowledge. Dahlmann indeed rejects altogether the notion of two editions of Herodotus, because no ancient writer is found expressly to mention them ;[8] but it seems to be the view which best explains all the phenomena.[9] In the book itself, besides the indication already mentioned, which is almost tantamount to a proof, there are various passages which, either singly, or in connexion with those clearly written in Italy, imply the existence of two forms of the work, an earlier and a later one, and from two of these passages we may even gather that the work was *published* in its earlier shape. The enumeration of the Ionian and Æolian cities in the first book is such as would be natural to a man writing at Halicarnassus, but not so to an inhabitant of Italy.[1] The same may be said of the enumeration of the Satrapies.[2] Again, the description of the road between Olympia and Athens,[3] as that which led "from Athens to Pisa,"

of Callias; iii. 15, where Amyrtæus is spoken of as dead; and i. 130, where there is a mention of a Median revolt, which he supposes to be that from Darius Nothus. With regard to the last two passages he is completely mistaken, as will be shown in the notes *ad loc.* The others are doubtful. Sitalces, who gradually built up a great power (Diod. Sic. xii. 50), may have been well known to the Greeks long before the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war. Corinth had suffered considerably at the hands of Athens by B. C. 457 (see Thucyd. i. 105–6). In vi. 98, it is not necessarily implied that the reign of Artaxerxes is past. And the embassy of Callias was not in B. C. 431, but in B. C. 449. (See note *ad loc.*)

[6] In iii. 160, the parenthetic portion is from *Ζωπύρου δὲ τούτου* to the end. In v. 77, from *ὅσους δὲ καὶ τούτων* to the end of the inscription. In vii. 114, from *Περσικὸν* to *κατορύσσουσαν*. In vii. 133–7, from *ὅ τι δὲ τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι* to *ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον*. In vii. 233, from *τοῦ τὸν παῖδα* to the end. And in ix. 73, from *οὕτω ὥστε* to *ἀποσχέσθαι*.

[7] This is most striking in the last-mentioned passage, where the *nexus* is peculiarly awkward.

[8] Life of Herodotus, page 34, E. T.

[9] It is allowed to some extent by Col. Mure. (Lit. of Greece, vol. iv. p. 258.)

[1] Herodotus not only takes the Ionian cities in regular order from south to north (i. 142), but proceeds from them to the southern Æolians (ch. 149), and from them to the Æolians of the Troas (ch. 151). Looking at Asia Minor from the west, a Greek, accustomed to coasting voyages, would have followed the reverse order.

[2] Cf. iii. 90. Herodotus begins with the satrapy which contained Ionia and Caria; a European Greek would have commenced with the Hellespont.

ii. 7.

and not "from Pisa to Athens," is indicative of one who dwells east and not west of Greece. Moreover, the declaration in the fourth book—"additions are what my work always from the very first affected"[4]—is only intelligible on the hypothesis above adopted. And, finally, we have in two passages a plain proof, not only of two periods and places of composition, but likewise of a double publication. In describing the first expedition o. Mardonius against Greece, Herodotus turns aside from his narrative to remark that at this point he "has a marvel to relate, which will greatly surprise those Greeks who cannot believe that Otanes advised the seven conspirators to make Persia a commonwealth;"[5] whereby he shows, that on the first publication of his work, the account given in the third book of a debate among the conspirators as to the proper form of government to establish in Persia, had provoked criticism, and that many had rejected it as incredible. He therefore seeks to remove their scruples by noticing a fact, which in his first edition he had probably omitted, as not very important, and quite unconnected with his main subject in the place—(which is the warlike expedition of Mardonius) —namely, that Mardonius at this time put down the Greek despots. He also in the third book, on beginning his narrative of the debate, makes a reference to the same objectors, which he does in a few words, inserted probably in lieu of what he had at first written.[6] Such is the evidence of the book itself, and we may add to it the fact, that while some writers spoke confidently of the work as composed in Italy,[7] others as distinctly asserted that it was written in Asia;[8] and, further, a fact to be hereafter noticed,[9] that there were from very early times[1] two readings of a most important passage in the book—namely, its opening sentence, which is best explained by supposing that both proceeded equally from the pen of the author.

It is not unlikely that, besides retouching his narrative from time to time, and interweaving into it such subsequent events as seemed in any way to illustrate its course or tenor, Herodo-

[4] Ch. 30. Προσθῆκαι has been generally translated "digressions," or "episodes." But its most proper sense is "additions, supplements." It *may* even have this meaning in Arist. Rhet. i. 1, § 3; a passage which has been considered to justify the other rendering. (See Liddell and Scott's Lexicon, ad voc. *προσθήκη*.)

[5] Herod. vi. 43.

[6] Ib. iii. 80. In the first edition I should conjecture that the words ran: *καὶ ἐλέχθησαν λόγοι τοιοίδε. Ὀτάνης μὲν ἐκέλευε, κ.τ.λ.*

[7] Pliny, l. s. c. [8] Suidas ad voc. Ἡρόδοτος. Lucian. Herod. vol. iv. p. 116.

[9] See note to book i. ch. 1.

[1] At least as early as the reign of Trajan. See Plutarch. de Exil. (p. 604, F.): *τὸ δὲ Ἡροδότου Ἁλικαρνασσέως ἱστορίης ἀπόδειξις ἥδε, πολλοὶ μεταγράφουσιν, Ἡροδότου Θουρίου.*

tus may have composed at Thurium some considerable portions of his work; for instance, the second and fourth books, or the greater part of them.[2] He may likewise have considerably enlarged the other books, by the addition of those long parentheses which are for ever occurring, whereby the general line of the relation is broken in upon, not always in a manner that is quite agreeable. It is needless to point out passages of this kind which every reader's memory will without difficulty supply; they form in general from one-fourth to one-third of each book, and added to the second and fourth books would amount to not much less than one-half of the history.

At the same time he no doubt composed that separate work the existence of which it has been the fashion of late years to deny[3]—his "History of Assyria." The grounds for believing that this book was written and published will be given in a note on the text,[4] and need not be anticipated here. That it was a treatise of some considerable size and pretension is probable from the very fact that it was detached from his main history, and published separately.[5] It must, one would think, at least have exceeded in bulk the account of Egypt, which occupies the whole of the second book, or it would naturally have formed an episode to the main narrative, in the place where we instinctively look for it,[6] and where its omission causes a want of harmony

[2] The whole of the second book, with the exception of the first chapter, may have been composed at this time, the opening of the third book being remodelled after the second was written. In the fourth book, the account of the expedition of Darius (chs. 1–4; 83–144) may have been original, and the rest added at Thurium.

[3] See Dahlmann's Life of Herodotus, pp. 166–8, E. T.; Bähr. not. ad Herod. i. 106; Mure, Lit. of Greece, vol. iv. p. 270.

[4] See note to book i. ch. 106.

[5] It has been questioned whether the 'Assyrian History' was ever intended for a separate work, and suggested that it may have been meant only for one of the larger episodes in which our author was wont to indulge. (See Dahlmann, p. 168; Bähr, l. s. c.; Mure, p. 271.) But if so, where was it to have come in? Bähr (following Jäger, Disp. Herod. p. 229) suggests for its place the end of the third book, where the revolt and reduction of Babylon are related. But this is contrary to the analogy of all the other lengthy episodes, and to the pervading idea of the work. The right by which such episodes come in at all, is their connexion with the increasing greatness of the Persian empire; and they therefore occur at the point where the Persian empire first absorbs or attempts to absorb each country. (See i. 95, 142, 171, 178; ii. 2; iii. 20; iv. 5; v. 3.) In the only two places where the 'Assyrian History' could properly have come into the extant work of Herodotus—the absorption of Assyria by Media, and of Babylonia by Persia—the reader is referred to the 'Assyrian History' for information. To me this is conclusive evidence that it was always intended to have been (as indeed I believe that in fact it was) a separate work.

[6] The natural place, according to the notions of Assyrian history entertained by our author, would have been book i. ch. 184, where he is forced to speak of certain persons who doubtless figured in it conspicuously. He did not make any distinction between Assyrian and Babylonian history.

in the general plan of the History. And it may have been very considerably longer than the Egyptian section. With these literary labours in hand, it is no wonder if Herodotus, having reached the period of middle life when the fatigues of travel begin to be more sensibly felt, and being moreover entangled in somewhat difficult domestic politics, laid aside his wandering habits, and was contented to remain at Thurium without even exploring to any great extent the countries to which his new position gave him free access.[7] There is no trace of his having journeyed further during these years than the neighbouring towns of Metapontum and Crotona, except in a single instance. He must have paid a visit to Athens at least as late as B. C. 436, and probably some years later; for he saw the magnificent Propylæa,[8] one of the greatest of the constructions of Pericles, which was not commenced till B. C. 436, nor finished till five years afterwards.[9] Perhaps this visit was delayed till after the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war, and it may have been by its means that Herodotus became so intimately acquainted with *little* events belonging to the first and second years of the war,[1] of which it is unlikely that more than vague rumours would have reached him at Thurium.

The state of Thurium, while it was the abode of Herodotus, appears to have been one of perpetual trouble and disquiet. The first years after the foundation of the colony were spent, as has been already shown,[2] in a bloody feud between the new comers and the ancient inhabitants—the Sybarites. Soon afterwards a war broke out between the Thurians and the people of Tarentum, which was carried on both by land and sea, with varied success, and which probably continued during a space of several years.[3] A little later, as the Peloponnesian struggle

[7] Supra, p. 10. [8] Herod. v. 77.

[9] Harpocrat. ad voc. Προπύλαια ταῦτα. Philoch. Fr. 98.

[1] As, 1. the attack upon Thebes (vii. 233), where he knows the number of the assailants, the important part taken by Eurymachus, and his fate (compare Thucyd. ii. 2, and 5, ad fin.); 2. the betrayal of the Peloponnesian ambassadors to the Athenians by Sitalces (vii. 137), where he has the names of three, the place where they were seized, and the fact of their being brought to Athens for punishment: with an allusion also to the cause of the exasperation of the Athenians against them (ὃς εἷλε ἁλιέας τοὺς ἐκ Τίρυνθος; comp. Thucyd. ii. 67, ad fin.); and, 3. the sparing of Decelea, when the country between Brilessus and Parnes was ravaged by Archidamus (ix. 73; the fact is quite compatible with the statements of Thucydides, ii. 23, though not mentioned by him). I should incline also to assign the flight of Zopyrus (iii. 130, ad fin.) to the same period (B. C. 431 or 430). *No little events are related of a later date.*

[2] Page 19.

[3] Diod. Sic. xii. 23. The description, although placed under one year, seems applicable to a longer period. (διαπολεμοῦντες — ἐπόρθουν — πολλὰς μάχας καὶ ἀκροβολισμούς.) Compare Antioch. Fr. 12.

approached, an internal dispute seems to have arisen among the citizens themselves as to the side which they should espouse in the approaching contest.[4] The true controversy was thinly veiled under the show of a doubt about the person and state entitled to be regarded as the real founders of the city. From the first the Peloponnesian element in the population had been considerable, and now this section of the inhabitants put forward pretensions to the first place in the colony. The horrors of civil war were for the present avoided by an appeal to the common oracle of both races, which skilfully eluded the difficulty, and staved off the threatened crisis, by declaring that Apollo himself, and none other, was to be accounted the founder. But the struggle of parties, in however subdued a form, must have continued, and we find marked traces of it about the period of the Sicilian expedition, when Thurium first wavers between the two belligerents,[5] then joins Athens, banishing those who oppose the measure,[6] and finally, after the Athenian disasters, expells three hundred of its citizens for the crime of *Atticism*, and becomes an ally of the opposite side.[7]

It is uncertain whether Herodotus lived to see all these vicissitudes. The place and time of his death are matters of controversy. Some writers of great eminence have thought it plain from his work that he must not only have been alive, but have been still engaged in its composition, at least as late as his seventy-seventh year.[8] And one tradition prolongs his life to the year B. C. 394,[9] when his age would have been ninety. Of the place of his death three accounts are given; according to one he died at Pella in Macedonia;[1] according to another, at Athens;[2] while a third placed his decease at Thurium.[3] When the evidence is so conflicting, it is impossible that the conclusions drawn from it can be more than conjectural. There seems, however, to be great reason to doubt whether Herodotus really enjoyed the length of life which has been commonly assigned to him. There is no passage in his writings of which we can say

[4] Diod. Sic. xii. 35. [5] Thucyd. vi. 104.
[6] Ibid. vii. 33. [7] Dionys. Hal. Lys. iv. p. 453.
[8] See Dahlmann's Life of Herodotus, ch. iii. § 1, ad fin.; Mure's Literature of Greece, vol. iv. App. G.; and Dr. Schmitz's article in Smith's Biographical Dictionary, vol. ii. p. 432
[9] Suidas (ad voc. Ἑλλάνικος) makes Herodotus visit the court of Amyntas II., king of Macedon, who only mounted the throne in B. C. 394. (See Clinton, F. H. vol. ii. App. ch. 4.)
[1] Suidas (ad voc. Ἡρόδοτος) reports this tradition, but expresses his disbelief of it.
[2] Marcellin. in vit. Thucyd. p. ix.
[3] This was the view of Suidas, who says: Εἰς τὸ Θούριον, ἀποικιζόμενον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, ἐθελοντὴς ἦλθε, κἀκεῖ τελευτήσας ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τέθαπται.

that it must certainly have been written later than B. C. 430.[4] There are a few which may have been composed about B. C. 425 or 424,[5] but none which, rightly understood, give the slightest indication of any later date.[6] The work of Herodotus, therefore, contains no sign that he outlived his sixtieth year, and perhaps it may be said that the balance of evidence is in favour of his having died at Thurium when he was about sixty.[7] His tomb was shown in the market-place of that city, and there probably was the epitaph quoted by ancient writers. The story of his having been buried with Thucydides at Athens is absurd upon its face. It might suit the romance writers to give the two great historians a single tomb, but nothing can be more unlikely than such a happy conjunction. Thucydides, moreover, was buried in the family burial-place of the Cimonidæ, where, "it was not lawful to inter a stranger."[8] How then should Herodotus have rested within its precincts? unless it be said that he too was of the Cimonian family, which no ancient writer asserts. The legend of his death at Pella belongs to the very improbable tale of his having enjoyed, in company with Hellanicus and Euripides,[9] the hospitality of Amyntas II. king of Macedon, who ascended the throne B. C. 394, when Herodotus would have been ninety! On the whole it seems most probable that the historian died at

[4] It cannot be proved that any event recorded by Herodotus is more recent than the betrayal of the Spartan and Corinthian ambassadors into the hands of the Athenians (Herod. vii. 133–7), which took place in the autumn of B. C. 430. (Thucyd. ii. 67.)

[5] As the cruel deed committed by Amestris *in her old age* (vii. 114), which, however, cannot be determined within a space of 10 or 15 years; the desertion of Zopyrus to the Athenians (iii. 160, ad fin.), which was *towards* the close of the reign of Artaxerxes (Ctes. Exc. § 43); and the *apparent* mention of that reign as past (vi. 98), which would be decisive, if it distinctly asserted what it is supposed to imply.

[6] The passages alleged by Dahlmann (i. 130; iii. 15; and ix. 73) are explained in the notes *ad loc.*

[7] The negative evidence derived from the absence from his great work of touches clearly marking a later date, is an argument of great importance, when it is observed how frequent and continuous such touches are up to a particular period. The complete silence with regard to the Sicilian expedition, which, if it had passed before his eyes, must have appeared to him the most important event of his time, seems to show that at least he did not outlive B. C. 415. Had he witnessed the struggle, he would almost certainly have made some allusion to it. Had he seen its close, he could not have made the assertion in book vii. ch. 170, that a certain slaughter of Tarentines and Rhegines was the greatest which ever befell the Greeks. Had he been still living when Thurium joined the Peloponnesian side in B. C. 412, he would have been banished with Lysias, and would then probably never have been known as "the Thurian."

[8] Marcellinus proves the family connexion of Thucydides with the Cimonidæ by the fact of his tomb being among the μνήματα Κιμώνια (Vit. Thucyd. p. ix.)·—ξένος γὰρ οὐδεὶς, he says, ἐκεῖ θάπτεται.

[9] Suidas ad voc. Ἑλλάνικος.

Thurium (shortly after his return from a visit paid to Athens in about the year B.C. 430 or 429), at an age little, if at all, exceeding sixty.[1] He would thus have escaped the troubles which afflicted his adopted country during the later portion of the Peloponnesian war, and have been spared the pain of seeing the state of which he was a citizen enrol herself among the enemies of his loved and admired Athens.

No author tells us anything of the domestic life of Herodotus. If we may be allowed to form a conjecture from this silence, it seems fair to suppose that he was unmarried. His estimate of the female character is not high,[2] and his roving propensities in his earlier days would have interposed a bar to matrimony at the time of life when men commonly enter on it. That he died childless seems to be indicated by the position in which he is made to stand to a certain Plesirrhoüs, who is said to have inherited all his property, and to have brought out his work after his death.[3] These statements rest, it must be admitted, on authority of the least trustworthy kind, but it seems rash to reject them as worthless. They have no internal improbability, and it is in their favour that they are not such as it would have been worth any man's while to invent.

The great work of Herodotus, to which he had devoted so many years, was not perhaps regarded by him as altogether complete at his decease. He was continually adding touches to it, as events came to his knowledge which seemed to him in any way to illustrate or confirm his narrative. In one place, itself perhaps among the latest additions to the history,[4] he promises to relate an occurrence, for which we look in vain through the remaining pages. This may be a mere inadvertence, parallel to that which has permitted the repetition of a foolish tale about the priestesses of Pedasa, with a variation in the story which reads like a con-

[1] It has been argued that the general tone and character of our author's work prove him to have composed it in old age (Dahlmann, p. 37, E. T.; Jäger, Disp. Herod. p. 16; Bähr. de Vit. et Script. Herod. § 4); but Col. Mure judiciously remarks that the peculiarities insisted on may "with better reason be regarded as reflecting the mind of the man than the time of life at which he wrote. The author of a narrative treating at similar length, and in equally popular vein, the more interesting vicissitudes of a national history, will usually be found," he observes, "where the notices of his life are scanty or fabulous, taking his place in the traditions of his country, and in the fancy of his readers, as an aged man." (Literature of Greece, vol. iv. p. 517.)

[2] Compare i. 4 and 8; ii. 111, &c.

[3] These particulars are reported by Hephæstion (ap. Phot. Bibliothec. Cod. 190, p. 478), a late writer of small authority, who moreover throws discredit on his own anecdotes by allowing them to contradict one another. The same Plesirrhoüs, who in two of his tales is made to be our author's heir, in another is said to have committed suicide while Herodotus was still engaged upon his work. (Ibid. p. 483.)

[4] Book vii. ch. 213.

tradition.[5] But it has generally been regarded as a trace of incompleteness, which is not unlikely to be the true account, the author having designed to introduce the sequel of the narrative at a later point in his history, but having died before proceeding so far. If his decease occurred when he was about sixty, this would be far more probable than if we were bound to accept the common notion of his longevity. Dahlmann's supposition[6] that Herodotus, writing at the age of seventy-seven, was still contemplating not only small improvements, but a lengthy digression on a most important subject, if not an entirely new work, is as unlikely as any thing that can well be imagined on such a subject. If the History of Herodotus strikes us as wanting finish, both in some points of detail and in the awkwardness and abruptness of its close, we may fairly ascribe the defect to the untimely death of the writer, who was probably not older than sixty, and perhaps not more than fifty-five at his decease. Had his life been lengthened to the term ordinarily allotted to man, the little blemishes which modern criticism discerns might have been removed, and the work have shown throughout the finished grace which the master's hand is wont to impart when it consciously gives the last touches.

[5] See i. 175, and viii. 104. The miracle, which in the first passage is said to have occurred three times, in the last is mentioned as having only been witnessed twice.

[6] Life of Herodotus, ch. ix. § 2. Col. Mure adopts the same view. (Lit. of Greece, vol. iv. p. 270–1.)

CHAPTER II.

ON THE SOURCES FROM WHICH HERODOTUS COMPILED HIS HISTORY.

Importance of the question. Historical materials already existing in Greece. Works of three kinds: 1. Mythological; 2. Geographical; 3. Strictly historical. How far used as materials by Herodotus. Xanthus. Charon. Dionysius. The geographers: Hecatæus, Scylax, Aristeas. The poets. Chief source of the History of Herodotus, personal observation and inquiry. How far authenticated by monumental records: 1. In Greece; 2. In foreign countries—Egypt, Babylon, Persia. General result.

IN order to estimate aright, either the historical value of the great work of our author, or the credit that is due to him for its composition, it is necessary to make some inquiry as to the materials which he possessed and the sources from which he drew his narrative. "The value of every history, as a work of utility, must primarily depend on the copiousness and authenticity of the materials at the author's disposal."[1] And the merit of the author as a historian must be judged from the sagacity which he shows in the comparative estimate of the various sources of his information, and the use which he makes of the stock of materials, be it scanty or abundant, to which circumstances give him access. To judge, then, either of the writer or his work, we must inquire what the sources of information were from which Herodotus had it in his power to draw, and to what extent he availed himself of them.

Now it seems certain that a considerable store of written historical information already existed in the native language of Herodotus at the time when he commenced his history. Historical composition had not, indeed, begun at a very distant date; but from the middle of the sixth century B. C., there had been a rapid succession of writers in this department, more especially among the fellow-countrymen of our author in Asiatic Greece. Setting aside Cadmus of Miletus as a personage whose existence is at least doubtful,[2] there may certainly be enumerated as labourers in the historical field during this and the first

[1] See Mure's Literature of Greece, vol. iv. pp. 294–5.

[2] The arguments against Cadmus are well condensed by Müller in his second volume of the Fragmenta Hist. Græc. pp. 3–4.

half of the ensuing century, Eugæon of Samos, Bion and Deïochus of Proconnesus, Eudemus of Paros, Amelesagoras of Chalcedon, Democles of Phygela, Hecatæus and Dionysius of Miletus, Charon of Lampsacus, Damastes of Sigeum, Xanthus of Sardis, and Pherecydes of Leros—all natives of Asia Minor, or the islands in its immediate vicinity, and the authors of books on historical subjects before or about the time when Herodotus read the first draft of his work at Athens. Besides these writers there were others of considerable reputation in more distant parts of Greece, as Acusilaüs of Argos, Theagenes and Hippys of Rhegium, Polyzêlus of Messenia,[3] &c., whose productions belong to the same period. The works of these historians, so far as can be gathered from the notices of ancient authors,[4] and the fragments we possess of many of them,[5] are divisible into three classes, of very different importance and authority. The earlier writers, who are fairly represented by Acusilaüs, seem to have devoted themselves exclusively to the ancient Greek legends, belonging to the mythical period before the return of the Heracleids. They wrote works which they called generally "Genealogies" or "Theogonies,"[6] imitated closely from the old genealogical poets, such as Hesiod, whose poem entitled "Theogonia" is said to have been the model followed by some of them.[7] No complete production of the kind by a writer of this early age has come down to us; but the Bibliotheca of the grammarian Apollodorus[8] is perhaps a tolerable representation of their usual character.

The next subject which engaged the attention of the prose writers, and on which works were composed by some of the authors above-mentioned, was geography. At all times an important element in historical research, this study, in the earlier period of Greek literature, was scarcely distinguished from that

[3] For a detailed account of these writers and their productions, see Müller's Fr. H. G. vols. i. and ii. Comp. Clinton's Fasti Hellenici, vol. ii. Appendix, ch. 21, and Mure, vol. iv. ch. 3. Matthiæ's Manual of the History of Greek and Roman Literature, though scanty, is useful.

[4] Particularly from Suidas.

[5] Sturz and Creuzer were the first to begin the collection of these valuable remains of antiquity, which has at last been accomplished, so as to leave nothing to desire, by C. Müller, in the work already so often quoted.

[6] As the works of Acusilaüs and Hecatæus, entitled Γενεαλογίαι (Suid. ad voc. Acusilaüs, Steph. Byz., &c.), and that of Pherecydes, which was called Θεογονία (Suid.).

[7] Clement says of Acusilaüs and Eumelus (Eudemus?)—*τὰ Ἡσιόδου μετήλλαξαν εἰς πεζὸν λόγον* (Strom. vi. p. 752–6). The fragments of Acusilaüs show the statement to be true.

[8] Printed in the first volume of Müller's Fragm. H. Gr., and edited in a separate form by Tanaquil Faber (Saumur, 1611), Heyne (Göttingen, 1782), and Clavier (Paris, 1805).

nobler science of which it is properly the handmaid. Scylax of Caryanda,[9] Hecatæus,[1] Dionysius, according to one account,[2] Charon,[3] Damastes,[4] and perhaps Democles,[5] wrote treatises on general or special geography, into which they interwove occasional notices belonging to the history of the country whose features they were engaged in describing. These labours led the way to history proper. Dionysius of Miletus, a contemporary and countryman of Hecatæus,[6] seems to have set the example by the composition of a work entitled 'Persica,' or Persian History, which probably traced the progress of that nation from the time of Cyrus to a period which cannot be fixed in the reign of Xerxes.[7] This work would seem to have been written in the early part of the fifth century B. C.[8] The example thus set was soon followed by others. Charon of Lampsacus, and Xanthus of Sardis, towards the middle of the century, composed treatises partly on the special history of their own countries, partly on more general subjects. Charon, in his "Hellenica" and "Persica," went over most of the ground which is traversed by Herodotus,[9] while in his "Prytanes," or "Chief Rulers of Sparta,"

[9] The work which has come down to us under the name of this writer is undoubtedly spurious, but still it is a sign that a genuine work had once existed. There is further evidence in the passages quoted by Aristotle (Polit. vii. 13) and others, which do not occur in the fictitious Scylax.

[1] The great work of Hecatæus was entitled 'The Circuit of the Earth' (γῆς περίοδος). It contained a description of the known world, which he divided into two parts, Europe and Asia, including in the latter Africa. The coasts of the Mediterranean were described in detail, but only scanty knowledge was shown of the more inland tracts. For a complete account see Klausen's Fragments of Hecatæus, and Mure's Literature of Greece, vol. iv. pp. 144–158.

[2] Suidas (ad voc. Διονύσιος Μιλήσιος) ascribes to him a work entitled 'Περιήγησις οἰκουμένης,' or a Description of the Inhabited World; but it is doubted whether the book intended is not that of the Augustan geographer commonly known as Dionysius Periegetes (Bernhardy ad Dion. Per. p. 489; Müller ad Fragm. H. G. vol. ii. p. 6).

[3] Charon wrote a Periplus of the parts lying beyond the pillars of Hercules (Suidas).

[4] Damastes is quoted by Strabo on the geography of the Troas, and of Cyprus (xiii. p. 842, and xiv. p. 973). Agathemer says (i. 1) that he wrote a Periplus. His geography was followed to a considerable extent by Eratosthenes (Strab. i. p. 68).

[5] Democles treated of the "Volcanic phenomena in Asia Minor" (Strab. i. p. 85), probably in a geographical work.

[6] Suidas ad voc. Ἑκαταῖος.

[7] Since he is said to have written a work 'On events *subsequent to* the reign of Darius' (Suidas).

[8] Suidas says that Dionysius flourished contemporaneously with Hecatæus. It is not likely, therefore, that he outlived Darius many years. Hecatæus seems to have died soon after B.C. 480.(Suidas ad voc. Ἑλλάνικος).

[9] Charon related the dream of Astyages with regard to his daughter Mandané; the revolt and flight of Pactyas the Lydian, first to Mytilênê, and then to Chios, with his final capture by the Persians; the aid lent by Athens to the revolted Ionians, the sack of Sardis except the citadel, and the retreat following closely upon it; also the disasters which Mardonius experienced about Mount Athos. He likewise noticed the flight of Themistocles to Asia, which he placed in the reign of

he laid perhaps the first foundation among the Greeks of a practical system of chronology.[1] He was likewise the author of a work or works[2] on the annals of his native city, Lampsacus, of which several fragments have come down to us. Xanthus treated at length of the history of Lydia, not only during the recent dynasty of the Mermnadæ,[3] but also during the remoter times of the Heraclidæ, and even of the Atyadæ. He indulged in ethnological, linguistic, and geological dissertations;[4] and must have written a history, in the general character of its matter not very unlike that of our author. A book upon the Magian priest caste is also assigned to him; but it is so seldom quoted[5] that some doubt may be considered to attach to it. About the same time probably, Hippys of Rhegium composed an account of the colonisation of Italy and Sicily, and also a chronological work, the exact nature of which cannot be determined.[6] It is likely that besides these authors there may have been many others, who, under the general name of Logographers or legend-writers, devoted themselves to historical subjects, and especially to that which could not fail to exercise a particular attraction, the history of the war with Persia.[7]

This brief review is perhaps enough to indicate the general character of the materials which existed in the historical literature of his country at the time when Herodotus may be presumed to have written.[8] It is, however, quite a distinct question

Artaxerxes. Thus his narrative would seem to have come down to a later date than that of Herodotus.

[1] Suidas, who alone mentions this work, notices that it was chronological.

[2] Suidas mentions two books of Charon's on this subject, and the extracts from his writings concerning Lampsacus, which have come down to us, furnish three distinct titles, but it may be doubted whether all the references are not really to a single treatise. (See Müller's Frag. H. Gr. vol. i. pp. xix.–xx.)

[3] Col. Mure doubts whether Xanthus treated of this period, because "not one of the successors of Gyges is noticed in his Fragments" (Lit. of Greece, vol. iv. p. 173), but it has with much reason been conjectured (Müller, vol. i. p. 40) that the work of Xanthus furnished Nicholas of Damascus with his materials for the history of the kings in question.

[4] See his Fragments, Frs. 1, 3, 4, and 8.

[5] Twice only, by Diogenes Laertius (Proem. § 2), and by Clemens Alexandrinus (Strom. iii. p. 515). The former passage has been doubted (Müller, p. 44), but without sufficient reason.

[6] Suidas merely calls this work Χρονικά. The few fragments which remain of it seem to show that its compass was great and its affectation of accuracy remarkable (see Fragments 1, 2, 3, and 5). The conjecture that the other works ascribed to Hippys were portions of his Χρονικὰ (which Col. Mure approves, p. 178), is not borne out by the citations. (See Müller's Fr. H. G. vol. ii. pp. 13–15.)

[7] That several of the early writers had treated this subject is plain from Thucydides (i. 97).

[8] Hellanicus of Lesbos, Stesimbrotus of Thasos, and Antiochus of Syracuse, who are enumerated by Col. Mure among the authors "whose works were, or may have been, published before that of Herodotus," have been purposely omitted from the

how far they may be regarded as materials really at our author's disposal. Moderns, accustomed to the ready multiplication of books which the art of printing has introduced, and living in times when every writer who makes any pretence to learning is the owner of a library, are apt to imagine that the facilities of reference common in their own day, were enjoyed equally by the ancients; but such a view is altogether mistaken. Books, till long after the time of Herodotus, were multiplied with difficulty, and were published more by being read to audiences than by the tedious and costly process of copying. Herodotus, it is probable, possessed but few of those cumbrous collections of papyrus-rolls which were required in his day to contain a work of even moderate dimensions.[9] The only prose writer from whom he quotes is Hecatæus, and we have no direct evidence that he had it in his power to consult the works of any other Greek historian. No public libraries are known to have existed at the time,[1] and had he possessed a familiar knowledge of other authors, it is difficult to suppose that his book would not have borne evident traces of it. It is not his practice purposely to withhold names, or to avoid reference to his authorities; on the contrary he continually lets us see in the most artless manner whence his relations are derived, and nothing is more clear than that he drew them in the main, not from the books of writers, but from the lips of those whom he thought to have the best information. It is possible that he was wholly unacquainted with the compositions of those previous authors, who had treated of subjects of real history coming within the scope of his work. The fame of such persons was often local, and the very knowledge of

foregoing review as writers of too late a date to come properly within it. Hellanicus was indeed, if we may trust Pamphila, some years older than our author, but he must be regarded as *a later writer;* since, 1. in his great work (the Atthis) he alluded to the battle of Arginusæ, which was fought in B. C. 406, nearly 20 years after the time when Herodotus seems to have died; and, 2. it is related of him that he read (Schol. ad Soph. Phil. 201) and copied Herodotus (Porphyr. ap. Euseb. Pr. Ev. x. p. 466 B). Stesimbrotus was as nearly as possible contemporary with our author, but his only historical work, the 'Memoirs of Themistocles, Thucydides, and Pericles,' could not have been written before B. C. 430 (cf. Frag. Hist. Gr. vol. ii. p. 56. Fr. 11), and probably appeared several years later. Antiochus was also a contemporary, but as he continued his Italian history down to the year B.C. 423, Herodotus can scarcely have profited by him.

[9] Books consisted of a number of sheets of papyrus (a coarse material) pasted together, with writing on one side only, rolled round a thickish staff. So small a work as the Metamorphoses of Ovid required fifteen such cumbrous rolls (Ov. Trist. i. 117).

[1] Polycrates had formed a public library at Samos (Athenæus, I. i. p. 9, Schw.), and Pisistratus at Athens (ibid.): but the latter had certainly been carried to Susa by Xerxes (Aul. Gell. vi. 17), and it is very unlikely that the former had escaped the general ruin consequent upon the treachery of Mæandrius (Herod. iii. 146–9).

their writings may in early times have been confined within narrow limits. It was the doing of a later age—an age of book-collectors and antiquaries—to draw forth these authors from their obscurity, and invest them with an importance to which they had little claim, except as unread and ancient.

The authors from whom, if from any, Herodotus might have been expected to draw, are three of those most recently mentioned—Dionysius of Miletus, Charon of Lampsacus, and Xanthus Lydus. All were, so to speak, his neighbours; and while the former two wrote at length upon Persian affairs, the last mentioned composed an elaborate treatise on the history of his native country,—one of the subjects which Herodotus regarded as coming distinctly within the scope of his great work. It is hardly possible that he would have neglected these books, especially the last, had they been known to him. Yet, from a comparison of the fragments, which are tolerably extensive, both of Charon and of Xanthus with the work of our author, it becomes apparent that, whether he knew the history of these writers or no, at any rate he made no use of them. His Lydian history shows not the slightest trace of any acquaintance with the labours of Xanthus, whom he not merely ignores,[2] but from whom he differs in some of the most important points of his narrative, as the colonisation of Etruria,[3] and the circumstances under which the Mermnadæ became possessed of the throne.[4] His custom of mentioning different versions of a story when he is aware of them, makes it almost certain that he did not know the tale which in the Lydian author took the place of his own story of Tyrsênus, or the long narrative, probably from the same source,[5] which traced the hereditary feuds of the Heraclide and Mermnade families. Again, his remark that the land of Lydia has few natural phenomena deserving notice,[6] is indicative of an ignorance of those interesting accounts—so entirely accordant with truth and fact[7]—which the native writer

[2] Dahlmann has remarked (Life of Herod. p. 91) that the mere omission of all mention on the part of Herodotus of the Lydian kings Alcimus, Ascalus, Cambles, &c., whom Xanthus celebrated, is not conclusive; since "one sees from his occasional observations that he knew more than his connected narrative implies." Still it is, at least, a suspicious circumstance.

[3] See Xanthus, Fr. 1.

[4] The certainty of this depends on the extent to which it may be regarded as ascertained that Xanthus furnished Nicholas of Damascus with the materials of his Lydian history. I agree with C. Müller, that little doubt can reasonably be entertained on the subject. (Frag. Hist. Gr. vol. i. p. 40, and vol. iii. p. 370; note to Fr. 22.)

[5] Nic. Damasc. Fr. 49.

[6] Book i. ch. 93.

[7] See Mr. Hamilton's Travels in Asia Minor (vol. i. pp. 136–144), where the striking features of this curious volcanic tract are fully and graphically portrayed.

had given of certain most peculiar physical appearances in the interior of Lydia.[8] Herodotus, whom geological phenomena always interest,[9] would certainly not have omitted, had his knowledge extended so far, a description of that extraordinary region, the Catakecaumené, which even to the modern traveller, with his far more extensive knowledge of the earth's surface, appears so remarkable. It seems, therefore, to be beyond a doubt that Ephorus was mistaken when he talked of Xanthus as "having served as a starting-point to Herodotus."[1] He was an older man, having been born B. C. 499,[2] and probably an earlier writer (though, as he mentioned an event in the reign of Artaxerxes,[3] he could not have been greatly earlier); but Herodotus had not seen, perhaps had not heard, of his compositions. Apparently, they were first brought to the knowledge of the Greeks by Ephorus, a native of the neighbouring Cymé, who flourished during the reign of Philip of Macedon. It is not even certain that they were written at the time when Herodotus first composed his history.[4]

Modern critics have rarely[5] failed to see our author's entire independence of the works of Xanthus; but it has sometimes been argued that there are unmistakeable traces of his having known and used the writings of Charon.[6] Undoubtedly he mentions a variety of matters, some of them matters that may be called trivial, which were likewise reported by Charon; but as the two writers went over exactly the same ground, they could not but have many points of contact, and therefore, probably, of coincidence. The question is, whether the points are really so trivial and the coincidences at once so numerous and so exact and minute, as to indicate the use by one writer of the other, or to imply naturally anything more than mere common truthfulness. Now the points of coincidence do not really exceed four. Charon and Herodotus alike related,—1. A certain dream of Astyages, concerning his daughter Mandané: 2. The revolt of Pactyas, and

[8] Fragments 3 and 4. [9] See ii. 10–12; iv. 23 and 191; vii. 129.

[1] Fragment 102. Ἡροδότῳ τὰς ἀφορμὰς δεδωκότος.

[2] Suidas ad voc. Ξάνθος.

[3] Fragment 3. Artaxerxes did not ascend the throne till B. C. 464, when Herodotus was twenty years of age.

[4] If Herodotus wrote the first draft of his work in Asia Minor, about B. C. 450, he would have composed it at the time when Xanthus was only fifty-one, so that it is quite possible the Lydian history of that author may have been published afterwards. Dionysius spoke of Xanthus as only a little earlier than *Thucydides*. (Jud. de Thuc. p. 818.)

[5] Creuzer is, I believe, the only modern critic who has maintained that Herodotus made use of Xanthus. (Creuz. ad Xanth. Fragm.) His arguments are well refuted by Dahlmann (Life of Herod. p. 91, E. T.).

[6] See Col. Mure's Literature of Greece, vol. iv. pp. 305–7.

his capture: 3. The taking of Sardis by the Ionians: and 4. The destruction of the fleet of Mardonius off Mount Athos. Of these four events, one only—the dream of Astyages—is really trivial; the others are such as every writer who gave an account of the struggle between Greece and Persia, would have felt himself called upon to mention, and of which, therefore, both Charon and Herodotus must necessarily have given a description. With regard to the dream, we do not know in what words Charon related it, or whether his relation really coincided closely with the account given by Herodotus. Tertullian, who alone reports the agreement, speaks of it in general terms;[7] and if it should be admitted that he means a close agreement, still it must be remembered that Tertullian, as a historical authority, is weak and of little credit. With regard to the other cases of agreement, it is certain that they were not either minute or exact. The Pseudo-Plutarch, indeed, overstates the difference between the writers when he represents Charon as in two of the passages contradicting Herodotus.[8] There is in neither case any real contradiction,[9] though the two writers certainly leave a different impression; but what deserves particularly to be remarked is, that Herodotus on each occasion furnishes a number of additional details; so that although the narrative of Charon might (conceivably) have been drawn from his, it is impossible that his narrative should have been taken from that of Charon. With regard to the remaining passage, there is still further indication of disagreement. Charon must have made pigeons occupy a prominent place in his description of the destruction of the Persian armament, for his account of it led him to remark that "then first did white pigeons appear in Greece, which had been quite unknown previously."[1] It is needless to observe that in the narrative of Herodotus there is nothing upon which such a remark could hang. The circumstance, whatever it was, which led Charon to introduce such a notice, would seem to have been unknown to our author, whose love of marvels, whether natural or supernatural, would have prompted him to seize eagerly on an

[7] Tertullian, after relating the dream from Herodotus, merely says, "Hoc etiam Charon Lampsacenus, Herodoto prior, tradit." (De Anim. c. 46.)

[8] Cf. Plut. de Malign. Herod. p. 859 A, and p. 861 C.D.

[9] See the notes on the passages in question, i. 160, and v. 102.

[1] Fr. 3—preserved by Athenæus (Deipn. ix. p. 394 E). Col. Mure strangely views this passage as one of those which most distinctly prove Herodotus to have been indebted to Charon, comparing it with Herod. i. 138, and regarding both writers as bearing testimony to the "superstitious aversion of the Persians to white pigeons." But how does Charon's statement that "white pigeons first appeared in Greece at the time of Mardonius' failure," imply that the Persians looked on them with "superstitious aversion?"

occasion of mentioning so curious a fact of natural history. Further, it must be observed as tending at least to throw doubt on the supposed use of the great work of Charon by our author, that he was certainly unacquainted with Charon's "Annals of Lampsacus;" for, had he been aware that Pityusa (Fir-town) was the ancient name of that city—a fact put forward prominently by the Lampsacene writer[2]—he could not have failed to see the real point of the famous threat against the Lampsacenes made by Crœsus, "that he would destroy their city *like a fir*."[3] It seems, therefore, to have been concluded on very insufficient grounds that Herodotus was indebted for a portion of his materials to Charon: he was certainly ignorant of some of that author's labours, and most probably had no knowledge of any of them.[4] It is even possible that Charon, no less than Xanthus, may have published his works subsequently to the time when Herodotus, with the first draft of his history completed, left Asia for Attica.[5]

With regard to Dionysius of Miletus, the remaining author, whose works may be supposed to have been used largely by Herodotus, it is impossible to come to a conclusion by the aid of any such analysis as that which has served to negative the claims of Charon and Xanthus, since of Dionysius we do not possess any fragments.[6] His age is certainly such as to make it likely

[2] See the fragment, preserved by Plutarch (De Virt. Mulier. p. 255 A), which is placed sixth in the arrangement of Müller (Fr. Hist. Gr. vol. i. p. 33).

[3] "Πίτυος τρόπον." Herod. vi. 37.

[4] Col. Mure thinks that the work of Herodotus contains an allusion (vi. 55) to Charon's 'Spartan Magistrates' (Lit. of Greece, vol iv. p. 306). Charon is, he observes, "the only author who is recorded to have treated of the subjects" which Herodotus there passes over as already considered by others. But even granting—what is not at all certain—that Charon's work contained an account of the ante-Dorian period, it is clear that he was not the only writer who had treated of the subject, since Herodotus in the passage itself refers to several. Col. Mure mistranslates Herodotus, when he represents him as saying "he abstains from tracing in detail the origin or lineage of the Lacedemonian kings, as that had been fully done by others." What Herodotus abstains from tracing is not "the origin and lineage of the Lacedemonian kings," but the establishment of the kingdom of Danaüs in the Peloponnese. This was a favourite subject with the mythologers, whether poets or prose writers. See note to Book vi. ch. 55.

[5] The age of Charon is very uncertain. The passage in Suidas which should fix his birth is corrupt, and this leaves us without any exact data for his period of writing. He is generally said to have been earlier than Herodotus (Dionys. Hal. de Thuc. Jud. p. 769: Plut. de Malign. Her. p. 859 A; Tertull. de An. c. 46), and Suidas makes his *acmê* synchronise with the Persian war. But there is evidence that he composed history later than B. C. 465, since he spoke of the flight of Themistocles to the court of Artaxerxes in that year. (Plut. Vit. Themistocl. c. 27.) Dionysius (l. s. c.) couples him with Hellanicus, who outlived the battle of Arginusæ, B. C. 406, and according to one account resided at the court of Amyntas II., who ascended the throne in B. C. 394. As Hellanicus was certainly a later *writer* than Herodotus, so Charon may have been.

Only two references to matters contained in the works of Dionysius have been

that Herodotus would have known of his writings;[7] but the absolute silence observed by our author with regard to him, and the probable bareness and scantiness of his narrative, contravene the notion that his historical works, however great an advance upon those of his predecessors, were found by Herodotus to be very valuable, either as materials for history or as models of style. As the earliest of the prose writers who turned his attention to the relation of actual facts, we may be sure that he fully shared in that dryness and jejuneness of composition, that Laconic curtness of narration, and that preference of the trivial over the important, which characterise the productions of the period.[8] Still Herodotus may have used this writer for the events wherewith he was contemporary, especially for those of which Ionia was the scene, and of which Dionysius must have been an eye-witness; and there is at any rate more likelihood of his having been under important obligations to this author than to any of those other historical writers from whom he has been thought to have borrowed.

The only prose works with which Herodotus distinctly shows himself familiar are the "Genealogies" and "Geography" of Hecatæus, and the treatises of the mythologers. From these sources he may undoubtedly have drawn to some considerable extent; but it is remarkable that he refers to Hecatæus chiefly in disparagement,[9] and to the mythological writers as relieving him from the necessity of entering upon a subject which had been discussed by them.[1] It must, therefore, on the whole be pronounced that he probably owed but little to the historical literature of his country, which was indeed in its infancy, and can scarcely have contained much information of an authentic character which was not accessible to him in another manner. With the single exception of Dionysius, the Greek writers of history proper were so little removed from his own date, that the sources from which they drew were as accessible to him as to them. To the geographers he may have been more largely indebted. A writer of weak authority[2] accuses him of having copied word for word from Hecatæus his long descriptions of the phœnix, the hippopotamus, and

discovered: one mentions him among the writers who considered Danaüs to have brought the alphabet to Greece, rather than Cadmus, and the other notices that he made the name of Mount Hæmus neuter. (See Müller's Fragm. Hist. Gr. vol. ii. p. 5.) Nothing is to be gathered from such scanty and insignificant data.

[7] He was contemporary with Hecatæus (Suidas ad voc. Ἑκαταῖος), with whom he is usually coupled.

[8] See the specimens given below, pages 113, 114.

[9] See ii. 21, 23, 143, iv. 36.

[1] Herod. vi. 55.

[2] Porphyry, quoted by Eusebius (Præp. Ev. x. 3, vol. ii. p. 459).

the mode of taking the crocodile. It seems, however, improbable that he should have had recourse to another author for descriptions of objects and occurrences with which he was likely to have been well acquainted himself, and with regard to the phœnix, his own words declare that his description is taken from a picture.[3] Still the geography of Hecatæus may probably have been of use to him in his accounts of places which he had not himself visited, as in his enumeration of the tribes inhabiting Northern Africa, which may have been drawn to some extent from that writer.[4] He also, it is evident, knew intimately the works of certain other geographers, for whom however he does not express much respect.[5] It has been maintained that the genuine work of Scylax was, almost beyond a doubt, among the number;[6] if so, Herodotus certainly evinced his judgment in contemptuously discarding the wonderful tales told by that writer concerning various strange races of men in remote parts of the world, which reduce his credibility below that of almost any other traveller.[7] There is more direct evidence[8] that Herodotus made use of Aristeas, an author who had written, under the name of "Arimaspea," a poem containing a good deal of geographical information concerning the countries towards the north of Europe, partly the result of his own personal observation. Undoubtedly he also

[3] Herod. ii. 73.

[4] Hecatæus mentioned the Psylli, the Mazyes or Maxyes, the Zaueces, and the Zygantes as nations inhabiting these parts (see Fragments 303, 304, 306, and 307), all of whom appear in Herodotus (iv. 173, 191, 193, and 194).

[5] See ii. 15, 17, iv. 36, 42, 45.

[6] See Mure's Literature of Greece, vol. iv. p. 309. Col. Mure says, that "as several notices of Southern Africa and Asia, transmitted by later geographers on the authority of Scylax, are identical in substance with the accounts given by Herodotus of the same region, there is the less reason to doubt his having been acquainted with the original work of that enterprising mariner." I do not understand to what notices he alludes. The only passages, so far as I am aware, which can be referred with any degree of probability to the genuine Scylax, are Arist. Pol. vii. 14; Harpocrat. ad. voc. ὑπὸ γῆς οἰκοῦντες; Philostrat. Vit. Apoll. Tyan. iii. 47; and Tzetzes, Chil. vii. 144. To one only of these, that in Harpocration (which speaks of Troglodytes), can Herodotus by any possibility allude. And even here I should understand in Scylax, the Troglodytes of the Arabian Gulf (cf. Strab. xvi. p. 1103, 1107), in Herodotus (iv. 183) those of the interior (Strab. xvii. p. 1173). From the age of Scylax, and the near vicinity of his birthplace to Halicarnassus, it seems likely that Herodotus would have known his works, if he wrote any. Perhaps it has not yet been quite satisfactorily established that the real Scylax left behind him any writings.

[7] Scylax, or the writer upon India who assumed his name, asserted that there dwelt in that country men with feet of so large a size that they were in the habit of using them as parasols (Philostr. l. s. c.), and spoke of others whose ears were like winnowing-fans (Tzetzes, l. s. c). To the same writer are to be traced the fables, repeated afterwards by Daïmachus and Megasthenes (Strab. i. p. 105), concerning men in India who had only one eye, and others whose ears were so big that they slept in them (Tzetz. i. s. c.).

[8] Herod. iv. 13.

profited from the maps whose construction he ridiculed;[9] but which, rude and incorrect in detail as they may have been, could not have failed to be of immense service to him in clearing his views, and giving him the true notion of geographical description.

In enumerating the sources from which Herodotus drew the materials of his work, it would be wrong to confine ourselves to a consideration of the early prose writers. It has been just noticed that one of the geographers to whom he was certainly beholden—Aristeas, the author of the Arimaspea—was a poet; and there is reason to suspect that considerable portions of his historical narrative may have likewise had a poetical origin. Not to dwell on the poetic cast of so much that he has written, which might perhaps be ascribed to the character of his own mind and to the fact that he modelled his style mainly on that of the poets—there are distinct grounds for believing that certain portions of his history, which are strongly marked by this character, had been previously made the subjects of their poetry by writers with whose compositions he was acquainted; and in such cases it is but reasonable to suppose that he drew, to a greater or less extent, from them. The mention of Archilochus in connexion with the poetic legend of Gyges and Candaules cannot but raise a suspicion that the whole story, as given in Herodotus, may have come from him;[1] while the notices of Solon,[2] Pindar,[3] Alcæus,[4] and Simonides,[5] who all celebrated contemporary persons and events, seem to show that he made some use of their writings in compiling his narrative. Further, it may be conjectured that the Persian authors to whom he refers in several places as authorities on the subject of their early national history,[6] were poets, the composers of those national songs of which Xenophon,[7] Strabo,[8] and other writers[9] speak, wherein were celebrated the deeds of the ancient kings and heroes, and particularly those of the hero-founder of the Empire, Cyrus.

[9] Herod. iv. 36. The first map known to the Greeks is said to have been constructed by Anaximander (Agathem. i. 1), who lived about B. C. 600–530. Hecatæus greatly improved on it. Herodotus speaks of maps as common in his day (l. s. c).

[1] Bähr supposes Herodotus to refer only to the single iambic *line* of Archilochus —*οὔ μοι τὰ Γύγεω τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει*—which has come down to us through Aristotle and Plutarch. (See his note on Book i. ch. 12.) And Drs. Liddell and Scott assign the same meaning to the word *ἴαμβος* in the passage (Lexic. p. 630). But it appears to me that Schweighæuser, Larcher, and the translators generally are right in giving the word here the sense—certainly borne by it in later times—of an iambic *poem*.

[2] Herod. v. 113. [3] Ibid. iii. 38. [4] Ibid. v. 95. [5] Ibid. v. 102, vii. 228.

[6] Ibid. i. 1–5, 95, 214 ad fin. [7] Cyrop. I. ii. § 1. [8] Book xv. p. 1041.

[9] As Athenæus, who quotes Dino to the same effect. (Deipnosoph. xiv. p. 633 D.)

Upon the whole, however, it must be pronounced that the real source of almost all that Herodotus has delivered down to us, whether in the shape of historical narrative or geographical description, was personal observation and inquiry. His accounts of countries are, in the great majority of cases, drawn from his own experience, and are full or scanty, according to the time which he had spent in the countries, in making acquaintance with their general character and special phenomena. Where he has not travelled himself, he trusts to the reports of others, but only, to all appearance, of *eye-witnesses*.[1] If in any case he gives mere rumours which have come to him at second-hand, he is careful to distinguish them from his ordinary statements and descriptions.[2] He seems to have been indefatigable in laying under contribution all those with whom his active and varied life brought him in contact,[3] and deriving from them information concerning any regions unvisited by himself, with which they professed themselves acquainted. And as it was by these means that he gathered the materials for the geographical portion of his work, so by a very similar method he obtained the facts which he has worked up into his history. Herodotus, it must be remembered, lived and wrote within a century of the time when his direct narrative may be said to commence, viz., the first year of Cyrus. The true subject of his history—the Persian War of Invasion—was yet more recent, its commencement falling less than fifty years from the time of his writing. He would thus stand in regard to his main subject somewhat in the position of a writer at the present day who should determine to compose an original history of the last war with Napoleon, while, in respect of the earlier portion of his direct narrative, he would resemble one who should make his starting-point the accession of George III. to the throne. Abundant living testimony would thus, it is plain, be accessible to him for the later and more important portion of his history, while for the middle portion he would be able to get a certain amount of such evidence, which would fail him entirely for the early period. Even then, however, he might obtain from living persons the accounts which they had received

[1] This is not always expressed, but it appears from his refusal to accept of any statements or descriptions as certain, unless received from an eye-witness. Hence his reluctance to allow of a sea to the north of Europe (iii. 115, οὐδένος αὐτόπτεω γενομένου οὐ δύναμαι ἀκοῦσαι; compare iv. 45), and his refusal to describe the countries above Scythia (iv. 16, οὐδένος αὐτόπτεω εἰδέναι φαμένου δύναμαι πυθέσθαι,), or those above the Argippæans (iv. 25), and Issedonians (ibid.). Certain knowledge (τὸ ἀτρεκές) seems to mean knowledge thus derived. (See iii. 98, 116; iv. 16, 25; v. 9.)

[2] See ii. 32, 33; iv. 16, 24, 26–27, 32.

[3] Marked indications of this practice of inquiry will be found in the following passages: ii. 19, 28, 29, 34, 104; iii. 115; iv. 16;

from those who took active part in the transactions. This, accordingly, is what Herodotus seems to have done. Travelling over Europe and Asia, he everywhere made inquiries from the various parties concerned in the matters about which he was writing; and from the accounts which he thus received, compared and balanced against each other, he composed his narrative. Where contemporary evidence failed him, or even where it was scanty, he extended his inquiries, endeavouring in each case to arrive at the truth by sifting and comparing the different reports,[4] and often deriving his information from the sons or grandsons of those who had been personally engaged in the transactions. The stories of Thersander[5] and of Archias[6] are respectively specimens of the manner in which he gained his knowledge of the more recent and the earlier facts which enter into his narrative. Of course the more remote the events the more dependent he became upon mere general tradition and belief, which, unless in the bare outline of matters of great public concern, or in cases where the popular belief is checked and supported by documentary evidence of some kind or other, is an authority of the least trustworthy character. Before dismissing this subject it will, therefore, be desirable to consider what amount of such evidence existed among the various nations into whose earlier history Herodotus pushed his inquiries, and how far it was accessible to himself or to those from whom he derived his information.

In Greece itself it is certain that there existed monumental records of two different kinds, containing undoubtedly but few details, yet still of great importance, as furnishing fixed points about which the national traditions might cluster, and as checks upon the inventiveness of fabulists. The earliest were the lists of kings, priests, and victors at the games, preserved in some of the principal cities and sanctuaries,[7] which formed in after times a basis for the labours of chronologers,[8] and carried up a skeleton

[4] See i. 1–5, 20, 70, 75, 95, 214; ii. 3, 147; iii. 1–3, 9, 32, 47, 56, 120–121; iv. 5–13, 150–154; v. 44, 57, 85, 86; vi. 53; vii. 150, 213, 214; viii. 94, 117–120; ix. 74.

[5] Book ix. chs. 15, 16. [6] Book iii. ch. 55.

[7] As the public registers (ἀναγραφαὶ) at Sparta (Plut. Vit. Ages. c. 19), containing the names of all the kings, and (probably) the number of years they reigned—the ancient chronicles (ἀρχαῖα γράμματα) at Elis (Pausan. V. iv. § 4)—the registers at Sicyon and Argos (Plut. de Mus. p. 1134 A. B.)—the list of the Olympian victors from the time of Corœbus, preserved in the sanctuary of Jupiter at Olympia (Pausan. V. viii. § 3; Euseb. Chron. Can. Pars I. c. xxxii.)—that of the Carnean victors at Sparta (Athen. xiv. p. 635 E.)—and that of the archons at Athens (Polyb. xii. xii. § 1).

[8] Charon's work on the 'Chief Rulers of Sparta' was probably taken from the ancient registers of the Lacedæmonians (see O. Müller's Dorians, vol. i. p. 150, E. T.; and C. Müller's Fr. Hist. Gr., vol. i., p. xviii.). Hellanicus in his 'Priestesses of

of authentic history to the return of the Heraclidæ. Besides these, there were to be found in the various temples, agoræ, and other public places throughout Greece, particularly in the great national sanctuaries of Delphi and Olympia, a vast number of inscribed offerings—many of them of great antiquity—containing in their dedicatory inscriptions curious and in some instances detailed notices of historical events, of the utmost value to the historian. Of the latter class of monuments Herodotus shows himself to have been a diligent observer, and considerable portions of his history are authenticated in this satisfactory manner. To instance in a single book—the independence of Phrygia under a royal line affecting the names of Midas and Gordias, the wealth and order of succession of the last or Mermnade dynasty of Lydian kings, the enormous riches of Crœsus, the friendly terms on which he stood with Sparta, and his great devotion to the Greek shrines; the escape of Arion from shipwreck, the filial devotion of Cleobis and Bito, and the repulse of the Spartans by the Tegeans on their first attempt to conquer Arcadia, are all supported by this kind of testimony within the space of seventy chapters after the history opens.[9] More important than any of these instances is that of the two pillars of Darius, which contained an account, both in Greek and in Persian, of the forces wherewith that monarch crossed the Bosphorus, and which were seen by Herodotus, in detached pieces, at Byzantium.[1] Of equal consequence was the famous tripod, part gold and part bronze, which the confederate Greeks dedicated after the victory of Platæa to Apollo at Delphi, whereon were inscribed the names of the various states who took part against the Persians in the great struggle, from which Herodotus was able to authenticate his lists of the combatants.[2] Other monuments of the same kind are known to have existed,[3] and in addition to them, historical paintings, whether in the shape of votive tablets, as that dedicated by

Juno,' and his 'Carnean Victors,' followed no doubt the authentic catalogues at Sparta and Argos. Timæus compared the lists of archons at Athens, kings and ephors at Sparta, and priestesses at Argos, with the catalogue of the Olympic victors (Polyb. l. s. c.). Eratosthenes and Apollodorus seem to have founded their early Greek chronology, first on the list of Spartan kings, and then on the Olympic catalogue. (Müller's Dorians, l. s. c.)

[9] See i. 14, 24, 25, 31, 50–2, 66, 69. Further instances of the careful observance by Herodotus of such memorials will be found i. 92; ii. 181, 182; iii. 47; iv. 15, 152; v. 59–61, 77; vi. 14; vii. 228; and in the passages noted below.

[1] Cf. iv. 87.

[2] This inscription has been recently recovered. See notes on viii. 82, and ix. 84.

[3] As the colossal statue of Jupiter at Olympia, on the base of which were also engraved the names of the Greeks who combated the Persians. See Pausan. V. xxiii. § 1, and compare note to book ix. ch. 28.

Mandrocles the Samian in the temple of Juno at Samos,[4] or of mere ornaments, as those wherewith Pericles adorned the Pœcilé,[5] would serve as striking memorials of particularly important occurrences. From these and similar sources of information Herodotus would be able to check the accounts orally delivered to him, and in some cases to fill them up with accuracy. It has been said that he "was by no means so zealous an investigator of this class of monuments as might have been desired;"[6] and undoubtedly it would have been highly interesting to ourselves had his work contained fuller and more exact descriptions of them. But it may be questioned whether his history would not have been injured as a composition by a larger infusion of the element of antiquarianism. We are not to conclude that his inquiries were limited to the monuments of the contents of which he makes distinct mention, since he does not go on the general plan of parading the authorities for his statements; and, with regard to some of the most important of the monumental records which he cites, it is only casually and as it were by accident that he lets us see he was acquainted with them.[7] His practice of observing is sufficiently apparent, and it is but fair to presume that he carried it to a far greater extent than can be exactly proved from his writings. It is certain that he visited all the most important of the Greek shrines,[8] and when there, his inquisitive turn of mind would naturally lead him to make a general examination of the offerings. If we view his references to these objects, not as intended for an enumeration of all that he had seen, but as a set of specimens, indicating the range and general character of his inquiries, we shall probably form a far truer estimate of his labours in this respect than if we regarded his investigations as only extending just so far as we can distinctly trace them. So too with respect to the other class of monuments—the public registers, containing the lists of kings, priests, archons, &c.—it would be a mistake to suppose that he had not seen them because he nowhere quotes them as authorities. It is impossible

[4] Herod. iv. 88. [5] Pausan. I. xv.

[6] Mure's Literature of Greece, vol. iv. p. 312.

[7] If Herodotus had not happened, in speaking of the desertion to the Greek side of a Tenian vessel before the battle of Salamis (viii. 82), to notice the inscription of the Tenians upon the Delphic tripod on that account, it might have been doubtful whether he had seen, or noticed, that most important monument. In his direct account of the dedication of the tripod (ix. 81) he says nothing of its having borne any inscription.

[8] As Delphi (i. 14, 19, 25, &c.), Dodona (ii. 52), Abæ (viii. 27), Tænarum (i. 24), Apollo Ismenius at Thebes (i. 52; v. 59), Juno at Samos (ii. 182; iii. 60), Diana at Ephesus (i. 92), Venus at Cyrênê (ii. 181), Erechtheus at Athens (viii. 55; comp. v. 77), Apollo at Thornax (i. 69), &c.

that they should have been unknown to him, or when known have failed to attract his attention; and we might therefore conclude, even without any evidence direct or indirect, that he must have made use of them to some extent. As the case stands, we may go a step further, and regard it as in the highest degree probable that in tracing the royal descent of the Spartan kings to Hercules,[9] Herodotus followed the authority of the Lacedæmonian *anagraphs;* and if so, we may perhaps refer to the same source his general notions of Greek chronology.[1]

The foreign countries whose history Herodotus embraced in his general scheme, present in regard to their monumental records all possible varieties, from entire defect to the most copious abundance. Egypt, Babylonia, and Persia, the most important of them, possessed in their inscriptions upon rocks, temples, palaces, papyrus-rolls, bricks, and cylinders, a series of contemporary documents, extending, in the case of the last-mentioned, to the foundation of the monarchy, and in the other two going back to a far higher actual date, though not to a period so early in the lives of the nations. The recent discoveries in Mesopotamia, which have so completely authenticated the historical scheme of Berosus both in its outline and its details,[2] prove that to the Babylonians the history of their country as written upon its monuments was open, and could be traced back with accuracy for 2000 years before it merged into mere myth and fable. In Egypt a still earlier date is said to have been reached, and—whatever may be thought of the historical character of the more ancient kings—at least from the time of the eighteenth dynasty, which is anterior to the Exodus of the Jews, the monuments contained contemporary records of the several monarchs, and abundant materials for an exact and copious history.[3] In Persia, which, on starting into life, succeeded to the inheritance of Assyrian and Babylonian civilization, writing seems to have been in use from the first, and the sculptured memorials, which still

[9] Herod. vii. 204; viii. 131.

[1] It is evident that Herodotus did not obtain his dates for the times of Hercules and of the Trojan war from a mere computation by generations; for the 21 generations from Leonidas to Hercules (vii. 204), reckoned according to his own estimate of three generations to the century (ii. 142), would give for the time of the hero little more than 700 years before Herodotus, instead of 900, which is his calculation (ii. 145). He must therefore have possessed some more definite chronological basis, which may have been furnished by the Spartan registers, if (as O. Müller conjectures, Dor. vol. i. p. 150) they contained not merely the names of the kings, but the length of their reigns.

[2] See the Essays on Babylonian and Assyrian History, appended to book i. Essays vi. and vii.

[3] See the Historical Notice of Egypt in the Appendix to book ii.

exist, of Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes are evidences of the fact witnessed by Herodotus in several places,[4] that monumental records were in common use under the early Achæmenian kings. These seem to have consisted not only of grand public inscriptions upon pillars, rocks, tombs, and palaces,[5] but also of more private and more copious documents, preserved in the treasuries of the empire, at Babylon, Susa, Ecbatana, &c.,[6] and written upon skins or parchment,[7] which contained a variety of details concerning the court and empire, of the greatest interest to the historian.[8] In Scythia, on the other hand, and among the rude tribes who inhabited Northern Africa, writing of any kind was probably unknown, and the traditions of the natives were altogether destitute of confirmation from monumental sources. Other nations occupied an intermediate position between these extremes of abundance and want. Media from the time of Cyaxares,[9]

[4] Book iii. 136; book iv. chs. 87 and 91; book vii. ch. 100; book viii. ch. 90.

[5] Rock inscriptions of Darius remain at Behistun and at Elwand, near Hamadan; similar memorials of Xerxes are found at Elwand, and at Van in Armenia. The tomb of Darius at Nakhsh-i-Rustam has one perfect and one imperfect inscription—neither however, apparently, that recorded by Strabo (xv. p. 1036). The tomb of Cyrus had an inscription, as we learn both from Strabo (l. s. c.) and Arrian (vi. 29; see note on book i. ch. 214), and the area which enclosed it is still marked by pillars on which we read the words, "I am Cyrus the king—the Achæmenian." The great palace at Persepolis contains no fewer than four inscriptions of Darius and four of Xerxes, as well as others belonging to later kings. Pillar inscriptions are mentioned by Herodotus (iv. 87 and 91), but their more perishable nature has caused them generally to disappear.

[6] See Ezra, v. 17; vi. 1–2. These records or chronicles are frequently mentioned by the Jewish historians. See, besides the above passages, Ezra iv. 15, 19; Esther ii. 23; vi. 1; Apoc. Esdr. vi. 23.

[7] Διφθέραι βασιλικαὶ is the name under which Ctesias spoke of them (ap. Diod. Sic. ii. 32). He says they contained a regular digest of the ancient Persian history (τὰς παλαιὰς πράξεις συντεταγμένας), and that the keeping of them was enforced by law.

[8] Among the contents of the Royal Chronicles may be confidently enumerated all decrees made by any king (Ezr. v. 17; vi. 2–3), all signal services of any subject (Esth. vi. 1–2; comp. Herod. viii. 85 and 90), catalogues of the troops brought into the field on great occasions (Herod. vii. 100), statements of the amount of revenue to be drawn from each of the provinces (comp. Herod. iii. 90–94), &c. Heeren (As. Nat. i. p. 86) supposes, that "all the king's words and actions" were placed upon record, and calls the Chronicles "Diaries," but this view is not supported by his authorities. The royal scribes (γραμματισταὶ) seem certainly to have been in constant attendance upon the king (see, besides Herod. vii. 100, and viii. 90, Esther iii. 12, and viii. 9), and were ready to record any remarkable occurrence, but it is not probable that they were bound to enter the events of each day.

[9] No strictly Median records have come down to us, nor have we positive proof of any acquaintance on the part of the Medes with letters. The ancient portions of the Zendavesta, which belonged to them in common with other nations of the Arian stock, were certainly handed down by memory. But it can hardly be supposed that after the conquest of Assyria by Cyaxares, the Medes would remain without an alphabet. Probably the Persian alphabet is that framed by the Arian Medes on coming in contact with the Assyrians. The Persians would naturally adopt it from them on their conquest of Media.

Lydia,[1] Phrygia,[2] and the kingdoms of Western Asia generally,[3] were undoubtedly acquainted with letters; but there is no reason to believe that they were in possession of any very ancient or very important written records. Monumental remains of an early date in these countries are either entirely deficient, or at best extremely scanty, and such of them as possessed a native literature betrayed, by the absurdity and mythic character of their annals, a lamentable want of authentic materials for their early history.[4] Our chief inquiry in the present place will therefore be how far Herodotus, or those from whom he derived his information, may be presumed to have had access to the monumental stores which existed in such abundance in Egypt, Babylon, and in various parts of the Persian empire, and from which, in two cases out of the three, authentic histories were actually composed more than a century later by natives of the countries in question.[5]

With regard to Egypt, Herodotus has distinctly stated that his informants were the priests.[6] The sacerdotal body attached to the service of the temple of Phtha at Memphis furnished him with the bulk of his early Egyptian history; and he was further at the pains to test the accounts which he received from this quarter by seeking information on the same points from the priests of Amun at Thebes, and of Ra at Heliopolis. It may perhaps be questioned whether he obtained access to the ecclesiastics of the highest rank and greatest learning in Egypt, or only to certain subordinates and underlings; but even in the latter case he would draw his narrative from persons to whom

[1] No Lydian inscriptions have been as yet discovered, though the tomb of Alyattes, which had inscriptions in the time of Herodotus (i. 93), has been carefully explored (see note [1] to book i. ch. 93). The Lydians, however, are likely to have used letters at least as early as the Asiatic Greeks.

[2] Several Phrygian inscriptions, chiefly epitaphs, have been discovered in the country. They are all probably more ancient than the Persian conquest of Asia Minor. The only one of much importance is the inscription on the tomb of king Midas at *Doganlu*. (See note [5] on book i. ch. 14, and compare Essay XI.)

[3] As Lycia, Cilicia, and Armenia. The Lycian writing appears on coins and inscriptions, which are abundant, but which seem to be none earlier than the time of Crœsus (Fellows's Lycian Coins; Chronolog. Table). Cilician writing is found on coins only. Armenia has some important rock inscriptions. They are found in the neighbourhood of Van, and belong to a dynasty of native kings, who appear to have reigned during the seventh and eighth centuries B.C. (See Col. Rawlinson's Commentary on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria, p. 75.)

[4] The fragments of Xanthus Lydus prove the Lydian annals to have run up into myth at a time not much preceding Gyges. The Armenian histories of Moses of Chorênê and others, are yet more completely fabulous.

[5] By Manetho the Sebennyte, and Berosus the Babylonian, both contemporaries of Alexander.

[6] Herod. ii. 3, 99, 118, 136, 142, &c.

the monumental history of their country was open, for this history was recorded without concealment upon the temples and other public edifices. What prevented his Egyptian history from having a greater character of authenticity was, not the ignorance, but the dishonesty of his informants, who purposely exaggerated the glories of their nation, and concealed its disgraces and defeats. It is perhaps on the whole more likely that he had his historical information from the highest than from any inferior quarter. His own rank and station, the circumstances under which he visited Egypt,[7] his entire satisfaction with his information,[8] and the harmony which he found in the accounts given him in remote places,[9] all seem to favour the supposition that he obtained access to the chief persons in the Egyptian hierarchy, who however took advantage of his simplicity and ignorance of the language, whether spoken or written,[1] to impose upon him such a history of their country as they wished to pass current among the Greeks. Accordingly they magnified their antiquity beyond even their own notions of it,[2] reading him long lists of monarchs whom they represented as consecutive, whereas they knew them to have been often contemporary. They concealed from him altogether the dark period in their history—the time of their oppression under the Hyksos, or shepherd-kings—of which he obtained but a single dim and indistinct glimpse,[3] not furnished him appar-

[7] Supra, p. 10.

[8] Herodotus calls his informants throughout "*the* priests"—not "certain priests." It belongs to his simplicity to use no exaggeration in such a matter. Again, he goes to Heliopolis because the priests there were Αἰγυπτίων λογιώτατοι, and receives information from those whom he so characterises (ii. 3).

[9] See ii. 4. ὧδε ἔλεγον ὁμολογέοντες σφίσι. As this harmony was not the natural agreement of truth, it could only be the artificial agreement of concerted falsehood. The priests of Memphis must have prepared their brethren of Thebes and Heliopolis for the inquiries of the curious Greek, and have instructed them as to the answers which they should give. Such communications would most naturally take place between the leading members of the sacerdotal colleges.

[1] That Herodotus did not understand the written character, is evident from his mentioning that the inscription on the pyramid of Cheops was translated to him by his interpreter (ii. 125). His ignorance of the spoken language appears from his mistranslations of particular words, as of Pirômis, which he renders "gentleman" (καλὸς κἀγαθός), whereas it meant simply "man" or "human being."

[2] See Herod. ii. 100 and 142–3. By representing their priests as equally numerous with their kings, and declaring the priesthood to have descended in the direct line from father to son, the Memphite informants of Herodotus gave him the notion that a settled monarchy had endured in Egypt for above 11,000 years. Their own records, even making no allowance for contemporary kings or dynasties, gave a total of little more than 5000 years; and (according to Syncellus) Manetho, making some allowance on both scores, reduced the time between Menes and Herodotus to less than 3500 years.

[3] In the tradition, noticed in book ii. ch. 128, that the pyramids were the work of "the *shepherd* Philition" (see note ad loc.). This tradition, which conflicted with the account received from the priests, is ascribed by Herodotus to "the Egyptians."

ently by the priests, but by the memory of the people. They knowingly falsified their monuments by assigning a late date to the pyramid-kings,[4] whom they disliked, by which they flattered themselves that they degraded them. They distorted the true narrative of Sennacherib's miraculous discomfiture, and made it tend to the glorification of one of their own body.[5] They succeeded in concealing all other invasions of their territory by the kings of Assyria and Babylon, even when subsequent to the settlement of the Greeks in their country.[6] Again, they were willing, in order to flatter their Greek allies, to bend their history into accordance with the mythology of the Hellenic race, and submitted even to manufacture a monarch for the express purpose of accommodating their inquisitive friends.[7] Thus in spite of the abundance of monumental records from which the Egyptian informants of our author had it in their power to draw, his Egyptian history is full of error, because they intentionally garbled and falsified their own annals, while he, from his ignorance of their language, was unable to detect the imposture.[8] Still, where national vanity or other special causes did not interfere, the history will be found to be fairly authentic. The kings themselves appear, with but one or two exceptions,[9] in the lists of Manetho, and upon the monuments; the chronological order of their reigns is preserved with a single dislocation;[1] the periods of prosperity and oppression are truly marked;[2] the great works are assigned for the most part to their real authors; even the extravagance of the chronology is not without a historic basis,

[4] Herod. ii. 124–9. The priests seem to have placed the pyramid-kings—who really intervened between Menes and Nitocris—as late as they could venture to do without incurring a great risk of detection. As a remarkable inscription of Asychis (Herod. ii. 136) made express mention of the stone pyramids, it would have been rash to state that their builders lived later than that monarch.

[5] Sethos (Herod. ii. 141).

[6] As that of Nebuchadnezzar in the reign of Apries (Joseph. Ant. Jud. x. 10; Beros. Fr. 14; compare Jerem. xlvi. 25–6; Ezek. xxix. 19; xxx. 24–5). Several of the Assyrian monarchs, besides Sennacherib, attacked or received tribute from Egypt, as Shalmanu-bara (the black obelisk king) and Sargon.

[7] Proteus, a name which bears no resemblance to any of those in Manetho's lists.

[8] It may be doubted whether even the interpreters could read the hieroglyphics. Most probably they only understood the demotic character.

[9] Proteus, Anysis, and Sethos are the only monarchs whose names cannot be recognised among Manetho's kings. One of these (Anysis) can be otherwise identified. He is certainly Bocchoris.

[1] That of the Pyramid-Kings. See note [4] above.

[2] The glory of the Ramesside dynasties (19th and 20th of Manetho) is distinctly indicated by the expeditions of Sesostris and the wealth of Rhampsinitus. The sufferings at the time of the Exodus seem to be mythically expressed by the blindness of Phero. The oppression endured under the pyramid builders is undoubtedly a fact. The decline of the empire under the Tanite kings is marked by the general poverty in the reign of Asychis.

marking as it does the fact, confirmed by Manetho, that the Egyptians could produce a catalogue of several hundred persons who had borne the title of king in their country between Menes and the Ramesside monarchs.[3] Hence, when the monuments are silent, and the statements of Herodotus are not incompatible with those of Manetho, they possess considerable weight, and may fairly be accepted as having at least a basis of truth. They come from persons who had means of knowing the real history of their country, and who did not falsify it wantonly or unless to serve a purpose; they may therefore be taken to be correct in their general outline except where they subserve national vanity or have otherwise a suspicious appearance. On these grounds the reign of Sethos in some part of Egypt, and the dodecarchy, for which Herodotus is the sole authority, may perhaps be entitled to rank as historic facts, though unconfirmed by other writers.

In Babylon Herodotus appears to have obtained some of his information from the Chaldæans attached to the temple of Belus,[4] who were persons to whom the real history of their native land must undoubtedly have been familiar. It is however very doubtful whether he derived much of his information from this quarter.[5] His Babylonian history may be said to be correct in outline,[6] and tolerably exact in certain important particulars.[7] Still it contains some most remarkable mistakes,[8] which seem to

[3] Manetho has between four and five hundred kings during this interval. With a deduction on account of two peculiarly suspicious cases (Dyn. 7. 70 kings, in 70 days; and Dyn. 17. 43 kings, shepherds, and 43 kings, Thebans), the number remaining is 354, a near approach to the 330 of Herodotus.

[4] See Herod. i. 181, *sub fin.* and 183.

[5] The only information expressly ascribed to the Chaldæans consists of details respecting the temple of Belus. Herodotus does not say whence he derived his historical materials.

[6] Carrying back Babylonian history for some seven hundred years, he noticed, in the first place, two periods; one—the first—during which it was under Assyria, yet had sovereigns of its own, like Semiramis (i. 184); the other, during which it was independent (i. 106, 178). The period of independence he knew to be little more than two generations (compare i. 74 and 188);—that of subjection he was aware exceeded six centuries. This latter he also divided (as Berosus does) into two portions, a longer, and a shorter one; while Assyria was a great empire, and while she was only a powerful kingdom. This division appears to correspond to the Upper and Lower Assyrian dynasties of Berosus.

[7] As in the duration of the first Assyrian dynasty—where his 520 years (i. 95) manifestly represent the (more exact) 526 years of Berosus (ap. Euseb. Chron. Can. pars. I. cap. iv.); in the commencement of the independence on the destruction of Nineveh (i. 178); in the name of the last king (Labynetus = Nabu-nit), and the circumstances of the capture of Babylon (i. 191); in the time of Semiramis (i. 184), &c.

[8] Particularly the following:—1. That Labynetus (*Nabunit*) was the son of a former king, and of a queen (Nitocris); 2. That he immediately succeeded the latter; 3. That the Babylonian monarch, contemporary with Cyaxares, was also named Labynetus; 4. That he was the father of the last king; and 5. That queens ever ruled at Babylon in their own name.

show either that the persons from whom he derived his materials were not well versed in their country's annals, or that he misunderstood their communications. The mistakes in question, it is worthy of special remark, unlike those which disfigure his Egyptian history, occur in the most recent portion of the narrative, where conscious falsification would have been most easy of detection, and therefore least likely to be adventured on. It seems probable that Herodotus paid but a single hasty visit to the Mesopotamian capital, and when there he may have found a difficulty in obtaining a qualified interpreter.[9] He would also, as a Greek, be destitute of any particular claim on the attention of the Babylonian *savans*, and he would therefore naturally be left to pick up the bulk of his information from those who made a living by showing the town and its remarkable buildings to strangers. The quality of the historical information possessed by such informants may be judged by the reader's experience of this class of persons at the present day. Herodotus no doubt endeavoured to penetrate into a more learned circle, but the Babylonians of the time would have been destitute of any of those motives, whether of gratitude or of self-interest, which induced the Egyptian priests to lay aside their reserve, and consent to gratify the curiosity of their Greek auxiliaries. It must be confessed, at any rate, that in the Babylonian history of our author we find but few traces of that exact and extensive knowledge of their past condition which the Chaldæan priest-caste certainly possessed, and which enabled Berosus, more than a century later, to produce a narrative extending over a space of above fifteen hundred years, which has been lately confirmed in numerous instances by contemporary documents, and which appears to have been most completely authentic.

The Persian informants of Herodotus seem to have consisted of the soldiers and officials of various ranks, with whom he necessarily came in contact at Sardis and other places, where strong bodies of the dominant people were maintained constantly. He was born and bred up a Persian subject; and though in his own city Persians might be rare visitants, everywhere beyond the limits of the Grecian states they formed the official class, and in

[9] The Greek refugees in Persia would study Persian, the official language, rather than any other. The Chaldæans on the other hand would speak the Semitic dialect of the inscriptions, and understand the ancient Scythic language of their country, but would have little knowledge of Persian. The communications between Herodotus and the Chaldæan priests would be much like those which take place now-à-days between inquisitive European travellers and grave Pekin Mandarins, through the intervention of some foreign settler at Canton, who has picked up a slight smattering of the colloquial dialect.

the great towns they were even a considerable section of the population.[1] This would be the case not only in Asia Minor, but still more in Babylon and Susa, where the court passed the greater portion of the year—both which cities Herodotus seems to have visited.[2] There is no reason to believe that he ever set foot in Persia Proper, or was in a country where the Arian element preponderated. Hence his mistakes with regard to the Persian religion,[3] which he confounded with the Scythic worship of Susiana, Armenia, and Cappadocia. Still he would enjoy abundant opportunities of making himself acquainted with the views entertained on the subject of their previous history by the Persians themselves—from his ready access to them in his earlier years, from the number of Greeks who understood their language, and, above all, from the existence of native historians to whose works he had access.[4] The Persians, from the date of their conquest of the Medes, possessed (as has been already shown[5]) a variety of authentic documents, increasing in number and copiousness with the descent to more recent times, and capable of serving as a solid basis for history. Moreover, their entire annals at the time when Herodotus wrote were comprised within a space of little more than a century—about the same distance which separates the Englishman of the present day from the rebellion of 1745—a period for which even oral tradition is a tolerably safe guide. We might have expected under these circumstances a more purely historic narrative of the events in question, and a greater correctness, if not a greater amplitude of detail,[6] than the work of Herodotus is found in fact to supply.

[1] See Herod. v. 100–1; vi. 4 and 20.

[2] The visit of Herodotus to Babylon, although doubted by some, is (I think) certain, not merely from the minuteness of his descriptions (i. 178–183), but from several little touches; *e. g.* 1. The expression in ch. 183, "as the Chaldæans *said*" (ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ Χαλδαῖοι), which can only mean "as they told me *when I was there.*" 2. The remark in the same chapter with regard to the colossal statue of Bel, made of solid gold (comp. Dan. iii. 1), which once stood in the sacred enclosure of the great temple of Belus—"*I did not see it*" (ἐγὼ μέν μιν οὐκ εἶδον), which has no force nor fitness except in contrast to the other things previously described, which he must mean to say that he did see; and 3. The statement in ch. 193, that he refrained from mentioning the size of the millet and sesame plants, because he knew that *those who had not visited the country* would not believe what he had previously related of the produce. The visit to Susa rests mainly on vi. 119; it receives, however, some confirmation from the account of the royal road as far as that capital in v. 52.

[3] See the Essay "On the Religion of the Ancient Persians."

[4] See especially book i. ch. 1; and compare i. 95, and 214 *sub fin.* See also p. 40 of this chapter.

[5] Supra, p. 45.

[6] The early history of Cyrus in Herodotus is purely romance—his treatment of Crœsus, and the manner of his own death, seem to be fabulous;—in the history of Cambyses and of the Pseudo-Smerdis are several important errors;—the debate

The deficiency is traceable to two causes. Among the Persians, then as now, the critical judgment was far less developed than the imagination, and their historians, or rather chroniclers (λόγιοι), delighted to diversify with all manner of romantic circumstances the history of their earlier kings. This was especially the case with Cyrus, the hero-founder of the empire, whose adventures were narrated with vast exaggeration and immense variety.[7] Herodotus too was by natural temperament inclined to look with favour on the poetical and the marvellous, and where he had to choose between a number of conflicting stories would be disposed to reject the prosaic and commonplace for the romantic and extraordinary. Thus he may often have accepted an account which to moderns seems palpably untrue when the authentic version of the story came actually under his cognisance. In other cases he may have pieced together the sober relations of writers who drew from the monuments, and the lively inventions of romancers, not perceiving the superiority of the former.[8] Thus his narrative, where it can be compared with the Persian monumental records, presents the curious contrast of minute and exact agreement in some parts with broad and striking diversity in others—the diversity being chiefly in those points where there is the most of graphic colouring and highly-wrought description—the agreement being in names, dates, and the general outline of the results attained as distinguished from the mode in which they were accomplished.[9] Unfortunately a direct comparison of this kind

among the conspirators as to the best form of government, and the story of Œbares are most certainly fictions; so probably are the stories of Syloson and Zopyrus;—the circumstances of the expedition of Darius against Scythia are probably exaggerated. It is not till the time of the Ionian revolt that the Persian history becomes fully trustworthy. Among the omissions which most surprise us are those of the Sacan and Bactrian wars of Cyrus, the reduction of Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Cilicia by Cambyses; the revolt of the Medes from Darius; and his conquest of a part of India.

[7] As Herodotus himself indicates. See i. 95 and 214.

[8] Hence arise contradictions, as that in the Scythian war of Darius, where the time during which the Persians are actually in the country, and the time which such a march as that assigned them must have occupied, are widely at variance. See note to book iv. ch. 133.

[9] The period of Persian history for which alone this comparison is at present possible, is that intervening between the death of Smerdis and the (second) recovery of Babylon by Darius, where the Behistun inscription furnishes a running comment upon the third book of Herodotus. Here the name of Smerdis, his secret execution by his brother, the expedition into Egypt, the bursting out of the Magian revolution while he was there, the death of Cambyses on hearing of the revolt, the quiet enjoyment of the crown for a while by the Pseudo-Smerdis, his personation of the son of Cyrus, the sudden *arrival* of Darius, his *six* companions, their names with one exception, the violent death of the pretender, the period of trouble which followed, the revolt and reduction of Babylon within a few years, are all correctly stated by our author, whose principal misstatements are the following:—1. The execution of

can but rarely be made, owing to the scantiness of the Persian records at present discovered; but we are justified in assuming from the coincidences actually observable, that at least some of his authorities drew their histories from the monuments; and it even seems as if Herodotus had himself had access to certain of the most important of those documents which were preserved in the archives of the empire. It is not altogether easy to understand how this could have been brought about, but perhaps it is possible that either at Babylon or at Susa he may have obtained Greek transcripts of the record in question, or copies may have existed in the satrapial treasury of Sardis, in which case his acquaintance with them would cease to be surprising. The instances to which reference is especially intended are the account of the satrapies of Darius and the revenue drawn from them in the third book, and the catalogue of the army of Xerxes in the seventh. These are exactly such documents as the royal archives would contain, and they have a character of minuteness and completeness which makes it evident that they are not the mere result of such desultory inquiries as Herodotus might have been able to make in the different countries where he travelled. If then these are actual Persian documents,[1] we may conclude that the Persian history of Herodotus, at least from the accession of Darius, is based in the main upon authentic national records; and this conclusion is borne out as well by the general probability of the narrative as by its agreement in certain minute points with monumental and other evidence.[2]

Smerdis (Bardius) *after* the commencement of the Egyptian expedition, which connects with the story of his drawing the Ethiopian bow (Herod. iii. 30); 2. The attack of the conspirators upon the Magi *in the palace at Susa*, and the struggle *there* (chs. 76–9); 3. The debate on the form of government, and the question who should be king (chs. 80–7); 4. The *Median* character of the revolution; and 5. The whole story of the *mode* in which Babylon was recovered. He also mistakes the real name of the Magus, which he supposes to have been Smerdis. The full value and extent of our author's correctness is best estimated by contrast with the writer who, having had every opportunity of gaining exact information, professed to correct the errors of one whom he did not scruple to call "a lying chronicler" (ap. Phot. Bibl. Cod. LXXII. ad init.). Ctesias names the brother of Cambyses, Tanyoxarces; does not allow that Cambyses went into Egypt; makes him die at Babylon of an accidental hurt which he had given himself; places the Magian revolution *after* his death; corrupts the names of two out of the six conspirators, and entirely changes the names of the other four; follows Herodotus in his account of the death of the Magus and of the mode in which Darius became king; gives the name of the Magus as Sphendadates; and regards the whole struggle as one purely personal. On one point only does Ctesias improve upon his predecessor—in denying that the Zopyrus story belongs to the capture of Babylon by Darius. Even here, however, it may be doubted whether, in referring it to the capture by Xerxes, he does not replace one fable by another.

[1] See Heeren's As. Nat. vol. i. pp. 97 and 441. E. T.

[2] The length of the reign of Cambyses is confirmed by the Canon of Ptolemy—

It results from this entire review that in all the countries with which the history of Herodotus was at all vitally concerned there existed monumental records, accessible to himself or his informants, of an authentic and trustworthy character.[3] These were of course less plentiful for the earlier times, and in Greece especially such records were but scanty; enough however existed everywhere to serve as a considerable check upon the wanderings of mere oral tradition, and prevent it for the most part from straying very far from the truth. These documents were in the case of foreign countries sealed books to Herodotus, who had no power of reading any language but his own;[4] his informants, however, were acquainted with them, and thus a great portion of their contents found their way into his pages. Occasionally he was able to obtain an entire state-paper, and to transfer it bodily into his work; but more commonly he drew his information from men, thus deriving his knowledge of the more ancient times at second-hand. Conscious of his absolute dependence in such cases on the truthfulness of his authorities, he endeavoured everywhere to derive his information from those best skilled in the history of their native land,[5] but here he was met by many difficulties—some received his advances coldly, others wilfully misled him—a few made him welcome to their stores, but in those stores the historical and the romantic were so blended together, that it was beyond his power to disentangle them. The consequence is that in the portion of his history which has reference to foreign countries and to more ancient times, the most valuable truths and the merest fables lie often side by side. He

the fact that Darius became king in his father's lifetime (iii. 72), by the Behistun inscription—the revolt of the Medes from Darius (i. 130), by the same document—the conquest of India in the reign of Darius, by a comparison of the list of provinces in the inscriptions of Behistun and Persepolis—the Scythian expedition by the tomb-inscription at Nakhsh-i-Rustam—the length of Darius's reign by the Canon, and by Manetho. It is worthy of notice that Ctesias misstates the length both of this and the preceding reign, assigning to Cambyses 18 years, and to Darius 31 (Persic. Exc. §§ 12 and 19). The *order* of the chief events in the reign of Darius is confirmed by a comparison of the three inscriptions above mentioned, of which the Behistun is clearly the earliest, and the tomb-inscription the latest.

[3] If any exceptions need to be made, they would be those of Lydia and Media. The Medes had no history—probably no letters—prior to Cyaxares, who led them into Media Magna from beyond the Caspian. The Lydian traditions ran up into myth shortly before the time of Gyges.

[4] There is an appearance of linguistic knowledge in Herodotus, which may seem to militate against this view. He frequently introduces and explains foreign words (i. 110, 192; ii. 2, 30, 46, 69, 77, 81, 94, 143; iv. 27, 59, 110, 155, 192; vi. 98, 119; viii. 85, 98; ix. 110), and readily pronounces on similarity or identity of language (i. 57, 172; ii. 105; iv. 117, &c.). But in the latter case he seems to have trusted to his ear, and in the former his explanations are often so bad as to show his complete ignorance rather than his knowledge of the tongues in question. (See notes on Piromis, ii. 143; and on the names of the Persian kings, vi. 98.)

[5] Cf. i. 1, 95, 181–3; ii. 3, &c.

is at the mercy of his informants, and is compelled to repeat their statements, even where he does not believe them. In Greece itself, and in other countries as he comes nearer to his own time, his information is better and more abundant; he is able to sift and compare statements, to balance the weight of evidence, and to arrive at conclusions which are probably in the main correct. The events related in his last five books were but little removed from his own day, and with regard to these he has almost the authority of a contemporary historian; for his informants must have been chiefly persons engaged in the transactions. His own father would most likely have witnessed and may have taken part in the Ionian insurrection, which preceded the birth of Herodotus by less than fifteen years. The subsequent events must have been familiar to all the elder men of his acquaintance, Marathon being no further removed from him than Waterloo from ourselves, and Salamis being as near as Navarino. He would find then in the memory of living men abundant materials for an authentic account of those matters on which it was his special object to write; and if a want of trustworthy sources from which to draw is to be brought forward as detracting from the value of his work, it must at any rate be conceded that the objection lies, not against the main narrative, but against the introductory portion, and even there rather against the episodes wherein he ventures to trace the ancient history of some of the chief countries brought into contact with Persia, than against the thread of narration by which these ambitious efforts are connected with the rest of the treatise. The episodes themselves must be judged separately, each on its own merits. The traditions of the Scyths, of the Medes before Cyaxares, of Lydia before Gyges, and of all countries without a literature, must be received with the greatest caution, and regarded as having the least possible weight. But the accounts of Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, and the various states of Greece, having been derived in part from monuments and otherwise from those who possessed access to monuments, deserve throughout attentive consideration. They may from various causes often be incorrect in particulars, but they may be expected to be true in outline, and in their details they may not unfrequently embody the contents of authentic documents, existing at the time when Herodotus wrote, but now irrecoverably lost to us. Critical judgment must separate in them the probable from the improbable; but whatever comes under the former head, and is not contradicted by better authority, may be well received as historical, at least until fresh discoveries shall at once disprove their truth, and supply us with more authentic details to substitute in their place.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE MERITS AND DEFECTS OF HERODOTUS AS A HISTORIAN.

Merits of Herodotus as a *historian*: 1. Diligence. 2. Honesty—Failure of all attacks on his veracity. 3. Impartiality—Charges of prejudice—Remarkable instances of candour. 4. Political dispassionateness. 5. Freedom from national vanity.—— Defects as a historian: 1. Credulity—Belief in omens, oracles, dreams, &c.—Theory of Divine Nemesis—Marvels in Nature. 2. Spirit of exaggeration—Anecdotes. 3. Want of accuracy—Discrepancies—Repetitions—Loose chronology, &c. 4. Want of historical insight—Confusion of occasions with causes—Defective geography—Absurd meteorology—Mythology—Philology.——Merits as a *writer*: 1. Unity—Scope of the work. 2. Clever management of the episodes—Question of their relevancy. 3. Skill in character-drawing—The Persians—The Spartans—The Athenians—Persian and Spartan kings: Themistocles and Aristides—Greek Tyrants: Croesus—Amasis—Nitocris—Tomyris, &c. 4. Dramatic power. 5. Pathos. 6. Humour. 7. Variety. 8. Pictorial description. 9. Simplicity. 10. Beauty of style. Conclusion.

In forming our estimate of a historical writer two things have to be considered—the value of his work as an authentic exposition of the facts with which he deals, and its character as a composition. On the former head some remarks have been already made while we have been treating of the sources from which the history of Herodotus seems to have been derived; but a more prolonged and detailed consideration of it will be now entered on, with special reference to the qualifications of the writer, which have been very variously estimated by different critics. It is plain that however excellent the sources from which Herodotus had it in his power to draw, the character of his history for authenticity, and so its real value, will depend mainly on his possession or non-possession of certain attributes which alone entitle a historian to be listened to as an authority.

The primary requisites for a historian—given the possession of ordinary capacity—are honesty and diligence. The latter of these two qualities no one has ever denied to our author. Perhaps, however, scarcely sufficient credit has been allowed him for that ardent love of knowledge, that unwearied spirit of research, which led him in disturbed and perilous times to undertake at his own cost a series of journeys over almost all parts of

the known world[1]—the aggregate of which cannot have amounted to less than from ten to fifteen thousand miles—for the sole purpose of deriving, as far as possible, from the fountain-head, that information concerning men and places which he was bent on putting before his readers. Travelling in the age of Herodotus had not ceased to be that laborious task, which had exalted in primitive times the "much-travelled man" into a hero.[2] The famous boast of Democritus[3] has a moral as well as an intellectual bearing, and is a claim upon the respect no less than upon the attention of his countrymen. At the period of which we are speaking no one journeyed for pleasure; and it required either lust of gain or the strongest thirst for knowledge to induce persons to expose themselves to the toils, hardships, and dangers which were then attendant upon locomotion, particularly in strange countries. We may regret that the journeys of Herodotus were sometimes undertaken for objects which do not seem to us commensurate with the time and labour which they must have cost,[4] and that in other instances, where the object was a worthy one, they were baulked of the fruit which he might fairly have expected them to bear;[5] but it would be unjust to withhold from him the meed of our approval for the activity and zeal which could take him from Egypt to Tyre, and from Tyre to Thasos, to clear up a point of antiquarianism of no importance to his general history; and which, again, could carry him from Memphis to Heliopolis, and then up the Nile, nine days' journey, to Thebes, for the mere purpose of testing the veracity of his Memphitic informants. We must also admire that indefatigable inquisitiveness—not perhaps very agreeable to those who were its objects—which was constantly drawing from all persons with whom he came into contact whatever information they possessed concerning the history or peculiarities of their native land or the countries where they had travelled.[6] The painstaking laborious-

[1] Vide suprà, pp. 7–9.

[2] See the opening of the Odyssey; and compare Horat. Ep. I. ii. 19–22; A. P. 141. See also Virg. Æn. i. 7.

[3] Ap. Clem. Alexandr. (Strom. I. p. 357.) Ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων γῆν πλείστην ἐπεπλανησάμην, ἱστορέων τὰ μήκιστα· καὶ ἀέρας καὶ γέας πλείστας εἶδον· κ.τ.λ.

[4] See book ii. ch. 44. [5] Ibid. ch. 3.

[6] Herodotus enumerates among his informants, besides Persians, Egyptians, and Chaldæans, the Scythians (iv. 5, 24), the Pontine Greeks (iv. 8, 18, 24, &c.), the Tauri (iv. 103), the Colchians (ii. 104), the Bithynians (vii. 75), the Thracians (v. 10), the Lydians (iv. 45), the Carians (i. 171), the Caunians (i. 172), the Cyprians (i. 105; vii. 90, &c.), the Phœnicians (i. 5), the Tyrian priests (ii. 44), the Medes vii. 62), the Arabians (iii. 108), the Ammonians (iii. 26), the Cyrenæans (iv. 154), the Carthaginians (iv. 43), the Syracusans (vii. 167), and other Siciliots (vii. 165), the Crotoniats (v. 44), the Sybarites (ibid.), the priestesses at Dodona (ii. 53), the

ness with which his materials were collected is marked by that term whereby he designated its results, viz. *Ἱστορίη*—which is not really equivalent to our "history," but signifies "investigation" or "research," and so properly characterises a narrative of which diligent inquiry has formed the basis.

The honesty of Herodotus has not passed unchallenged. Several ancient writers,[7] among them two of considerable repute, Ctesias the court-physician to Artaxerxes Mnemon, and Plutarch, or rather an author who has made free with his name, have impeached the truthfulness of the historian, and maintained that his narrative is entitled to little credit. Ctesias seems to have introduced his own work to the favourable notice of his countrymen by a formal attack on the veracity of his great predecessor,[8] upon the ruins of whose reputation he hoped to establish his own. He designed his history to supersede that of Herodotus, and feeling it in vain to endeavour to cope with him in the charms of composition, he set himself to invalidate his authority, presuming upon his own claims to attention as a resident for seventeen years at the court of the great king.[9] Professing to draw his relation of Oriental affairs from a laborious examination of the Persian archives,[1] he proceeded to contradict, wherever he could do so without fear of detection, the assertions of his rival;[2] and he thus acquired to himself a degree of fame and

Corinthians (i. 23), the Lacedæmonians (i. 70, &c.), the Argives (v. 87), the Eginetans (v. 86), the Athenians (v. 63, &c.), the Gephyræans (v. 57), the Thessalians (vii. 129), the Macedonians (viii. 138), the Hellespontine Greeks (iv. 95), the Lesbians (i. 23), the Samians (i. 70), the Delians (vi. 98), the Ionians (ii. 15), the Cretans (i. 171), the Theræans (iv. 150), &c. &c.

[7] Manetho, the Egyptian historian, is said to have written a book against Herodotus (Etym. Magn. s. v. *Λεοντοκόμος*). Another was composed by Harpocration 'On the False Statements made by Herodotus in his History' (*Περὶ τοῦ κατεψεῦσθαι τὴν Ἡροδότου ἱστορίαν.* See Suidas ad voc. *Ἀρποκρατίων.*) Josephus (contr. Ap. I. 3) asserts that *all* Greek writers admitted Herodotus to be generally untruthful (*ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις ψευδόμενον*). Laertius notes certain tales which were taxed with falsity (Proem. § 9). Theopompus (Fr. 29), Strabo (xi. 740, 771, &c.), Lucian (Ver. Hist. ii. 42), Cicero (De Leg. i. 1; De Div. ii. 56), and others, speak disparagingly of his veracity. Their remarks apply chiefly to his marvellous stories.

[8] The words of Photius concerning Ctesias (Bibliothec. Cod. LXXII.) are: *σχεδὸν ἐν ἅπασιν ἀντικείμενα Ἡροδότῳ ἱστορῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ψεύστην αὐτὸν ἀποκαλῶν ἐν πολλοῖς.*

[9] Diod. Sic. ii. 32. For the fact of the residence of Ctesias in Persia, see Xen. An. I. viii. § 26–7; Strab. XIV. p. 938; Tzetz. Chil. I. i. 85.

[1] Diod. Sic. l. s. c. *οὗτος οὖν φησιν ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν διφθερῶν, ἐν αἷς οἱ Πέρσαι τὰς παλαιὰς πράξεις κατά τινα νόμον εἶχον συντεταγμένας, πολυπραγμονῆσαι τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα καὶ συνταξάμενον τὴν ἱστορίαν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐξενεγκεῖν.*

[2] The most important points on which the two writers differed were, 1. the date of the first establishment of a great Assyrian empire at Nineveh, which Ctesias placed almost a thousand years before Herodotus; 2. the duration of the empire—according to Ctesias, 1306 years, according to Herodotus, 520; 3. the date of the Median conquest of Assyria, which Ctesias made about B.C. 876, Herodotus about

of consideration to which his literary merits would certainly never have entitled him, and which the course of detraction he pursued could alone have enabled him to gain. By the most unblushing effrontery he succeeded in palming off his narrative upon the ancient world as the true and genuine account of the transactions, and his authority was commonly followed in preference to that of Herodotus, at least upon all points of purely Oriental history.[3] There were not wanting indeed in ancient times some more critical spirits, *e. g.* Aristotle[4] and the true Plutarch,[5] who refused to accept as indisputable the statements of the Cnidian physician, and retorted upon him the charge of untruthfulness which he had preferred against our author. It was difficult, however, to convict him of systematic falsehood until Oriental materials of an authentic character were obtained by which to test the conflicting accounts of the two writers. A comparison with the Jewish scriptures, and with the native history of Berosus, first raised a general suspicion of the bad faith

B. C. 600, and 4. the duration of the Median kingdom—above 300 years in the former, 150 in the latter writer. Minor points of difference are, the names and number of the Median kings, the relationship of Cyrus to Astyages, the mode in which Sardis was taken, the enemy against whom Cyrus made his last expedition, the names of the brother of Cambyses and of the Magus, the circumstances of the invasion of Egypt, the manner of the death of Cambyses and the length of his reign, the names of the six conspirators, the length of the reign of Darius, the time when Babylon was recovered by the stratagem ascribed to Zopyrus, the number of the army and fleet of Xerxes, the order of the great events in the Persian War, the time and place of the death of Mardonius, the numbers of the Greek fleet at Salamis, &c.

[3] The historical work of Ctesias seems to have been at once received by his countrymen as authoritative concerning the East. Even Aristotle, who rejected the fables of the Indica, appears to have given a certain amount of credit to the Assyrian history. (Polit. v. 8; Eth. Nic. i. 5.) His disciple, Clearchus, followed in the same track (Fr. 5), as did Duris of Samos, a contemporary (Fr. 14). Polybius (B. C. 160) appears to have adopted from Ctesias the whole outline of his Oriental narrative (Fr. 9; compare VIII. xii. § 3, and XXXVII. ii. § 6), as did Æmilius Sura, Trogus Pompeius, and the Augustan writers generally. (See Diodorus Siculus, book ii.; Nic. Damasc. Frs. 7–10; Strabo, xvi. pp. 1046–7.) Velleius Paterculus (i. 6) followed Sura, and Justin (i. 1–3) Trogus Pompeius; while Castor (ap. Euseb.), Cephalion (Fr. 1), and Clemens of Alexandria (vol. i. p. 379), drew direct from Ctesias himself. Eusebius unfortunately adopted the views of Ctesias from Diodorus, Castor, and Cephalion, whence they passed to the whole series of ecclesiastical writers, as Augustine, Sulpicius Severus, Agathias, Eustathius, Syncellus, &c. They are also found in Moses of Chorêné, who took them from Cephalion (i. 17); in Abydenus to a certain extent (Fr. 11); in Athenæus, Tzetzes, and others.

[4] The monstrous fables of the Indica were what chiefly moved the indignation of Aristotle. (See Gen. Anim. ii. 2; Hist. Anim. II. iii. § 10; III. sub fin.; VIII. xxvii. § 3.) But having learnt from them the untrustworthy character of the writer, he does not accept as authoritative his historical narrations. See Pol. v. 8, where, speaking of the account which Ctesias gave of the effeminate Sardanapalus, Aristotle adds, *εἰ ἀληθῆ ταῦτα οἱ μυθολογοῦντες λέγουσιν.*

[5] See Plutarch (Vit. Artaxerx. c. 13, et alibi). And compare Lucian, De Conscribendâ Historiâ (ii. 42; vol. iv. p. 202), and Arrian (Exp. Alex. v. 4).

of Ctesias,[6] whose credit few moderns have been bold enough to maintain against the continually increasing evidence against him.[7] At last the *coup de grace* has been given to his small remaining reputation by the recent Cuneiform discoveries, which convict him of having striven to rise into notice by a system of "enormous lying" to which the history of literature scarcely presents a parallel.[8]

The reputation of Herodotus has on the whole suffered but little from the attacks of the Pseudo-Plutarch. The unfairness and prejudice of that writer is so manifest that perhaps he has rather done our author a service than an injury, by showing how few real errors could be detected in his narrative, even by the most lynx-eyed criticism. His charge of "malignity" has rebounded on himself, and he has come to be regarded generally as a mere retailer of absurd calumnies which the plaindealing of Herodotus had caused to be circulated against him.[9] In no instance can he be said to have proved his case, or convicted our author of a misstatement; in one only has he succeeded in throwing any

[6] It is surprising that the ancient Christian chronologers did not at once perceive how incompatible the scheme of Ctesias is with Scripture. To a man they adopt it, and then expend a vast amount of ingenuity in the vain endeavour to reconcile what is irreconcileable. (See Clinton's F. H. vol. ii. p. 373.) Scaliger was the first to attack his credibility. (De Emend. Temp. Not. ad Fragm. subj. pp. 39–43.)

[7] Freret is almost the only modern of real learning who has ventured to uphold the paramount authority of Ctesias (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, vol. v. pp. 351–6). Bähr (Prolegomen. ad Ctes. § 8, pp. 24–60) attempts but a partial defence, abating greatly from the pretensions absurdly preferred by H. Stephanus. (See the 'Disquisitio Historica de Ctesia' in this writer's edition of Herodotus.)

[8] The great Assyrian empire of Ctesias, lasting for 1306 years, is a pure fiction; his list of monarchs from Ninus to Sardanapalus a forgery of the clumsiest kind, made up of names in part Arian, in part geographic, in part Greek, presenting but a single analogy to any name found on the monuments, and in all probability the mere product of his own fancy. His Median history is equally baseless. (See the Critical Essays, Essay iii.) In his Persian history, he transfers to the time of Cyrus the corruptions prevalent in his own day, forges names and numbers at pleasure, and distorts with wonderful audacity the historical facts best known to the Greeks. The monuments convict him of direct falsehood in numerous instances, as in the name of the brother of Cambyses, the circumstances of the Magian revolution, the names of the six conspirators, the place and manner of Cambyses' death, the early supremacy of Assyria, the time at which Media rose into importance, &c. &c. Authentic documents, like the Canon of Ptolemy and the dynastic tables of Manetho, contradict his chronological data; as, *e. g.*, the number of years which he assigns to Cambyses and Darius Hystaspes, where Herodotus and the aforesaid documents are agreed. The credibility of his history, where it touches the Greeks, may be fairly estimated by comparing his account of the revolt of Inarus (Pers. Ex. § 32, et seq.) with the narrative of Thucydides (i. 104, 109, 110).

[9] See Bähr's Commentatio de Vit. et Script. Herod. § 16; Dahlmann's Life, ch. viii.; Mure's Literature of Greece, vol. iv. p. 265. The last-named writer observes: "The tract of Plutarch, 'On the Malignity of Herodotus,' is a condensation of these calumnies; for *as such they have been recognised by the intelligent public of every age* removed from the prejudices in which they originate."

considerable doubt on the view taken by Herodotus of an important matter.[1]

The writers who have followed in the wake of these two assailants of Herodotus can scarcely be said to have succeeded any better in their attacks on his veracity. The deliberate judgment of modern criticism on the subject is decidedly against the assailants, and cannot be better summed up than in the words of a recent author:—"There can be no doubt," says Col. Mure, "that Herodotus was, according to the standard of his age and country, a sensible and intelligent man, as well as a writer of power and genius, and that he possessed an extensive knowledge of human life and character. *Still less can it reasonably be questioned that he was an essentially honest, and veracious historian.* Such he has been admitted to be by the more impartial judges both of his own and subsequent periods of ancient literature, and by the *all but unanimous verdict of the modern public.* Rigid, in fact, as has been the scrutiny to which his text has been subjected, no distinct case of wilful misstatement or perversion of fact has been substantiated against him. On the contrary, the very severity of the ordeal has often been the means of eliciting evidence of his truth in cases where, with the greatest temptation to falsehood, there was the least apparent risk of detection. Every portion indeed of his work is pervaded by an air of candour and honest intention, which the discerning critic must recognize as reflecting corresponding qualities in the author."[2] It is unnecessary to add anything to this testimony, which coming from one whose critical knowledge is so great, and who is certainly not a blind admirer of Herodotus, must be regarded as almost closing the controversy.

To the two excellencies of diligence in collecting materials and honesty in making use of them Herodotus adds a third, less common than either of the others, that of the strictest impartiality. Here again, however, his merit has not been uncontested. The Pseudo-Plutarch accuses him of nourishing a special prejudice against the Thebans because they had refused to gratify his cupidity;[3] and another writer brings a similar charge against him with respect to the Corinthians.[4] He has also been taxed more generally, and in modern no less than ancient times,[5] with

[1] The matter to which allusion is here made, is the conduct of the Thebans in connexion with the battle of Thermopylæ. See Plut. de Malign. Herod. pp. 865–6, and compare Grote's Greece, vol. v. pp. 122–3. See also the foot-notes to book vii. chs. 205 and 222.

[2] Mure's Lit. of Greece, vol. iv. p. 351.

[3] Quoting Aristophanes of Bœotia as his authority, p. 864 D.

[4] Dio Chrysost. Orat. xxxvii. p. 456.

[5] See Plut. de Malign. Herod. p. 862, A., where the writer speaks of the charge as one commonly made.

showing undue favour towards the Athenians. But the charges of prejudice evaporate with the calumnies of which they are the complement, and a reference to his work shows that he had no unfriendly feeling towards either nation. The valour displayed by the entire Bœotian cavalry at Platæa is honourably noticed,[6] and the conduct of the Thebans on the occasion receives special commemoration;[7] the circumstances, moreover, of the siege of Thebes[8] are decidedly creditable to that people. The Corinthians receive still more striking marks of his good-will. The portraiture of their conduct from the time that they became a free nation, is almost without exception favourable. They brave the displeasure of the Spartans by withdrawing their contingent from a joint army of Peloponnesians at a most critical moment, purely from a sense of justice and a determination not to share in doing a wrong.[9] Subsequently at a council summoned by Sparta they alone have the boldness to oppose the plan of the Lacedæmonians for enslaving Athens, and to expose openly before all the allies the turpitude of their proposals.[1] On another occasion they play the part of peace-makers between Athens and Thebes.[2] Somewhat later, they evade an express law of their state, which forbade them to give away ships of war, and liberally make the Athenians a present of twenty triremes[3]—certainly a meritorious act in the eyes of Herodotus. In the Persian war they act on the whole a strenuous part, only inferior to that played by the Athenians and Eginetans. At Artemisium and at Salamis, their contingent greatly exceeds that of any other state except Athens.[4] In the fight at the latter place their behaviour, according to the version which Herodotus manifestly prefers, is such as to place them in the first rank for bravery.[5] Their contingent at Platæa far exceeds that of any other state except Athens and Sparta,[6] and though together with the great bulk of the confederates they were absent from the battle, they are mentioned among those who made all haste to redeem their fault so soon as they heard of the engagement.[7] Finally, at Mycalé they behave with great gallantry, and appear in the list of those who most distinguished themselves, next to the Athenians.[8] The only discredit which attaches to the Corinthians in connexion with the war regards the conduct of their naval contingent, and especially of Adeimantus, its commander, in the interval between the muster at Artemisium, and the victory at

[6] Herod. ix. 68. [7] Ibid. chs. 67 and 69. [8] Ibid. chs. 86–8. [9] Ibid. v. 75.
[1] Herod. v. 92. [2] Ibid. vi. 108. [3] Ibid. ch. 89.
[4] Ibid. viii. 1 and 43 [5] Ἐν πρωτοῖσι τῆς ναυμαχίης, viii. 94.
[6] Ibid. ix. 28. [7] Ibid. ch. 69. [8] Ibid. ch. 105.

Salamis.[9] But here is no evidence of any peculiar prejudice, for they are merely represented as sharing in the feeling common to all the Peloponnesians, and their prominency is the result of their eminent position among the Spartan naval allies. These charges of prejudice and ill-will therefore fall to the ground when tested by a general examination of the whole work of Herodotus, and it does not appear that he is fairly taxable with "malignity," or even harshness, in his treatment of any Greek state.

The accusation of an undue leaning towards Athens is one which has *primâ facie* a certain show of justice, and which at any rate deserves more attention than these unworthy imputations of spite and malice. The open and undisguised admiration of the Athenians which Herodotus displays throughout his work,[1] the fact that to Athens he was indebted for a home and a new citizenship when expelled from his native country,[2] the very probable fact of his having received at the hands of the Athenians a sum of money on account of his history,[3] make it not unlikely that he may have allowed his judgment to be warped in some degree by his favourable feelings towards those to whom he was united by the double bond of gratitude and mutual esteem. Again, in one instance, he has certainly made an indefensible statement, the effect of which is to add to the glory of the Athenians at the expense of other Greeks.[4] Still a careful review of his entire narrative will show, that however favourably disposed towards the Athenians, he was no blind or undiscriminating admirer, but openly criticised their conduct where it seemed to him faulty, noticing with the same unsparing freedom which he has used toward others, the errors, crimes, and follies of the Athenian people and their greatest men. Where he first introduces the Athenians, he speaks of the bulk of the nation as "loving tyranny better than freedom,"[5] and about the same time he notices that they suffered themselves to be imposed upon by "one of the silliest devices to be found in all history."[6]

[9] Ibid. viii. 5, 59, 61.

[1] See v. 79; vi. 112; vii. 139; viii. 10, 109, 143–4; ix. 22, 27–8, 70, &c.

[2] Suprà, p. 17.

[3] Ibid. p. 13.

[4] Herod. vi. 112. It is certainly untrue to say, of the Athenians at Marathon, that they "were the first of the Greeks who dared to look upon the Median garb, and to face men clad in that fashion." The Ionian Greeks fought bravely against Harpagus (i. 169); the Perinthians resisted Megabazus (v. 2); the Ionians again, assisted by a few Athenians and Eretrians, met the Persians in open fight at Ephesus (v. 102); the Cyprian Greeks fought a Persian army near Salamis (v. 110–3); the Milesians were engaged against another in Caria (v. 120); and a hard battle was fought between a strong body of Persians and an army of Ionian and Æolian Greeks near Atarneus (vi. 28–9).

[5] Herod. i. 62.

[6] Ibid. ch. 60.

After the establishment of the democracy, he ventures to call in question the wisdom of great Demus himself, taxing him with "deceivableness," and declaring that he was more easily deluded by fair words than an individual.[7] He describes the general spirit of the Athenian people immediately before Marathon as timid and wavering,[8] condemns openly their treatment of the heralds of Xerxes, which he regards as bringing them justly under the divine displeasure,[9] and passes a still more severe though indirect censure upon their conduct towards the Eginetans in the case of their hostages.[10] He further exposes their spirit of detraction towards their rivals by relating the account which they gave of the behaviour of the Corinthians at Salamis, and at the same time clearly intimating his own disbelief of it.[11] In the character of their great men, with the solitary exception of Aristides, he notes flaws, detracting very considerably from the admiration to which they would otherwise have been entitled. Besides the imputation of mercenary motives to Themistocles,[12] which has been generally remarked, Clisthenes is denied the merit of disinterestedness in the policy which formed his special glory,[13] and Miltiades is exhibited as engaging in the expedition which brought disgrace alike on himself and on his country, to gratify a private pique.[14] It cannot, therefore, be said with any truth that Herodotus suffered his admiration of the Athenians to degenerate into partizanship; or did more than assign them the meed of praise which he felt to be, and which really was, their due. A single hyperbolical expression, which his own work affords the means of correcting, cannot be allowed to weigh in the balance against the general evidence of candour and fairness furnished by his narrative.

Before taking leave of this subject, it seems right to notice two special instances, where the candour of Herodotus is very remarkably displayed under circumstances of peculiar temptation. Born and bred up during the continuance of the struggle between Greece and Persia, himself a citizen of a Greek state which only succeeded in throwing off the Persian yoke after he was grown to manhood, and led by his own opinions to sympathise most warmly with the patriotic side, he might have been pardoned had he felt a little bitterly towards that grasping people, which, not content with ruling all Asia from India and Bactria on the one hand, to Phœnicia and Lydia on the other, envied the independence and sought to extinguish the liberties

[7] Ibid. v. 97.
[8] Ibid. vi. 109: comp. 124. [9] Ibid. vii. 133. [10] Ibid. vi. 86. [11] Ibid. viii. 94
[12] Ibid. viii. 4, 111–2. [13] Ibid. v. 66 and 69. [14] Ibid. vi. 133.

of Greece. In lieu, however, of such a feeling, we find the very opposite tone and spirit in all that he tells us of the Persians. Their valour,[1] their simplicity and hardiness,[2] their love of truth,[3] their devoted loyalty to their princes,[4] their wise customs and laws,[5] are spoken of with a strength and sincerity of admiration which strongly marks his superiority to the narrow spirit of national prejudice and partiality too common in every age. It is evidently his earnest wish and aim to do justice to the enemy no less than to his own countrymen. Hence every occasion is seized to introduce traits of nobility, generosity, justice, or self-devotion on the part of either prince or people.[6] The personal prowess of the Persians is declared to be not a whit inferior to that of the Greeks,[7] and constant apologies are made for their defeats, which are ascribed to deficiencies in their arms, equipment, or discipline,[8] not to any want of courage or military spirit. Of course the defects of the nation and its chiefs are also recorded, but there is every appearance of an honest intention to give them full credit for every merit which they possessed, and the portraiture is altogether about the most favourable that we possess of any oriental nation either in ancient or in modern times.[9]

The other remarkable instance of our author's candour is contained in his notices of Artemisia.[1] Without assigning any particular weight to the statements of Suidas as to the important part which Herodotus played personally in the drama of Hali-

[1] Herod. vi. 113; viii. 100, 113; ix. 62, 102, &c.

[2] Ibid. i. 71; ix. 122. [3] Ibid. i. 136, 138.

[4] Ibid. viii. 99; comp. iii. 128, 154–5: vii. 107, and viii. 118, where the self-devotion, though not regarded as true, appears to be considered natural.

[5] Ibid. i. 137–8; iii. 154.

[6] Ibid. i. 115; iii. 2, 74–5, 128, 140, 154–158, 160; v. 25; vi. 30, 119; vii. 27–9, 105, 107, 136, 181, 194, 237, &c.

[7] Herod. ix. 62. *λήματι μὲν νῦν καὶ ῥώμῃ οὐκ ἕσσονες ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι.*

[8] *Δόρασι βραχυτέροισι χρεώμενοι, ἤπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες πλήθεϊ χρήσασθαι* (vii. 211). *ὁ Ξέρξεω στρατὸς ὑπὸ μεγάθεός τε καὶ πλήθεος αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἑαυτοῦ ἔπιπτε, ταρασσομενέων τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ περιπιπτουσέων περὶ ἀλλήλας* (viii. 16). *τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων σὺν κοσμῷ ναυμαχεόντων κατὰ τάξιν, τῶν δὲ οὐ τεταγμένων ἔτι* (viii. 86). *οἱ Πέρσαι ἄνοπλοι ἐόντες καὶ πρὸς ἀνεπιστήμονες ἦσαν* (ix. 62). Compare v. 49, where the description of the Persian equipment prepares us for the coming defeats. *ἡ μάχη αὐτῶν ἐστὶ τοιήδε· τόξα καὶ αἰχμὴ βραχέα, ἀναξυρίδας δὲ ἔχοντες ἔρχονται ἐς τὰς μάχας καὶ κυρβασίας ἐπὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι.*

[9] Colonel Mure justly observes:—"Perhaps the best vindication of the historian's fairness, in so far as regards the Persians, is the fact, that while the most detailed account of that people which we possess, and on which we are chiefly accustomed to form our judgment of their character, is that transmitted by Herodotus, there is no nation among those who in ancient or modern times have figured on the wide field of Oriental politics, which for patriotism, valour, talent, and generosity, occupies or deserves to occupy so high a place in our estimation."—Lit. of Greece, vol. iv. p. 435.

[1] Herod. vii. 99; viii. 68, 87–8, 102–3.

carnassian politics, it is certain that if the revolution by which the tyranny was put down and the family of Artemisia expelled took place in his time, his views and sympathies must have been altogether on the popular side. He must undoubtedly have felt, even if he did not act, with those who drove out the tyrant, and brought Halicarnassus into the Athenian confederacy. The warm praise therefore, and open admiration which he bestows on Artemisia, is indicative of a fair mind, which would not allow political partizanship to blind him to individual merit. Of course, if the narrative of Suidas, despite its weak authority, should be true—which has been admitted to be possible[2]—the credit accorded to the Halicarnassian queen would be a still more notable proof of candour.

In connexion with this trait it may be further observed that the whole work of Herodotus exhibits very strikingly his political moderation and freedom from party bias. Though decidedly preferring democratic institutions to any other,[3] he is fully aware that they are not without their own peculiar evils,[4] while every form of government he recognises to have certain advantages.[5] A consequence of this moderation of feeling is that fair distribution of praise and blame among persons of different political sentiments, which might have been imitated with advantage by the modern writers who have treated of this period of history. Herodotus can see and acknowledge the existence of faults in popular leaders,[6] and of virtues in oligarchs, or even despots.[7] He does not regard it as his duty to whitewash the characters of the one[8] or to blacken the memories of the other. And the same dispassionateness appears in his account of the conduct of states. The democratical Argos is shown to have pursued a more selfish policy throughout the Persian war than almost any other Greek power.[9] The aristocratic Egina is given the fullest credit for gallant behaviour.[1] There is no attempt to gloss over

[2] Suprà, p. 12. [3] See v. 78; vi. 5, &c.

[4] These are very strongly put in the speech of Megabyzus (iii. 81), and are glanced at in the following passages: iii. 142–3; v. 97; vi. 109.

[5] See book iii. chs. 80–2, and compare the praise given to the εὐνομία of Lycurgus (i. 65–6), to the Milesian aristocracy (v. 28–9), and to the first tyranny of Pisistratus (i. 59, ad fin.).

[6] As in Clisthenes (v. 66, 69), in Themistocles (viii. 4, 109–10, 111–2), and in Telesarchus, the Samian democrat (iii. 142).

[7] Sosicles, the Corinthian noble (v. 92), Pisistratus (i. 59), Mæandrius (iii. 142), Crius the Eginetan (viii. 92, comp. vi. 73), and Darius himself, are specimens.

[8] It may be thought that the chapters in book vi. which defend the Alcmæonidæ from the charge of having been in league with the Persians at the time of the battle of Marathon (chs. 123–4) form an attempt of this kind. But to take this view we must presume their guilt, which the arguments of Herodotus show to be most improbable. [9] Herod. vii. 150–2; ix. 12. [1] Ibid. vii. 181; viii. 91–3.

faults or failings because those to whom they attach agree with the author in political opinions, or to exaggerate or imagine defects in those of opposite views.[2]

Herodotus also is, *for a Greek*, peculiarly free from the defect of national vanity. He does not consider his own nation either the oldest,[3] or the wisest,[4] or the greatest,[5] or even the most civilised of all. He loves his country dearly, admires its climate,[6] delights in its free institutions, appreciates its spirit and intelligence, but he is quite open to perceive and acknowledge the special advantages, whether consisting in superior antiquity, in products, discoveries, wise laws, or grand and striking monuments, of other kingdoms and regions. Egypt and Phrygia are the most ancient, India and Thrace the most powerful countries; Babylonia is beyond comparison the most fertile in grain;[7] Scythia the most secure against invasion;[8] Egypt, Babylon, and Lydia possess the most wonderful works;[9] Ethiopia the handsomest and longest-lived men;[10] Media the finest horses;[11] Arabia, and the other "extremities of the earth," the strangest and most excellent commodities.[12] Wise laws are noted as obtaining in Persia,[13] Babylonia,[14] Egypt,[15] Venetia;[16] inventions of importance are attributed to the Lydians,[1] the Carians,[2] the Babylonians,[3] the Egyptians,[4] and the wild races of northern Africa;[5] the adoption of customs, laws, and inventions from other countries by the Greeks is freely admitted;[6] the inferiority of their great works and buildings to those of Egypt receives pointed comment;[7] their skill as workmen, as sailors, and as builders of ships, is placed in unfavourable comparison with that of the Phœnicians, especially those of Sidon.[8] It is seldom indeed that an author is found so thoroughly national, and yet at the same time so entirely devoid of all arrogant assumption of superiority on behalf of his nation. His liberality in this respect

[2] If there is any exception to the general practice here noted, it is in the pictures given of Greek tyrants, which have the appearance of being somewhat overdrawn. See particularly the characters of Periander (iii. 48–53; v. 92, § 6–7), Polycrates (iii. 39, 44, 123), Histiæus (iv. 137; v. 106; vi. 3, 26, 29), Cypselus (v. 92, § 5), Aristagoras (v. 37, 124), Arcesilaus III. (iv. 164), and Pheretima (iv. 202). But the fact that tyrants are sometimes praised (i. 59; iii. 142; vii. 99, &c.) seems to show that at least Herodotus has no *intention* of dealing unfairly by this class of men.

[3] Herod. ii. 2. [4] Ibid. iii. 38. [5] Ibid. v. 3.

[6] Ibid. iii. 106. Compare i. 142. [7] Ibid. i. 193. Compare iv. 198.

[8] Ibid. iv. 46. [9] Ibid. i. 93. [10] Ibid. iii. 20 and 22. Compare 114.

[11] Ibid. iii. 106, and vii. 40. [12] Ibid. iii. 106–114. [13] Ibid. i. 136–7.

[14] Ibid. i. 196–7. [15] Ibid. ii. 177. [16] Ibid. i. 196. [1] Ibid. i. 94.

[2] Ibid. i. 171. [3] Ibid. ii. 109. [4] Ibid. ii. 4, 82, 109, &c.; iv. 180.

[5] Ibid. iv. 189.

[6] Ibid. i. 171; ii. 4, 50, 58, 109, &c.; iv. 180, 189; and v. 58.

[7] Ibid. ii. 148. [8] Ibid. vii. 23, 44, and 99.

offers a strong contrast to the general practice of his countrymen, whose contempt of "barbarians" was almost equal to that of the Chinese.

The merits of Herodotus as a writer have never been denied or contested. Before attempting any analysis of the qualities in which this excellence consists it is important to consider briefly those faults or blemishes—the "anomalies of his genius," as they have been called[9]—which detract from the value of his work as a record of facts, and form in strictness of speech his defects *as a historian.* These, according to the verdict of modern criticism,[10] are three in number—1. Credulity, or an undue love of the marvellous, whether in religion, in nature, or in the habits of men; 2. An over-striving after effect, leading to exaggerations, contradictions, and an excessive infusion of the anecdotical element into his work; and, 3. A want of critical judgment and method, shown in a number of oversights, inaccuracies, and platitudes, which cannot be accounted for by either of the other habits of mind, but seem the mere result of the absence of the critical faculty. These defects—the existence of which it is impossible to deny—require to be separately examined and weighed, the main question for determination being to what extent they counteract the natural working of his many excellencies, and so injure the character of his history.

It is perhaps not of much importance to inquire how far the admitted credulity of Herodotus was the consequence of the age in which he lived, and so necessary and excusable. He will not be the better historian or the safer guide for the fact that his contemporaries either generally, or even universally, shared his errors. Some injustice seems to have been done him by a late critic, who judges him by the standard of an age considerably later, and of a country far more advanced than his own.[1] But this question does not affect the historical value of his work, which must be decided on absolute, not on relative grounds. The true point for consideration is, how far his work is injured by the defect in question—to what extent it has disqualified him for the historian's office.

[9] Mure's Literature of Greece, vol. iv. p. 354. [10] Ibid. pp. 352 and 409–410.

[1] Col. Mure represents Herodotus as "in all essential respects" a contemporary of Thucydides (p. 361), and even of Aristophanes (p. 353). This is unfair. Thucydides probably outlived Herodotus some 25 or 30 years, and wrote his history towards the close of his life—after B. C. 404. (See Thucyd. i. 21–3; ii. 65, sub fin.; v. 26.) Aristophanes was born after Herodotus had recited at Athens, in B. C. 444 probably (Schol. Ar. Ran. 502, Arg. Eq.), and only began to exhibit about the time of our author's death (in B. C. 427, Herodotus dying probably in B. C. 425). These writers belong therefore to the generation *succeeding* Herodotus. Pericles and Anaxagoras

Now the credulity of Herodotus in matters of religion amounts to this. He believes in the prophetic inspiration of the oracles, in the fact that warnings are given to men through prodigies and dreams, and in the occasional appearance of the gods on earth in a human form. He likewise holds strongly the doctrine of a divine Nemesis, including therein not only retribution, or the visible punishment of presumption and other sins, but also jealousy, or the provocation of divine anger by mere greatness and prosperous fortune. How do these two lines of belief affect his general narrative, and how far do they detract from its authenticity?

With regard to the former class of supernatural phænomena, it must be observed, in the first place, that they are for the most part mere excrescences, the omission of which leaves the historic narrative intact, and which may therefore, if we like, be simply put aside when we are employed in tracing the course of events recorded by our author. The prodigies of Herodotus no more interfere with the other facts of his history than those which Livy so copiously relates, even in his later books,[2] interfere with his. They may offend the taste of the modern reader by their quaintness and "frivolity,"[3] but they are in no way interwoven with the narrative so that it should stand or fall with them. Omit the swarming of the snakes in the suburbs of Sardis, and the flocking of the horses from their pastures to eat them before the capture of that city, and the capture itself—nay, even the circumstances of the capture—are untouched by the omission. And this remark extends beyond the prodigies proper to omens, dreams, and even divine appearances. Subtract the story of Epizêlus from the account of the battle of Marathon, or that of Pan and Pheidippides from the circumstances preceding it, and nothing else need be struck out in consequence. This cannot indeed be said of the oracles, or of the dreams in some instances; on them the narrative occasionally hinges, and we are reduced to the alternative of rejecting large portions of the story as told by our author, or accepting his facts and explaining them on our own principles. Even if we are sceptical altogether as to the prophetic power of the oracles,[4] or as to any divine warning

are undoubtedly his "older contemporaries," but their minds were formed at Athens, not at Halicarnassus. In the rapid development of Greek mental life after the repulse of Xerxes, Athens took the lead, and soon shot far ahead of every other state, while Halicarnassus, one of the outlying portions of the Grecian world, would be among the last to receive the impulse propagated from a far off centre. Herodotus, however, was certainly behind, while Pericles and Anaxagoras were before the age.

[2] Liv. xli. 13; xlii. 2, 20; xliii. 13; xlv. 15, &c.

[3] Mure, p. 362.

[4] Col. Mure speaks somewhat contemptuously of those "pious persons who in-

being given to the heathen in dreams,[5] we may still believe that events happened as he states them, explaining, for instance, the visions of Xerxes and Artabanus by a plot in the palace, and the oracles concerning Salamis by the foresight of Themistocles. Cases, however, of this kind, where the supposed supernatural circumstance forms a leading feature in the chain of events, are rare, amounting to not more than four or five in the entire work.[6] It is also worthy of notice that the supernatural circumstances are more numerous, more prominent, and more inexplicable on rational grounds in the portion of the work which treats of remoter times and less well known countries. Without disappearing altogether, they become more scanty as we approach to Herodotus's own age, and to the events which form the special subject of his history. Thus their interference is mainly with those parts of the history of which the authority is even otherwise the weakest, and becomes trifling when we descend to those times concerning which our author had the best means of obtaining information.

The mode, however, in which our author's belief in this sort of supernatural agency is supposed to have most seriously detracted from his historical value is by the influence it is thought to have exercised upon the choice which he often had to make among various versions of a story coming to him upon tolerably equal authority.[7] It is argued that he would be likely to prefer the version which dealt most largely in the supernatural element, thus reversing the canon of criticism on which a modern would be apt to proceed. Nor can it be denied that this may

cline to believe in the reality of a demoniac inspiration having been for some wise purpose conceded by the true God to the Delphic Apollo" (l. s. c.); but he brings no argument against them except that certain oracles—or rather a single oracle, for his reference to Herod. ix. 43 is mistaken—which were not fulfilled in our author's time, remain unfulfilled to the present day. But no one ever supposed that *all* the oracles delivered at Delphi or other places were inspired. Those who deny any demoniac influence to the oracular shrines have to explain—1. The passage of the Acts referred to below (page 144, note [3]); 2. The fact of the defect of oracles soon after the publication of Christianity (Plut. de Defect. Or. vol. ii. pp. 431–2); and 3. The general conviction of the early Christian Fathers, that the oracles were inspired. (See Euseb. Præp. Ev. books v. and vi.; Clem. Alex. Strom. v. p. 728; Theodoret. Therap. Serm. x. p. 623, &c.; Augustin. de Divin. Dæmon. Op. vi. p. 370, et seqq., &c.)

[5] The dreams of Pharaoh, Abimelech, Nebuchadnezzar, Pilate's wife, and Cornelius, are indications that the belief of the Greeks in the occasional inspiration of dreams, which was at least as old as Homer—καὶ γάρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διός ἐστιν. Il. i. 63—had a foundation in fact.

[6] The dream of Astyages concerning his daughter Mandané—the satisfaction by the Delphic oracle of the test offered by Crœsus—the visions of Xerxes and Artabanus—and the famous oracle concerning the wooden wall and Salamis, are almost the only points in the supernatural machinery on which any extent of narrative can be said to turn.

[7] Mure, p. 360.

sometimes have been the case. The supernatural, especially if removed a little from his own time, did not shock him, or seem to him in the least improbable. He would therefore readily accept it, and he would even, it must be allowed, be drawn to it as a means of enlivening his narrative. It is however unfair to represent him as "a man morbidly intent on bringing all the affairs of life into connexion with some special display of divine interposition." On more than one occasion he rejects a supernatural story or explanation, preferring to it a plain matter-of-fact account. He suggests that when after three days of violent storm, during which the Magi strove to appease the wind by incantations and sacrifices, the tempest at last ceased, it was not so much their sacred rites which had the desired effect as that the fury of the gale was spent.[8] He declines to accept the Athenian account of the flight of Adeimantus from Salamis, though it includes the prodigy of a phantom ship.[9] He refuses credit to the story that Cyrus was suckled by a bitch.[1] His appetite for the supernatural is therefore not indiscriminate, and perhaps if we possessed the complete works of his contemporaries we should find him far oftener than has been suspected preferring a less to a more marvellous story.[2]

There is one other point of view in which the credulity of Herodotus with respect to oracles, prodigies, &c., requires to be considered before we absolutely pronounce it a very serious defect in him as a historian. Granting that it detracts somewhat from his value as an authentic narrator of facts, has it not a compensatory advantage in placing him more on a level with the mass of his countrymen, in enabling him to understand and portray them better, and inducing him to put more fully upon record a whole class of motives and feelings which did in point of fact largely influence their conduct? Would the cold scepticism of Thucydides have given us a truer picture of the spirit in which the Persian attacks were met,—the hopes that stimu-

[8] Herod. vii. 191. [9] Ibid. viii. 94. Comp. v. 86.

[1] Ibid. i. 122. Further instances of what might be called a rationalising tendency are ii. 57 and vii. 129 ad fin.

[2] It is not quite clear what sort of "exaggerations" those were which caused Herodotus to reject three accounts which he had heard of the early history of Cyrus (i. 95). Probably, however, they included a number of marvellous details, like the suckling by a bitch, which he expressly discredits. It is certain that there were often accounts current among the Greeks of transactions included within the sphere of his history, wherein the wonderful and supernatural played a more important part than he assigns to them. Instances are, the story of Gyges, as told by Plato (Rep. ii. pp. 359–360), the narrative of the Persian retreat contained in Æschylus (Pers. 497–509), and, probably, the history of the first Persian expedition under Mardonius, as Charon gave it. (Fr. 3; cf. suprà, p. 36.)

lated, and the belief that sustained a resistance almost without a parallel, which may have been mere patriotism in the leaders, but in the mass was certainly to a great extent the fruit of religious enthusiasm? Is it not a fact that the Greeks of the age immediately preceding Herodotus were greatly influenced by oracles, omens, prodigies, and the like, and are we not enabled to understand them better from the sympathising pages of a writer who participated in the general sentiment, than from the disdainful remarks of one who from the height of his philosophical rationalism looks down with a calm contempt upon the weakness and credulity of the multitude? At any rate, is it not a happy chance which has given us, in the persons of the two earliest and most eminent of Greek historians, the two opposite phases of the Greek mind, religiousness bordering upon superstition, and shrewd practical sense verging towards scepticism? Without the corrective to be derived from the work of Herodotus ordinary students would have formed a very imperfect notion of the real state of opinion among the Greeks on religious matters, and many passages of their history would have been utterly unintelligible.[3] It seems therefore not too much to say that we of later times gain more than we lose by this characteristic of our author, which qualified him in an especial way to be the historian of a period anterior to the rise of the sceptical spirit, when a tone of mind congenial to his own was prevalent throughout the Hellenic world, and a belief in the supernatural was among the causes which had the greatest weight in shaping events and determining their general course.

The belief of Herodotus in the pervading influence of the divine Nemesis—a belief which, in the form and degree in which it is maintained through his history, seems to have been peculiar to himself, and not shared in by his compatriots[4]—is regarded as having worked "even more prejudicially to the authenticity

[3] As the ferment consequent upon the mutilation of the Mercuries, which led to the recall and thereby to the alienation of Alcibiades—only to be explained by the deep religious feeling of the mass of the Athenians. (See Grote's Greece, vol. vii. pp. 229–232, where this passage of history is very properly treated.)

[4] A theory of Divine retribution was common in Greece, but it was limited to the punishment in this life of signal acts of impiety or other wickedness, in the person of the offender or of his descendants. (Cf. Herod. ii. 120, ad fin., and vi. 75, ad fin.) This line of thought is very strongly marked in Æschylus. The peculiarity in the form of the Herodotean notion consists in this—that he regards mere greatness and good fortune, apart from any impiety or arrogance, as provoking the wrath of God. (See note on book i. ch. 32, p. 178, and compare iii. 40, vii. 10, § 5–6 and 46, ad fin.) He also seems to consider that every striking calamity must be of the nature of a visitation (vi. 75; vii. 133, &c.), and further, he carries the notion of retributive suffering into comparatively insignificant cases (vi. 72, 135).

of his narrative than his vein of popular superstition."[5] Here again the mode in which his belief affected his historic accuracy is thought to have been by influencing his choice among different versions of the same story. It is admitted that he was too honest to falsify his data;[6] but it is said[7] that in "almost every case" there would be several versions of a story open to his adoption, and he would naturally prefer that one which would best illustrate his theory of Nemesis. Undoubtedly where the different accounts came to him upon equal or nearly equal authority such a leaning might determine his choice; but there is no reason to believe that, where the authority was unequal, he allowed himself to be improperly biassed by his devotion to the Nemesiac hypothesis. The attempts made to prove such an undue bias mostly fail,[8] and it is doubtful whether there is a producible instance of it.[9] Moreover it is beyond the truth to say

[5] Mure, p. 369. [6] Ibid. p. 376. [7] Ibid. p. 369.

[8] Col. Mure has brought forward four examples of the distortion of history by Herodotus in furtherance of the Nemesiac theory—viz. the cases of Crœsus, Cambyses, Cleomenes, and the Spartan heralds, Nicolas and Anêristus. With regard to the first, he dwells principally upon the supposed anachronism involved in bringing Solon to the court of Crœsus, which is shown below (i. 29, note [6]) to be quite a possible event. In the case of Cambyses, he looks on Herodotus as having preferred the Egyptian to the Persian account of his death (which latter he thinks to be the true one, and to be preserved to us in Ctesias), because its features, though highly improbable, were retributive (pp. 370–1). But, as he confesses in a note, the tale in Ctesias is not the Persian, nor the true account, but one of that writer's inventions, and the narrative of Herodotus is proved by the Behistun inscription to be correct, except in representing the wound which Cambyses gave himself as accidental, a point which does not help the Nemesis. With respect to Cleomenes, he thinks that his suicide ought to have been ascribed to his habits of drinking; but as it is Herodotus himself who records these habits, and the opinion entertained by the Spartans that the madness of Cleomenes arose from them, he cannot be said to have perverted, or even concealed, history, in order to give more likelihood to his own Nemesiac views. In the fourth case, that of the envoys, Col. Mure, comparing Thucyd. ii. 67, supposes that there were "two accounts of the affair, one describing Nicolas and Anêristus as two *out of six*, or but one-third of the mission, the other as two *out of three*," and that Herodotus was tempted to prefer the latter number by "the broader shadow of plausibility which it gave to his own case of retributive vengeance" (p. 375). But there is not the slightest evidence of the existence of two stories. Herodotus nowhere states the number of the ambassadors. He probably knew the details of the affair just as well as Thucydides, as appears from the minuteness of his account (suprà, p. 24. note [1]). His narrative, however, was only concerned with the fate of two out of the six—namely Nicolas and Anêristus—and he need have mentioned no others; it is quite casually, and merely on account of his individual eminence, that he names Aristeus. In such a case the *mentio unius* cannot be taken as implying the *exclusio plurium*. Again, Col. Mure seems to think that Herodotus purposely concealed the "human Nemesis," which was really involved in the transaction. So far from this being the case, Herodotus adds a particular connected with the human Nemesis, which is not given by Thucydides—viz., that Anêristus had himself been engaged in the cruelties which produced the execution of the ambassadors by way of reprisals. In fact Herodotus would not feel that a human interfered with a divine Nemesis.

[9] Of the cases brought forward by Col. Mure, that of Crœsus seems to be the

that in "almost every case" there would be several versions; and when there were, it should be borne in mind that it was his general practice to give them.[1] Further, the theory of Herodotus certainly is not that "*every* act of signal folly or injustice" must have a special Nemesis; or at least it is not his theory that every such act must have a visible Nemesis which can be distinctly attached to it by the historian; for he professes himself at a loss to know what punishment the Athenians received for their conduct toward the heralds of Darius,[2] and many instances even of flagrant impiety are recorded by him without any notice of their having drawn down a special visitation.[3] Herodotus is not, therefore, under any very strong temptation to warp or bend history in accordance with the exigencies of his Nemesiac theory; for that theory does not oblige him to show that all crimes are punished; and if it requires him, in the case of signal calamities, to assign a cause provocative of them, yet as he may find the cause in the conduct of ancestors,[4] in mere anterior prosperity,[5] in fate,[6] or in an unwitting contravention of fate,[7] no less than in the moral conduct of the individual, he cannot experience any great difficulty in accounting for such calamities without travelling beyond the domain of fact into the region of fable and invention. It is indeed far more in his choice of facts to record than in his choice among different versions of the same facts that our author's favourite theory of human life has left its trace upon his history. The great moral which he had himself drawn from his wide survey of mundane events was that which the word "Nemesis," taken in its widest sense, expresses. And this, his own predominant conviction, he sought to impress upon the world by means of his writings. Perhaps the chief attraction to him of his grand theme—the reason that induced him to prefer it to any other which the records of his own or of neighbouring countries might have offered —was the pointed illustration which it furnished of greatness

only one where history has really been distorted to make the Nemesis more complete (see Essay i. sub fin.). As gross an instance is the story of Polycrates, where the renunciation of alliance by Amasis, and the loss and recovery of the ring, seem to be pure fictions. But in neither case is it quite clear that Herodotus had a choice between different accounts.

[1] See i. 1–5, 19–20, 27, 70, 75, &c.; ii. 181; iii. 1–3, 9, 30, &c.; iv. 5–11, 150–4; v. 85–6; vi. 54, 75–84, 121–4; vii. 213–4, 230; viii. 94, 117–120; ix. 74.

[2] Herod. vii. 133.

[3] Ibid. i. 60, 159, 160; ii. 124–8; v. 63, 67; vi. 86, 91.

[4] As in the case of the heralds, and in that of Crœsus to some extent (see i. 13, 91).

[5] Herod. i. 32; iii. 40, 125; vii. 10, § 5.

[6] Ibid. i. 8.

[7] Ibid. ii. 133.

laid low—of a gradual progression to the highest pinnacle of glory and prosperous fortune, followed by a most calamitous reverse.[8] And the principle which may be supposed to have determined him in the selection of his main subject had the amplest field for exercise when the question was concerning the minor and more ornamental portions—the episodes, as they are generally called—which constitute so considerable a part and form so remarkable a feature of the History. In the choice of the episodes, and still more in the length to which they should be pursued, and the elaboration which should be bestowed on them, Herodotus appears to have been guided to a very great extent, though perhaps unconsciously, by their fitness to inculcate the moral lesson which he was especially anxious to impress on men. Hence the length and finish of the legend of Crœsus, and of the histories of Cambyses, Polycrates, Cleomenes, Orœtes,[9] &c.; hence the introduction of such tales as those of Helen,[1] Glaucus,[2] Pythius,[3] Artaÿctes;[4] every occasion is seized to deepen by repetition the impression which the main narrative is calculated to produce, and thus a space quite disproportionate to their historical interest is assigned to certain matters which properly belong to the narrative, while others which scarcely come within the sphere of the narrative at all, find a place in it owing to their moral aspect.

The credulity of Herodotus in respect of marvels in nature and extraordinary customs among the remoter tribes of men has undoubtedly had the effect of introducing into his work a number of statements which the progress of our knowledge shows us to be untrue, and which detract from the value though they add to the entertainingness of his pages. But these fictions are not nearly so many as they have recently been made to appear;[5]

[8] His other work, the history of the Assyrian Monarchy, would similarly have comprised the rise of an enormous power, and a still more complete overthrow.

[9] Herod. iii. 120–8. [1] Ibid. ii. 113–120. [2] Ibid. vi. 86.

[3] Ibid. vii. 27–9, 38–9. [4] Ibid. ix. 116–120.

[5] Col. Mure has included among the "incredible or impossible marvels reported by Herodotus" a considerable number of statements which there is not the slightest reason to question:—as the existence of men without names in Western Africa (iv. 184), the two singular breeds of sheep in Arabia, with the contrivance for preserving the long tails of the one kind from injury (iii. 113), the fact of a race dwelling upon scaffoldings in the middle of lake Prasias, and living upon fish (v. 16), the existence of a bald race beyond Scythia (iv. 23), the peculiar form of cannibalism ascribed to the Massagetæ (i. 216) and others (iii. 99; iv. 26), and the eccentric customs with regard to women of the Nasamonians (iv. 172), Indians (iii. 101), Caucasians (i. 203), &c. Many of these find close parallels in the observations of other travellers (see notes on iv. 184; iii. 113; and v. 15); others are perhaps exaggerations, but involve interesting notices of real facts (see note on iv. 23). Occasionally Col. Mure helps his argument by a mistranslation, as when he says that Herodotus

and their occurrence is the necessary consequence of our author's adoption of a principle which the circumstances of the time justified, and to which the modern reader is greatly beholden. In dealing with this class of subjects he was obliged to lay down for himself some rule concerning the reports which he received from others, and if he did not resolve to suppress them entirely —a course of proceeding that all probably would agree in regretting—he could only choose between reporting all alike, whether they seemed to him credible or incredible, and making his own notion of their credibility the test of their admission or rejection. Had he belonged to an age of large experience, and to one when travels as extensive as his own were common, it might have been best to pursue the latter course, trusting to future travellers to complete from their own observation the blanks which he would thus have left voluntarily in his descriptions. But Herodotus lived when knowledge of distant countries was small, and travels such as his very uncommon; he had been the first Greek visitant in many a strange land, and knew that there was little likelihood of others penetrating farther, or even so far as himself. He was also conscious that he had beheld in the course of his travels a number of marvels which he would have thought quite incredible beforehand;[6] and hence he felt that, however extraordinary the reports which reached him of men or countries, they might nevertheless be true. He therefore thought it best to give them a place in his work, but with the general protest that he did not, by recording a thing, intend to declare his own belief in it.[7] Sometimes he takes the liberty of expressing, or by a sly innuendo implying, his distinct disbelief;[8] sometimes by relating the marvel as a fact, and not merely as what is said, he lets us see that he gives it credence;[9] but generally he is content to reserve his own

describes among other curiosities found at Platæa, "a head, the skull, jaws, *gums*, and teeth of which were of a single piece of bone" (p. 379); Herodotus having in fact mentioned a skull without sutures, *i. e.* one in which the sutures did not appear; and also, as a separate marvel, two jaws, an upper and an under, wherein the teeth, incisors, and grinders (γομφίοι, "grinders," not "*gums*") were joined together and formed but a single bone, which is a possible result of ossification. This is perhaps the grossest instance of the kind, but the same spirit of undue leaning is shown in representing it as unquestionable that Herodotus meant to give his bald men (iv. 23) "unusually long and bushy *beards*," when this is only a possible, and not perhaps the most probable rendering of the passage. (See note *ad loc.*)

[6] As the productiveness of Babylonia, and the size to which plants grew there (i. 193).

[7] See book vii. ch. 152.

[8] As in ii. 28, 56–7, 131; iii. 115, 116; iv. 25, 31, 32, 36, 42, 105; v. 10; and by an innuendo, in iv. 191.

[9] As in his account of the Phœnix (ii. 73), of the bald men (iv. 23–5), of the collection of ladanum from the beards of goats (iii. 112), of the sweet scent that is wafted from Arabia (iii. 113), of the Neuri leaving their country on account of ser-

opinion, or perhaps to keep his judgment in suspense, and simply to report what he had heard from those who professed to have correct information.[1] And to this judicious resolution on his part the modern reader is greatly indebted. Had he decided on recording nothing but what he positively believed, we should have lost altogether a number of the most interesting portions of his history.[2] Had he even allowed positive disbelief to act as a bar to admission into his pages, we should have been deprived of several of the most important notices which his work contains. The circumstance which is to us incontrovertible evidence of the fact—intrinsically so hard to credit—that Africa was circumnavigated by the Phœnicians as early as the seventh century before our era, the marvel namely reported by the voyagers that as they sailed they "had the sun on their right,"[3] was one which Herodotus distinctly rejected as surpassing belief. He also saw no grounds for admitting the existence of any islands called the Cassiterides, or Tin Islands, whence that commodity was brought to Greece,[4] nor any sufficient evidence of a sea washing Europe upon the north, from which amber was obtained;[5] so that had he adopted the canon of exclusion which his critics prefer, we should have been without the earliest mention which has come down to us of our own country—we should have lost the proof furnished in the same place of the antiquity of our tin trade—and we should have been unaware that any information had reached the Greeks in the time of Herodotus of the existence of the Baltic. It may fairly be doubted whether the retrenchment of a certain number of traveller's tales, palmed upon the unsus-

pents (iv. 105), of the wild asses which did not drink (iv. 192), and of the extraordinary skull and jaws found on the field of Platæa (ix. 83).

[1] See i. 140, 202; ii. 32–3, 75; iii. 20, 23, 104–5, 108–9, 111; iv. 96, 110, 173, 184 ad fin., 195, 196; v. 9. He often reminds us in the middle of an account that he is neither affirming nor denying, but only reporting what is said—as in iv. 96—*περὶ μὲν τούτου οὔτε ἀπιστέω οὔτε ὦν πιστεύω τι λίην*. iv. 173. *λέγω δὲ ταῦτα τὰ λέγουσι Λίβυες*. iv. 195. *ταῦτα εἰ μέν ἐστι ἀληθέως οὐκ οἶδα, τὰ δὲ λέγεται γράφω.* We are not therefore entitled to assume, when Herodotus makes a statement without any special intimation of a doubt of its accuracy, that "he believed it himself and intended it to be believed by others" (Mure, p. 380), but only that he did not actually disbelieve it, and that he thought it worthy of the attention of his readers. Herodotus does in fact mark by very nice shades the degree of credence which he claims for his different statements. Where he believes, he states the thing as a fact; where he doubts he tells us it was *said;* where he disbelieves he calls the statement in question.

[2] As for instance the entire account in the second book of the interior of Africa, containing notices perhaps of the Niger and of Timbuctoo (chs. 32–3), and great parts of the description of the north African nations in book iv. (chs. 168–196.)

[3] Herod. iv. 42. *ἔλεγον ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ, ἄλλῳ δὲ δή τεῳ, ὡς περιπλώοντες τὴν Λιβύην τὸν ἥλιον ἔσχον ἐς τὰ δεξιά.*

[4] Herod. iii. 115.

[5] Ibid. iii. 115, and compare iv. 45.

pectingness of our author by untruthful persons or humourists,[6] would have compensated for the loss of these important scraps of knowledge which we only obtain through his habit of reporting even what he disbelieved.

There is another respect also wherein advantage seems to arise to the work of our author from his spirit of credulity, which may mitigate the severity of our censures on this defect of his mental constitution. Credulity is a necessary element in a certain cast of mind, the other constituents of which render their possessor peculiarly well fitted for the historian's office. The simplicity (εὐήθεια) which Plato requires in the philosopher[7] is no less admirable in the writer of history, and it is this spirit —frank, childlike, guileless, playful, quaint—which lends to the work of Herodotus a great portion of its attraction, giving it that air of freshness, truth, and *naïveté* which is felt by all readers to be its especial merit. We cannot obtain these advantages without their accompanying drawback. Writers of the tone of Herodotus, such as Froissart, Philip de Comines, Sir John Mandeville, and others of our old English travellers, are among the most charming within the whole range of literature, but their writings are uniformly tinged with the same credulous vein which is regarded as offensive in our author.

The charge made against Herodotus of an undue love of effect finds its most solid ground in that tone of exaggeration and hyperbole which often characterises his narrative, especially in its more highly wrought and excited portions. His statements that the Athenians at Marathon were "the first Greeks who dared to look upon the Median garb, and to face men clad in that fashion,"[8] and that the island of Samos appeared to the

[6] Even these have perhaps been unduly multiplied. At least to me the following comparison appears to be overstrained—"The translation supplied to Herodotus of the inscription on one of the larger pyramids represented it as 'recording the quantity of onions, leeks, and radishes consumed by the labourers employed in the erection of the monument.' Were a foreigner, ignorant of the English tongue, to ask the meaning of the inscription on the London Monument, of some humourist of Fish-street Hill, the answer might probably be, that it recorded the number of quarts of porter and pipes of tobacco consumed by the builders of the column: but it is not likely that he would put faith in the statement. Herodotus however seems, *in the parallel case*, to have believed his informants implicitly," &c. This is to argue that what would be unlikely to take place in London in the 17th century A. D. would have been equally unlikely to happen in Egypt in the 20th or 25th century B. C. Probabilities will of course be differently measured by different minds; but to me, I confess, it does not seem at all out of keeping with what we know of primitive times, that the greatness of a work should be estimated by the quantity of food consumed by those engaged on it, or that this estimate should be recorded on the work itself. Herodotus, it should be borne in mind, does not say that this was the only inscription.

[7] Republ. iii. § 16. [8] Herod. vi. 112.

commanders of the combined fleet after Salamis "as distant as the Pillars of Hercules,"[9] are rhetorical exaggerations of this character, and have been deservedly reprehended.[1] Other instances of the tendency complained of are, the declaration in the first book that Cyrus, by the overthrow of Crœsus, became "master of *the whole of Asia*,"[2] and that in the sixth, that if the Ionians had destroyed the Persian fleet at the battle of Ladé, Darius could have brought against them "another *five times as great*."[3] To the same quality perhaps may be ascribed the readiness with which Herodotus accepts from his informants extravagant computations of numbers, size, duration, &c.,[4] as well as improbable statements with regard to regularity[5] and completeness, the latter sometimes contradicted in his own pages.[6] His constant desire is to set matters in the most striking light—to be lively, novel, forcible—and to this desire not only accuracy, but even at times consistency, is sacrificed. It belongs to his romantic and poetic turn of mind to care more for the graphic effect of each successive picture than for the accord and har-

[9] Herod. viii. 132.

[1] Mure's Lit. of Greece, iv. pp. 403–6.

[2] Chap. 130 ad fin.; cf. ix. 122.

[3] Chap. 13.

[4] As the size of the army of Xerxes (vii. 184–7; see note ad loc.), the number of cities in Egypt in the reign of Amasis (ii. 177), the height of the walls of Babylon (i. 178; see note [5] ad loc.) and of the pyramids (ii. 124, 127), the duration of the Egyptian monarchy (ii. 142; compare 100), &c.

[5] Instances of improbable regularity are, the unbroken descent of the Lydian Heraclide kings in the line of direct succession during twenty-two generations (i. 8), the exact correspondence in the number of Egyptian kings and high-priests of Vulcan during a supposed period of 11,340 years (ii. 142), and the unbroken hereditary descent of the latter (ii. 143), the occurrence of salt-hills and springs of water at intervals of exactly 10 days' journey along the whole sandy belt extending from Egyptian Thebes to the west coast of Africa (iv. 181), the wonderful productiveness of all the world's *extremities* (iii. 106–116), &c.

[6] The *entire* freedom of the Greeks before Crœsus (i. 6), the *complete* destruction of the Samians by Otanes (iii. 149), the *total* contrast between Greek and Egyptian manners (ii. 35–6), the *demolition* of the walls of Babylon by Darius (iii. 159), the *general* submission of the insular Greeks to Cyrus (i. 169), the *absolute* invincibility of the Scythians (iv. 46), and the *extreme* simplicity of the Persians before they conquered the Lydians (i. 71), are specimens. The history of the four predecessors of Crœsus upon the throne shows that the encroachments of the Lydians upon the liberties of the Greeks began with Gyges, and continued without intermission till the complete reduction of the Ionians, Æolians, and Dorians by Crœsus (i. 14–16). The prominent part played by the Samians in the Ionian revolt (vi. 8–15) is incompatible with their extermination by Otanes. The non-existence of priestesses in Egypt—one of the points of contrast between that country and Greece—is contradicted expressly (i. 182 and ii. 54). It appears from the description of Babylon (i. 178–180) that the great wall, though gaps may have been broken in it, was still standing when Herodotus wrote. That *all* the islanders did not submit to Cyrus is apparent from the history of Polycrates (iii. 44). The reduction of the Scythians by Sesostris is expressly asserted in book ii. (chs. 103 and 110). That the Persians began to lay aside their simple habits as soon as they conquered the Medes is implied in book i. ch. 126.

mony of the whole. His colours are throughout more vivid than the sober truth of history can be thought to warrant, and the modern critical reader has constantly to supply modifications and qualifications in order to bring the general tone of the narrative down to the level of actual fact.

Whether the anecdotical vein in which Herodotus so freely indulges is fairly referred to this head may perhaps admit of a doubt. A judicious selection of anecdotes forms a portion of the task of the historian, who best portrays both individual character and the general manners of an age by the help of this light and graceful embellishment. That the bulk of our author's anecdotes serve their proper purpose in his history—that they are characteristic and full of instruction, as well as pointed and well told—is what no candid and sensible reader can hesitate to allow. Perhaps the anecdotical element may be justly regarded as over largely developed in the work, especially if we compare it with other histories; but we must remember that in the time of Herodotus the field of literature had not been partitioned out according to our modern notions. History in our sense, biography, travels, memoirs, &c., had not then been recognised as distinct from one another, and the term *ἱστορία*, or "research," equally comprehended them all. Nor is it easy to see where the knife could have been applied, and the narrative pruned down and stript of anecdotical details, without the suppression of something that we could ill have spared—something really valuable towards completing the picture of ancient times which Herodotus presents to us. Certainly the portions of his work to which the chief objection has been made, as consisting of "mere local traditions and gossiping stories,"[7] the "Corinthian court scandal" of the third and fifth books,[8] the accounts of Cyrêné and Barca in the fourth,[9] the personal history of Solon,[1] and the wars between Sparta and Tegea in the first,[2] are not wanting in interest; and though undoubtedly we might imagine their loss compensated by the introduction of other matters about which we should have more cared to hear, yet their mere retrenchment without such compensation, which is all that criticism can have any right to demand,[3] would have diminished and not increased the value of

[7] Mure, p. 391. [8] Herod. iii. 49–53; v. 92. Comp. i. 23–4.
[9] Herod. iv. 145–205. [1] Ibid. i. 30–33. [2] Ibid. i. 66–8.
[3] The substance of Col. Mure's complaints against the episodical portion of Herodotus is, that he has not given us something more valuable in the place of what he has actually given—as, for instance, the real history of Corinth under the Cypselidæ instead of the anecdotes concerning Periander (pp. 292–3), the legislation of Solon in lieu of his discourse with Crœsus (pp. 394–5), the Messenian wars in the place of the struggle with Tegea (p. 397, note), &c. He thinks we had "a right to expect"

the work as a record of facts,[4] and would scarcely have improved it even in an artistic point of view. The double narrative in the third book is skilfully devised to keep up that amount of attention to Greek affairs which the author desires to maintain, in subordination to the main subject of the earlier or introductory portion of his work—the rise and progress of the Persian empire, and resembles the underplot in a play or a novel, which agreeably relieves the chief story. It also, as has been already observed,[5] reflects and repeats, in the histories of Periander and of Polycrates, the main ethical teaching of the work, thereby at once deepening the moral impression, and helping to diffuse a uniform tone throughout the volumes. The history of the Greek colonies in Africa is not only interesting in itself, and in the light it throws upon the principles of Hellenic colonisation,[6] but it serves to introduce that sketch of the neighbouring nations which has always been recognised as one of the most valuable of our author's episodes. The fragment of the life of Solon is no doubt in some degree legendary, but he must be a stern critic who would have the heart to desire its retrenchment, seeing that with it must have disappeared almost the whole story of Crœsus, the most beautiful and touching in the entire history. The wars of Sparta with Tegea had an intrinsic importance quite sufficient to justify their introduction, and the synchronism of the last with the time of the embassy sent by Crœsus, which forms the sole occasion of the reference in the first book to Spartan history, fully explains its occurrence in the place assigned to it. Adverse criticism therefore seems to fail in pointing out any mere surplusage even in the anecdotical portion of the work, and the truth appears to be that the episodical matter in Herodotus is, on the whole, singularly well chosen and effective, being lively, varied, and replete with interest.

To say that Herodotus has no claim to rank as a critical

that Herodotus in his episodical notices of the Greek states, should have embodied all the "more important facts of their history" (p. 391). But this is to forget that Herodotus was not writing the history of Greece, but the history of a particular war. We had no "right to expect" anything from him but what possessed a direct bearing upon the struggle between Greece and Persia. As Niebuhr observes, "the work of Herodotus is not an ancient Greek history, but has an epic character; it has a unity amid its episodes, which are retarding motives,"—delaying yet helping the main story. (See Niebuhr's Lectures on Ancient History, vol. i. p. 168. E. T.)

[4] The stories of Periander and Polycrates give us the portrait of the Greek tyrant in his worst, and in his intermediate, as that of Pisistratus does in his best character. Without them the abhorrence expressed by Herodotus for rulers of this class would strike the reader as strange and exaggerated.

[5] See above, page 75.

[6] Especially upon the leading part taken by the Delphic oracle in directing the course of colonisation, and forcing the growth of colonies.

historian is simply to note that, having been born before the rise of a certain form of the historical science, he did not happen to invent it. That in intelligence, sagacity, and practical good sense he was greatly in advance of his predecessors and even of his contemporaries, is what no one who carefully reads the fragments left us of the early Greek historians will hesitate to allow. But a great gulf separates him from Thucydides, the real founder of the Critical School. From the judgment of Thucydides on obscure points connected with the history of the ancient world, the modern critic, if he ventures to dissent at all, dissents with the utmost diffidence. The opinions of Herodotus have no such weight. They are views which an intelligent man living in the fifth century B.C. might entertain, and as such they are entitled to attentive consideration, but they have no binding authority. Herodotus belongs distinctly to the Romantic School: with him the imagination is in the ascendant and not the reason; his mind is poetic, and he is especially disqualified from forming sound judgments concerning events remote from his own day by his full belief in the popular mythology, which placed gods and heroes upon the earth at no very distant period. He does not apply the same canons of credibility to the past and present, or, like Thucydides, view human nature and the general course of mundane effects as always the same.[7] Thus his history of early times is little more than myth and fable, embodying often important traditions, but delivered as he received it, without any exercise upon it of critical discrimination. In his history of times near his own the case is different; he there brings his judgment into play, compares and sifts different accounts, exhibits sense and intelligence, and draws conclusions for the most part just and rational.[8] Still even in this portion of the history we miss qualities which go to form our ideal of the perfect historian, and with which we are familiarised through Thucydides and his school; we miss those habits of accuracy which we have learnt to regard as among the primary qualifications of the historical writer; we come upon discrepancies, contradictions, suspicious repetitions, and the like; we find an utter carelessness of chronology; above all, we miss that philosophic insight into the real causes of political transactions, the moving influences whence great events proceed, which communicates, according to modern notions, its soul to history, making it a living and speaking

[7] Thucyd. i. 22.

[8] For acknowledgments on this head on the part of an adverse critic, see Mure's Lit. of Greece, vol. iv. pp. 354 and 410.

monitor instead of a mere pictured image of bygone times and circumstances.

The principal discrepancies, contradictions, &c. in the Herodotean narrative have either been already glanced at or will be pointed out in the notes on the text. One of the most common is a want of harmony in the different portions of any estimate that is given of numbers. If both the items and the total of a sum are mentioned, they are rather more likely to disagree than to agree. Making the most liberal allowance for corruptions of the text (to which numbers are specially liable), it would still seem that these frequent disagreements must have arisen from some defect in the author: either he was not an adept in arithmetic, or he did not take the trouble to go through the calculations and see that his statements tallied. Numerical discrepancies of the kind described occur in his accounts of the duration of the Median empire,[9] of the tribute which the Persian king drew from the satrapies,[1] of the distance from Sardis to Susa,[2] and of the sea from Egyptian Thebes,[3] of the number of the Greek fleet at Salamis,[4] &c.; while other errors disfigure his computation of the number of days in the full term of human life,[5] and of the duration of the monarchy in Egypt.[6] The only calculations of any extent which do not contain an arithmetical error are the numbers of the Greek fleets at Miletus[7] and Artemisium,[8] of the fleet[9] and army of Xerxes,[1] and of the Greek army at Platæa.[2] Contradictions connected with his habit of exaggeration have been already noticed.[3] Others, arising apparently from

[9] Herod. i. 130. See the Critical Essays, Essay iii. ad fin.

[1] Ibid. iii. 90–5. See note ad loc. [2] Ibid. v. 52–4.

[3] Ibid. ii. 7–9. From the sea to Heliopolis is said to be 1500 stades, from Heliopolis to Thebes 4860 stades, but from the sea to Thebes only 6120, instead of 6360, stades.

[4] Ibid. viii. 43–8. See note ad loc.

[5] Ibid. i. 32. The double error—clearly arising from mere carelessness—whereby the solar year is made to average 375 days, is explained in the note on the passage.

[6] Ibid. ii. 142. The error here is but slight, yet it is curious. Having to estimate the number of years contained in 341 generations of men, Herodotus first lays it down that three generations go to the century. He then says, correctly, that 300 generations will make 10,000 years; but in estimating the odd 41 generations, he has a curious error. Forty-one generations, he says, will make 1340 years; whereas they will really make 1366⅔ years. If a round number were intended, it should have been 1360 or 1370.

[7] Ibid. vi. 8. [8] Ibid. viii. 1–2. [9] Ibid. vii. 89–95.

[1] Ibid. vii. 184–6. [2] Ibid. ix. 28–9.

[3] Suprà, p. 80. Col. Mure adds to these a number of discrepancies which are more imaginary than real. (See Appendix J. to his 4th volume.) He considers the statement that Crœsus was "the person who first within the knowledge of Herodotus commenced aggressions on the Greeks" (i. 5), as conflicting not only with the narrative in chs. 14–16, but also with the account of the Ionian colonisation of Asia

mere carelessness, are the discrepancies between his description of the size of Scythia, and his account of the expedition of Darius;[4] between his date for Psammetichus[5] and his estimate of 700 years from Anysis to Amyrtæus;[6] between his two accounts of the Telmessian prodigy of the female beard;[7] his two estimates of the length of the day's journey;[8] and his two statements of the time that intervened between the first and second expeditions directed against Greece by Darius.[9] Repetitions having an awkward and suspicious appearance are—the warnings given to Crœsus by Sandanis,[1] and to Darius and Xerxes by Artabanus;[2] the similar prayers of Œobazus and of Pythius, with their similar result;[3] the parallel reproaches addressed to Astyages by Harpagus, and to Demaratus by Leotychides;[4] and the anecdote, told of Cyrus, of Artaphernes, and of Darius, that on hearing of one of the leading Greek nations, they asked "who they were?"[5]

The want of a standard chronological era cannot be charged

Minor in ch. 146. But Herodotus does not say that the Greeks colonised at the expense of the Lydians, who probably dwelt some way inland at that time. Again, Col. Mure objects to the panegyric upon the Alcmæonidæ for their consistent hatred of tyrants (vi. 121), because Megacles had on one occasion helped Pisistratus to return (i. 61); but this is at the utmost a slight rhetorical exaggeration. The Alcmæonidæ, from the time when Megacles broke with Pisistratus, had been most consistent in their opposition. (See i. 64; v. 62–3, 66, &c.) He also sees a contradiction between book v. ch. 40, where Anaxandrides is said, in maintaining two wives and two households at the same time, to have "done an act very contrary to Spartan feeling," and book vi. ch. 61, et seq., where King Ariston is said to have had two wives, and to have even married a third, without any censure or remark at all. Here the flaw is altogether in the critic's spectacles: the strange and unusual thing being, according to Herodotus, not divorce and remarriage, as in Ariston's case (vi. 63), but the having two wives and two households at one and the same time. Ariston never had two wives *at once*.

[4] Herod. iv. 101–133. See note on book iv. ch. 133.

[5] This date cannot be fixed *exactly*, as Herodotus does not tell us in which year of the reign of Cambyses he believes him to have invaded Egypt. Assuming however the year B. C. 525 for this event, and taking the years of the last six kings from Herodotus, we obtain B. C. 671 or B. C. 672 for the year of the accession of Psammetichus—a date accordant with the synchronism which made him contemporary with Cyaxares (i. 105), and agreeing nearly with the views of Manetho.

[6] Herod. ii. 140. According to this statement nearly 500 years intervene between Anysis and Psammetichus. Yet Anysis is contemporary with Sabaco, who puts to death Neco, the father of Psammetichus, and drives Psammetichus himself into exile! (See Herod. ii. 152.)

[7] Herod. i. 175, and viii. 104. [8] Ibid. iv. 101, and v. 53.

[9] In ch. 46 of book vi. Herodotus makes the destruction of their walls by the Thasians at the bidding of Darius follow "in the year after" (δευτέρῳ ἔτεϊ) the loss of the fleet of Mardonius at Athos. In ch. 48 he says that *after* the submission of the Thasians (μετὰ τοῦτο) Darius sent orders for the collection of transports; and in ch. 95 these orders are said to have been given "the year before" (τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτεϊ) the expedition of Datis. But towards the end of the same chapter the disaster at Athos is referred to the year *immediately* preceding that expedition.

[1] Herod. i. 71.

[2] Ibid. iv. 83, and vii. 10. [3] Ibid. iv. 84, and vii. 38–9.

[4] Ibid. i. 129, and vi. 67. [5] Ibid. i. 153; v. 73, v. 105.

against Herodotus as a fault,[6] since it was a defect of the age in which he lived, and one with which even Thucydides is equally taxable. It was not until Timæus introduced the reckoning by Olympiads some generations after Herodotus, that Greek chronology came to be put on a satisfactory footing. Herodotus, however, is unnecessarily loose and inaccurate in his chronological statements, and evidently regards the whole subject as unimportant. His reckoning events from "his own time"[7] is vague and indeterminate, since we do not know whether he means from his birth, from his *acme*, or from the time of his last recension, a doubt involving a difference of more than half a century. Even when he seems to profess exactness, there is always some omission, some unestimated period, which precludes us from constructing a complete chronological scheme from the data which he furnishes.[8] His synchronisms are on the whole less incorrect than might have been expected,[9] but occasional mistakes occur which a very little care might have remedied.[1] We may conclude from these that he was not in the habit of tabulating his dates or determining synchronisms in any other way than by means of popular rumour.

[6] Col. Mure taxes Herodotus with being even here "behind the spirit of the age" (p. 417), and refers to the chronological works of Hellanicus and Charon as having introduced a "framework on which the course of the national history was adjusted." But there is no evidence to prove that either Charon or Hellanicus made use of their chronological schemes in their histories; and the latter is expressly taxed by Thucydides with inexactness in his assignment of dates (i. 97). Besides, it has been already shown (suprà, p. 32) that Hellanicus wrote later than Herodotus, and that the works of Charon were probably unknown to him.

[7] See Herod. ii. 53, and 145. A nearer approach to exactness is made when the time of his visit to a country is assumed as the epoch from which to calculate (see ii. 13, and 44); but still even in these cases there is some uncertainty.

[8] The Lydian chronology is incomplete from his omitting to state in which year of Cyrus Sardis was taken. The Assyrian fails from the term of the anarchy not being specified. The later Egyptian has the same defect as the Lydian: we are not told in which year of the reign of Cambyses he led his expedition into Egypt. For the early Egyptian and the Babylonian we have only an estimate by generations. The Scythian is indefinite, since, from the vague way in which the interval between the Thracian campaign of Megabazus and the breaking out of the Ionian revolt is spoken of (οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον ἄνεσις κακῶν ἦν), it is impossible to fix the year of Darius' attack, on which the commencement of the Scythian monarchy is made to depend (iv. 7). The only chronology which is exact and continuous is the Medo-Persian. We may count back from the siege of Sestos to the first year of Cyrus, and thence to the accession of Deioces, which Herodotus placed 229 years before that event, or B. C. 708.

[9] As those of Cyaxares with Alyattes (i. 73–4), and of both with Psammetichus (i. 105), of Sennacherib with Sethos the successor of Sabaco (ii. 141), of Amasis and Labynetus (Nabunit) with Crœsus (i. 77), &c.

[1] As the placing the embassy of Crœsus to Sparta after the final settlement of Pisistratus on the throne of Athens (i. 65), the apparently making Periander and Alcæus contemporaries with Pisistratus and his son Hegesistratus (v. 94–5), the assignment of the legislation of Lycurgus to the reign of Labotas in Sparta (i. 65), &c.

But the great defect of Herodotus as a historian is his want of insight into the causes, bearing, and interconnexion of the events which he records. It is not merely that he is deficient in political discernment, and so relates with the utmost baldness, and with striking omissions and misstatements, the constitutional changes whose occurrence he is led to notice,[2] but even with regard to the important historical vicissitudes which form the special subject of his narrative, he exhibits the same inability to penetrate below the surface, and to appreciate or even to conceive aright their true origin and character. Little personal tales and anecdotes take the place of those investigations into the condition of nations or into the grounds of hostility between races on which critical writers of history are wont to lay the chief stress in their accounts of wars, rebellions, conquests, and the like. The personal ambition of Cyrus is made the sole cause of the revolt of the Persians from the Medes;[3] to the resentment of Harpagus is attributed its success;[4] the attack on Egypt is traced to advice given to Cambyses by an eye-doctor;[5] the Magian revolt is the mere doing of Patizeithes;[6] Darius is led to form a design against Greece by a suggestion of Democedes;[7] the Ionians rebel because Aristagoras has become involved in difficulties.[8] Through the whole history there runs a similar vein; if war breaks out between Media and Lydia, it is because a band of Scyths have caused King Cyaxares to banquet on human flesh and have then fled to Alyattes;[9] if King Darius sends an expedition against Samos, it is to reward a man who presented to him a scarlet cloak;[10] if the Lydians after their conquest by the Persians lose their military spirit and grow effeminate, it is owing to Crœsus having advised Cyrus to give them the breeding of women;[11] everywhere little reasons are alleged, which, even if they existed, would not be the causes of the events traced to them, but only the occasions upon which the real causes came into play.[12] The tales, however, which take the place of more philosophical inquiries are for the most part (it would seem) apocryphal, having been invented to account for the occurrences by those who failed to trace them to any deeper source. From the same defect of insight extreme improbabilities

[2] See the notes on book i. ch. 65, book iv. ch. 145, book v. chs. 67–9, and book vi. chs. 43 and 83.

[3] Herod. i. 126–7. [4] Ibid. chs. 127–8. [5] Ibid. iii. 1.

[6] Ibid. iii. 61. [7] Ibid. iii. 134–5. [8] Ibid. v. 35–6.

[9] Ibid. i. 73–4. [10] Ibid. iii. 139. [11] Ibid. i. 155.

[12] The statement of Aristotle concerning internal troubles applies with equal or greater force to wars between nations: ἐκ μικρῶν ἀλλ' οὐ περὶ μικρῶν—γίγνονται (Pol. v. 3, § 1. Compare Polyb. iii. 6–7).

are accepted by Herodotus without the slightest objection, and difficulties, from being unperceived, are left unexplained. To give a single instance of each:—Herodotus reports, apparently without any hesitation, the Persian tale concerning the motive which induced Cambyses to invade Egypt—that, having applied to Amasis for his daughter in marriage, Amasis pretended to comply, but sent him the daughter of Apries, a "young girl" of great personal charms, whom Cambyses received among his wives, and regarded with much favour, till one day he learnt from her lips the trick that had been played him, whereupon he declared war against the deceiver. Now as Amasis had reigned, according to Herodotus, forty-four years from the death of Apries, and the discovery of the trick was followed closely by the invasion, which Amasis did not live to see, it is plain that this "beautiful young girl," who had been palmed off upon Cambyses as the reigning king's daughter, must have been a woman of between forty and fifty years of age.[1] Again—Herodotus tells us, and probability fully bears him out, that the Persian army under Datis and Artaphernes landed at Marathon because it was the most favourable position in all Attica for the manœuvres of cavalry,[2] in which arm the Persian strength chiefly lay; yet when he comes to describe the battle no mention whatever is made of any part taken in it by the Persian horse, nor any account given of their absence or inaction.[3] A similar inability to appreciate difficulties appears in his account of the numbers at Thermopylæ, where no attempt is made to reconcile the apparent discrepancy between the list of the forces, the Spartan inscription, and the actual number of the slain,[4] nor

[1] See Herod. iii. 1, and compare ii. 172, and iii. 10. Col. Mure's criticism (Lit. of Greece, iv. p. 419) in this instance is perfectly just. Almost as gross an instance of the same fault occurs in the history of Mycerinus. Mycerinus succeeds his uncle, Chephren, who has reigned 56 years (ii. 127–8). He reigns happily for a certain indefinite time, during which he builds a pyramid of no small size; when, lo! an oracle announces to him that he has but six more years to live. Mycerinus is indignant that he should be cut off in the flower of his age—reproaches the oracle—and determines to falsify it by living twelve years in six. So he gives himself up to jollity, drinks and feasts, night as well as day, during the time left him, and dies as the oracle foretold. Herodotus seems quite to have forgotten that Mycerinus must have been *sixty at the least*, when he received the warning, and would probably have been considerably more, as his father Cheops reigned 50 years, and so would not be likely to leave behind him a very young son.

[2] Herod. vi. 102.

[3] We are left to derive from another writer (Suidas ad voc. *Χωρὶς ἱππεῖς*) the information that Miltiades took advantage of the absence of the Persian cavalry, who had been forced to go to a distance for forage, to bring on the engagement.

[4] According to Herodotus, the entire number of the troops, exclusive of the Helots, was between 4000 and 5000. Of these there came from the Peloponnese 3100 (vii. 202–3). Yet the inscription on the spot, which would certainly not ex-

any explanation offered of those circumstances connected with the conduct of the Thebans in the battle which have provoked hostile criticism both in ancient and modern times.[5]

There are certain other respects in which Herodotus has been regarded as exhibiting a want of critical acumen, viz., in his geographical and meteorological disquisitions, in his linguistic efforts, and in his treatment of the subject of mythology.[6] These may be touched with the utmost brevity, since his value as a historian is but very slightly affected by the opinion which may be formed of his success or failure in such matters. As a general geographer it must be allowed that his views were indistinct, though they can scarcely be said with truth to have been "crudely digested."[7] Looking upon geography as an experimental science, he did not profess more knowledge with regard to it than had been collected by observation up to his time. He seems to have formed no distinct opinion on the shape of the earth, or the configuration of land and water, since he could not find that the land had been explored to its limits, either towards the north or towards the east.[8] He knew, however, enough of the projection of Arabia and of Africa into the southern sea to be aware that the circular plane of Hecatæus was a pure fiction, and as such he ridiculed it.[9] Within the limits of his knowledge he is, for the most part, very clear and precise. He divides the known world into three parts, Europe, Asia, and Africa.[10] Of these, Asia and Africa lie to the south, Europe is to the north, and extends along the other two.[11] The boundary line between Europe and Asia runs due east, consisting of the Phasis, the south coast of the Caspian, the river Araxes, and a line produced thence as far as the land continues.[12] The boundary between Asia and Africa is the west frontier of Egypt,[13] not the isthmus of Suez, or the Nile, which last was commonly made the boundary.[14] The general contour of the Mediterranean, the Propontis, the Black Sea, and the Sea of Azof, is well understood by him,[15] as

aggerate the number on the Greek side, said 4000 Peloponnesians (vii. 228). Again, the number slain in the last struggle is estimated at 4000 (viii. 25); but only 300 Spartans and 700 Thespians were previously spoken of as remaining (vii. 222). These anomalies may perhaps admit of explanation; what is especially remarkable about them is, that Herodotus seems utterly unconscious of any difficulty.

[5] See Plut. de Malign. Herod. ii. pp. 865–6; Grote, Hist. of Greece, v. pp. 122–3; Mure's Lit. of Greece, iv. Appendix K., pp. 542–4.

[6] See Col. Mure's remarks, pp. 424–30.

[7] Ibid. p. 424.

[8] Herod. iii. 115, sub fin.; iv. 40, 45; v. 9.

[9] Ibid. iv. 36.

[10] Ibid. ii. 16; iv. 45. The *word* used by Herodotus is, of course, not Africa, but Libya.

[11] Ibid. iv. 42.

[12] Ibid. iv. 40 and 45.

[13] Ibid. ii. 17; iv. 39, ad fin.

[14] Ibid. ii. 17, and iv. 45.

[15] Ibid. iv. 85–86.

is the shape of Greece, Italy, Asia Minor, Syria, and the north coast of Africa. He knows that the Mediterranean communicates with the ocean, and that the ocean extends round Africa to the Arabian Gulf and Erythræan Sea.[16] He is also aware that the Caspian is a sea by itself.[17] He has tolerably correct views on the courses of the Nile,[1] Danube,[2] Halys,[3] Tigris,[4] Euphrates,[5] Indus,[6] Dnieper,[7] Dniester,[8] and other Scythian rivers.[9] He is confused, however, in his account of the Araxes,[10] incorrect (apparently) in his description of the Scythian rivers east of the Dnieper,[11] and ignorant of many facts which we should have expected him to know, as the existence of the Persian Gulf, of the peninsula of Hindustan, and of the sea of Aral, the superiority in size of Sicily to Sardinia,[12] &c. In his descriptions of countries that he knows he is graphic and striking,[13] not confining himself to the strictly geographical features, but noting also geological peculiarities, as the increase of land, the quality of soil, and the like.[14] On the whole, he will certainly bear comparison as a descriptive geographer with any author anterior to Strabo, and on some important points, as the true character of the Caspian Sea, he is better informed than even that writer.[15]

With regard to meteorology his notions are certainly such as seem to us in the highest degree absurd and extraordinary. He regards heat and cold as inherent in the winds themselves, not as connected with any solar influence.[16] The winds control the sun, whom they drive southwards in winter, only allowing him to resume his natural course at the approach of spring.[17] The phenomena, however, of evaporation,[18] and even of radiation,[19] seem to be tolerably well understood by Herodotus; and if on the whole his meteorological conceptions must be pronounced crude and false, we should remember that real physical science did not see the light till the time of Aristotle; and it may be questioned whether there is not something more healthy in the physical speculations of our author, which evince an inquiring mind and one that went to nature itself for arguments and analogies,[1]

[16] Herod. i. 202, ad fin.; iv. 42–4. [17] Ibid. i. 203.
[1] Ibid. ii. 17, 29–31.
[2] Ibid. ii. 33; iv. 47–9. [3] Ibid. i. 6, 72. [4] Ibid. i. 189, 193; v. 20.
[5] Ibid. i. 180. [6] Ibid. iv. 44. [7] Ibid. iv. 53. [8] Ibid. iv. 51–2.
[9] As the Pruth (iv. 48), the Bug (iv. 52), and the Don or Tanais (iv. 57).
[10] See note [2] on book i. ch. 201. [11] Herod. iv. 54–6.
[12] Ibid. i. 170; v. 106; vi. 2.
[13] Take, for instance, the description of Thessaly in book vii. (ch. 129), or that of Egypt in book ii. (chs. 6–12).
[14] Herod. ii. 7, 10, 12; iv. 47, 191, 198. [15] Comp. Strab. ii. p. 160.
[16] Herod. ii. 24–5. [17] Ibid. l. s. c. [18] Loc. cit. [19] Ch. 27.
[1] See ii. 20, 22, 23.

than in the physico-metaphysical theories of the Ionic School, which formed the furthest reach whereto Science (falsely so called) had attained in his day. His geological speculations in particular are in advance of his age, and not unfrequently anticipate lines of thought which are generally regarded as the discoveries of persons living at the present time.[2]

On the subject of mythology Herodotus seems to have held the common views of his countrymen: he accepted the myths in simple faith, and, where naturally led to do so, reported them as he had heard them. He drew, however, a very marked line between the mythological age and the historical,[3] and confined his narrative almost entirely to the latter, thereby offering a strong contrast to the writers who had preceded him, since in their works mythology either took the place of history,[4] or at least was largely intermixed with it.[5]

The philological deficiencies of Herodotus have been already admitted.[6] There is no reason to believe that he was a master of any language besides his own. He appears, however, to have regarded the languages of other nations with less contempt than was felt towards them by the Greeks generally; and the explanations which he gives of foreign words, though not always to be depended on,[7] are at once indicative of his unwearied activity in the pursuit of knowledge of all kinds, and possess an absolute value in the eyes of the comparative philologer.[8] On the etymology of Greek words he very rarely touches; in such cases his criticism seems neither better nor worse than that of other Greek writers, anterior to the rise of the Alexandrian school.[9]

[2] Herodotus perceives the operation of the two agencies of fire and water in bringing the earth into its actual condition (ii. 5, 10; vii. 129, ad fin.). He regards the changes as having occupied enormous periods of time—tens of thousands of years (ii. 11, ad fin.). His whole reasoning concerning the formation of the valley of the Nile, although perhaps erroneous in fact, is in perfect accordance with the principles laid down by Sir C. Lyell; and in his anticipations of what would happen if the Nile were made to empty itself into the head of the Red Sea that geologist would, it is probable, entirely concur. The alluvial character of the great Thessalian basin, and the disruption of the gorge at Tempé, would similarly be admitted. Herodotus again is quite correct in his remarks about the formation of land at the mouths of great rivers, as at the mouth of the Scamander, of the Mæander, and of the Acheloüs (ii. 10; see note ad loc.). His notice of the *projection* of the Delta from the general line of the African coast, as a proof of its recent origin (ii. 11), is also sound in principle.

[3] See especially iii. 122; but compare also i. 5, ii. 120, &c.; and note the omission of the mythological period, of which he was well aware (ii. 43, 46, 144–5, and 156), from the history of Egypt.

[4] Vide suprà, pp. 30–32. [5] See Thucyd. i. 21. [6] Suprà, p. 55.

[7] As in the case of the word Piromis (ii. 143), and of the names of the Persian monarchs (vi. 98).

[8] See the use made by Grimm of Herodotus's Scythian words in his History of the German Language, vol. i. pp. 218–237.

[9] Herodotus derives Θεὸς from τίθημι (ii. 52), which is at least as good as Plato's

The merits of Herodotus *as a writer* have never been questioned. Those who make the lowest estimate of his qualifications as a historian, are profuse in their acknowledgments of his beauties of composition and style, by which they consider that other commentators upon his work have been unduly biassed in his favour, and led to overrate his historical accuracy.[1] Scarcely a dissentient voice is to be found on this point among critical authorities, whether ancient or modern, who all agree in upholding our author as a model of his own peculiar order of composition.[2] In the concluding portion of this notice an endeavour will be made to point out the special excellencies which justify this universal judgment, while, at the same time, attention will be drawn to certain qualifying statements whereby the most recent of our author's critics has lessened the effect of those general eulogiums which he has passed upon the literary merits of the History.

The most important essential of every literary composition, be it poem, treatise, history, tale, or aught else, is unity. Upon this depends our power of viewing the composition as a whole, and of deriving pleasure from the grasp that we thereby obtain of it, as well as from our perception of the harmony and mutual adaptation of the parts, the progress and conduct of the argument, and the interconnexion of the various portions with one another. In few subjects is it so difficult to secure this fundamental groundwork of literary excellence as in history. The unity furnished by mere identity of country or of race falls short of what is required, and hence most general histories are wearisome and deficient in interest. Herodotus, by selecting for the subject of his work a special portion of the history of Greece and confining himself to the narration of events having a bear-

derivation from θέω (Cratyl. p. 397, C.), and is plausible, though probably wrong. (See note ad loc.) His derivation of *αἰγὶς* from *αἶξ* (iv. 189), on the other hand, is correct enough. What he means by deriving the *names* of the Greek gods from Egypt (ii. 50) is not clear. Except in the cases of Themis (the Egyptian *Thmei*), and of Athênê and Hephæstus, which may have been formed from Neith and Phtha, there seems to be no real connexion.

[1] Speaking of the bulk of modern commentators on Herodotus, Col. Mure says: "Dazzled by the rich profusion of his historical facts, by the grandeur of his historical combinations, by the charm of his style, by the truthfulness of intention and amiability of temper which beam in every page, and by the entertainment derived even from the defective portions of his narrative, they are led to place his work and himself, in regard to the higher qualifications of the historian, on the same level with that occupied by Thucydides." (Lit. of Greece, vol. iv. p. 355.)

[2] Cf. Arist. Rhet. iii. 9. Dionys. Hal. Ep. ad Cn. Pomp. 3. Jud. de Thuc. 23. Quinctilian. Inst. Orat. IX. iv. 19, and X. i. 73. Lucian. Herod. 1, vol. iv. p. 116. Athen. Deipn. iii. 15, p. 309. Schlegel's Lectures on the History of Literature, vol. i. p. 44, E. T. Matthiæ, Manual of Greek and Roman Literature, p. 57, E. T. Mure's Literature of Greece, vol. iv. pp. 451–518.

ing, direct or indirect, upon his main topic, has obtained a *unity of action* sufficient to satisfy the most stringent demands of art, equal, indeed, to that which characterises the masterpieces of the imagination. Instead of undertaking the complex and difficult task of writing the history of the Hellenic race during a given period, he sits down with the one (primary) object of faithfully recording the events of a particular war. It is not, as has been generally said,[3] the conflict of races, the antagonism between Europe and Asia, nor even that antagonism in its culminating form—the struggle between Greece and Persia—that he puts before him as his proper subject. Had his views embraced this whole conflict, the Argonautic expedition, the Trojan war, the invasion of Europe by the Teucrians and Mysians,[4] the frequent incursions into Asia of the Cimmerians and the Treres, perhaps even the settlement of the Greeks upon the Asiatic shores, would have claimed their place as integral portions of his narrative. His absolute renunciation of some of these subjects,[5] and his cursory notice[6] or entire omission of others,[7] indicate that he proposed to himself a far narrower task than the relation of the long course of rivalry between the Asiatic and European races. Nor did he even intend to give us an account of the entire struggle between Greece and Persia. His work, though not finished throughout, is concluded,[8] and its termination with the return of the Greek fleet from Sestos, distinctly shows that it was not his object to trace the entire history of the Græco-Persian struggle, since that struggle continued for thirty years afterwards with scarcely any intermission, until the arrangement known as the Peace of Callias. The real intention of Herodotus was to write the history of the Persian War of Invasion—the

[3] See Niebuhr's Lectures on Ancient History, vol. i. p. 167, E. T. Dahlmann's Life of Herodotus, ch. vii. § 1 (p. 102, E. T.). Mure's Literature of Greece, vol. iv. pp. 454–5.

[4] Herod. vii. 20, ad fin.

[5] As the Trojan war, and the voyage of the Argonauts (i. 5).

[6] As of the Teucrian and Mysian expedition (vii. 20), and of the Ionian colonization (i. 146; vii. 94).

[7] As of the incursions of the Treres, and the Cimmerian ravages preceding their grand attack. (See the Critical Essays, Essay i.)

[8] It is astonishing to find an author of Dahlmann's discernment maintaining that the extant work of Herodotus is an "uncompleted performance;" that he "intended to relate the expedition of Cimon, the great Egyptian war of the Athenians, and possibly the interference of the Persians in the Peloponnesian war, had his life been extended" (Life, l. s. c.). He admits that the "uncompleted performance" has "all the value of a work of art, rounded off in all its parts, and concluded with thoughtful deliberation," but attempts no account of the happy chance which has given this perfection to a mere fragment. Col. Mure, on the other hand, has some just remarks (p. 468) on the fitness of the point selected by Herodotus for the conclusion of his narrative, and the appropriateness of his winding up the whole by the final return home of the victorious Athenian fleet from the Hellespont.

contest which commenced with the first expedition of Mardonius, and terminated with the entire discomfiture of the vast fleet and army collected and led against Greece by Xerxes. The portion of his narrative which is anterior to the expedition of Mardonius is of the nature of an introduction, and in this a double design may be traced, the main object of the writer being to give an account of the rise, growth, and progress of the great Empire which had been the antagonist of Greece in the struggle, and his secondary aim to note the previous occasions whereon the two races had been brought into hostile contact. Both these points connect intimately with the principal object of the history, the one being necessary in order to a correct appreciation of the greatness of the contest and the glory gained by those with whom the victory rested, and the other giving the causes from which the quarrel sprang, and throwing important light on the course of the invasion and the conduct of the invaders.

Had Herodotus confined himself rigidly to these three inter-connected heads of narration, the growth of the Persian Empire, the previous hostilities between Greece and Persia, and the actual conduct of the great war, his history would have been meagre and deficient in variety. To avoid this consequence, he takes every opportunity which presents itself of diverging from his main narrative and interweaving with it the vast stores of his varied knowledge, whether historical, geographical, or antiquarian. He thus contrived to set before his countrymen a general picture of the world, of its various races, and of the previous history of those nations which possessed one;[9] thereby giving a grandeur and breadth to his work, which places it in the very first rank of historical compositions.[1] At the same time he took care to diversify his pages by interspersing amid his more serious matter tales, anecdotes, and descriptions of a lighter character, which are very graceful appendages to the main narrative, and happily relieve the gravity of its general tone. The variety and richness of the episodical matter in Herodotus forms thus one of his most striking and obvious characteristics, and is noticed by all critics;[2] but in this very profusion there is a fresh peril, or

[9] There are two remarkable exceptions which require notice. Herodotus gives us no history either of Phœnicia or of Carthage. In the latter case there is sufficient reason for his silence, but his omission of any sketch of Phœnician history is very surprising. He certainly ought to have given an account of the conquest or submission of the great naval power, in which case a sketch of its previous history would have been almost necessary. Is it possible that ignorance kept him silent?

[1] The only parallels to Herodotus in this respect which modern literature furnishes, are Gibbon's Decline and Fall of Rome and the recent work of Mr. Grote.

[2] See, among others, Dalhmann (Life of Herod. p. 164), Niebuhr (Lectures on Ancient History, vol. i. p. 168), and Col. Mure (Lit. of Greece, vol. iv. pp. 458–462).

rather a multitude of perils, and it may be questioned whether he has altogether escaped them. Episodes are dangerous to unity. They may overlay the main narrative and oppress it by their mere weight and number: they may be awkward and ill-timed, interrupting the thread of the narrative at improper places : or they may be incongruous in matter, and so break in upon the harmony which ought to characterise a work of art. In Herodotus the amount of the episodical matter is so great that these dangers are increased proportionally. Nearly one half of the work is of this secondary and subsidiary character.[3] It is, however, palpable to every reader who possesses the mere average amount of taste and critical discernment, that at least the great danger has been escaped, and that the episodes of Herodotus, notwithstanding their extraordinary length and number, do not injure the unity of his work, or unduly overcharge his narrative. This result, which "surprises" the modern critic,[4] has been ascribed with reason to "two principal causes—the propriety of the occasion and mode in which the episodical matter is introduced, and the distinctness of form and substance which the author has imparted to his principal masses."[5] By the exercise of great care and judgment, as well as of a good deal of self-restraint[6] in these two respects, Herodotus has succeeded in completely subordinating his episodes to his main subject, and has prevented them from entangling, encumbering, or even unpleasantly interrupting the general narrative.

While, however, the mode in which Herodotus has dealt with his episodical matter, is allowed to be in the main admirable, and to constitute one of the triumphs of his genius, objection is made to a certain number of his episodes as inappropriate, while others are regarded as misplaced. The history of the Greek colonies of Northern Africa, contained in the fourth book,[7] and the sketch of the native Libyan races, which forms a part of the same digression,[8] are thought to be superfluous, the connexion between the affairs of the countries described and the main narrative being too slight to justify the introduction, at any rate, of such lengthy notices.[9] The story of Rhampsinitus, in the second book,[1] is objected to, as beneath the dignity of history,[2]

[3] Vid. suprà, p. 23. [4] Mure, p. 459. [5] Ibid. loc. cit.

[6] This self-restraint is shown both in his abstaining from the introduction of important heads of history, if they did not connect naturally with his narrative, and also in his treatment of the histories of countries upon which his subject led him to enter. On the latter point, see Col. Mure's remarks, vol. iv. pp. 460–1. To the former head may be referred the omission of any history of Carthage.

[7] Chs. 145–167 and 200–205. [8] Chs. 168–199. [9] Mure, page 462.

[1] Ch. 121. [2] Mure, page 464.

and the legend of Athamas in the seventh,[3] as at once frivolous and irrelevant.[4] Among the digressions, considered to be out of place,[5] are the "Summary of Universal Geography," included in the chapter on Scythia,[6] the account of the river Aces in Book III.,[7] the story of the amours of Xerxes,[8] and the tale of Artayctes and the fried fish in Book IX.,[9] the letter of Demaratus at the close of Book VII.,[1] and the anecdote of Cyrus, with which the work is made to terminate.[2] Much of this criticism is too minute to need examination, at any rate in this place. The irrelevancy or inconvenient position of occasional single chapters or parts of chapters, constitutes so slight a blemish, that the literary merit of the work is scarcely affected thereby, even if every alleged case be allowed to be without excuse.[3] In only four or five instances is the charge made at all serious, since in no greater number is the "inappropriate" or "misplaced" episode one of any length. The longest of all is the digression on Cyrênê and Barca, where the connexion with the main narrative is thought to be "slight," and the subject itself to possess "little historical interest."[4] But, if we regard it as one of the especial objects of Herodotus in the introductory portion of his work to trace the progress of hostilities between Persia and Greece, we shall see that an account of the expedition of Aryandes was absolutely necessary; and as that expedition was not a mere wanton aggression, but was intimately connected with the internal politics of Cyrênê, some sketch of the previous history of that State was indispensable. With regard to the intrinsic interest of the episode, opinions may vary.[5] To the Greeks, however, of his own age, for whom Herodotus wrote, the history of an outlying portion of the Hellenic world, rarely visited

[3] Ch. 197. [4] Mure, page 465.

[5] Mure, pp. 463–4 and note; also pp. 468–9.

[6] Herod. iv. 37 et seq. [7] Ibid. ch. 117. [8] Ibid. ix. 108–113.

[9] Ibid. ch. 120. [1] Ibid. ch. 239. [2] Ibid. ix. 122.

[3] Five cases are of this extreme brevity, viz., the legend of Athamas, the account of the river Acis, the tale of Artayctes, the letter of Demaratus, and the anecdote of Cyrus. Something might be said in favour of almost all these short episodes; but even were it otherwise, the difficulty (admitted by Col. Mure, p. 464, note [1]) under which ancient authors lay from the non-existence in their time of such inventions as foot-notes and appendices would be sufficient to excuse a far more numerous list of apparently frivolous or ill-placed digressions.

[4] Mure, page 462.

[5] To me the narrative appears to present several points of very great interest. I have elsewhere noticed the important light that it throws upon the influence which the Delphic oracle exercised on the course of Greek colonisation. Other interesting features are the original friendliness, and subsequent hostility of the natives (chs. 158 and 159); the calling in of a foreign legislator, and him an *Ionian* (ch. 162); the constitution which that legislator devised (ibid.); and the transplantation of the captured Barcæans to the remote Bactria (ch. 204).

and little known by the mass of the nation, especially of one so peculiarly circumstanced as Cyrênê, alone amid barbarous tribes and the sole independent representative of the Greek name in Africa,[6] may have been far more interesting than it is to us, more interesting than any of those omitted histories which, it is thought, Herodotus should have put in its place. It has been observed that we cannot always perceive the object of Herodotus in introducing his episodes;[7] sometimes, no doubt, he may have intended "to supplant incorrect accounts,"[8] but perhaps his design as often was to communicate information on obscure points; and this object may have led him to treat at so much length the history of the African settlements.

With regard to the digression upon the Libyan nations, it must be acknowledged that it is introduced in a somewhat forced and artificial manner. Had Aryandes, satrap of Egypt, really designed the reduction of these tribes under his master's sway, and undertaken an expedition commensurate with that grand and magnificent object, Herodotus would have been as fully entitled to give an account of them as he is to describe the Scythians and their neighbours. But there are grounds for disbelieving the statement of Herodotus with regard to Aryandes' designs. As Dahlmann long ago observed, "no such plan appears in the actual enterprise."[9] Herodotus seems to have ascribed to the Persian governor an intention which he never entertained, in order to furnish himself with an ample pretext for bringing in a description possessing the features which he especially affected —novelty, strangeness, and liveliness. He need not, however, have had recourse to this artifice. Apart from any such project on the part of the Persian chief, Herodotus was entitled to describe the nations through whose country the troops passed, and the various tribes bordering upon the Cyrenaica; after which he might fairly have brought in the rest of his information. This information was wanted to complete the geographic sketch of the known world which he wished to set before his readers; and the right place for it was certainly that where the tribes in question were, at least partially, brought into hostile collision with Persia, and where an account was given of Cyrênê and Barca, colonies situated in the midst of them, and established in order to open a trade between them and the Greeks.

The episode on universal geography is thought to be at once

[6] The colony of Naucratis was within the jurisdiction of the rulers of Egypt, and besides was a mere factory.

[7] Niebuhr's Lectures on Ancient History, vol. i. p. 168, note.

[8] Ibid. loc. cit. [9] Life of Herodotus, ch. vii. § 6, page 123.

superfluous and out of place.[1] In addition to the detailed notices of particular countries which Herodotus so constantly supplies, no general description of the earth was, it is said, "either necessary or desirable." This criticism ignores what its author elsewhere acknowledges—the intimate connexion of geography with history when Herodotus wrote—the fact that the "accurate division of literary labour which is consequent on a general advance of scientific pursuit,"[2] was not made till long subsequently. As geography and history in this early time "went hand in hand,"[3] it would seem that in a history which, despite the restricted aim of its main narrative, tended to become so nearly universal by means of digressions and episodes, the geographic element required and naturally obtained a parallel expansion. With respect to the place where the "description of the earth," if admitted at all, should have been inserted, which, it is suggested, was "the earlier portion of the text," that portion "which treats of the great central nations of the world, Assyrians, Egyptians, and Persians,"[4] it is at least open to question whether a better opportunity could have been found for introducing the description without violence in any of the earlier books, than is furnished by the inquiry concerning the existence of Hyperboreans, to which the account of Scythia leads naturally, or whether any position would have been more suitable for it than a niche in that compartment of the work which is specially and pre-eminently geographic. As the general account of the earth is a question concerning boundaries and extremities, its occurrence "in connexion with a remote and barbarous extremity"[5] is not inappropriate, but the contrary.

The story of the amours of Xerxes interrupts, it must be allowed, somewhat disagreeably the course of the principal narrative, then rapidly verging to a conclusion, and is objectionable in an artistic point of view. It seems, however, to be exactly one of those cases in which "the historian of real transactions lies under a disadvantage as compared with the author in the more imaginative branches of composition."[6] To have omitted the relation altogether would have been to leave incomplete the portraiture of the character of Xerxes, as well as to fail in showing the gross corruption, so characteristic of an Oriental dynasty, into which the Persian court had sunk, within two generations from the simplicity of Cyrus. And if the story was to be inserted, where could it most naturally come in? It

[1] Mure, page 463. [2] Ibid. page 456. [3] Ibid. page 68.
[4] Ibid. page 463. [5] Ibid. loc. cit. [6] Ibid. p. 452.

belonged in time to the last months of the war,[7] and personally attached to a certain Masistes, whom nothing brought upon the scene till after Mycalé.[8] Historic propriety, therefore, required its introduction in a place where it would detract from artistic beauty; and Herodotus, wisely preferring matter to manner, submitted to an artistic blemish for the sake of a historic gain.

The legend of Rhampsinitus, which is correctly said to "belong to that primeval common fund of low romance"[9] of which traces exist in the nursery stories and other tales of nations the most remote and diverse, would certainly offend a cultivated taste if it occurred in a history of the Critical School; but in one which belongs so decidedly to the Romantic School it may well be borne, since it is not out of keeping with the general tone of that style of writing. Standing where it does, it serves to relieve the heaviness of a mere catalogue of royal names and deeds, the dullest form in which history ever presents itself.

On the whole there seems to be reason to acquiesce in the judgment of Dahlmann, who expresses his "astonishment" at hearing Herodotus censured for his episodes, and maintains that they are "almost universally connected with his main object, and inserted in their places with a beauty which highly distinguishes them."[1]

Next in order to the two merits of epic unity in plan, and rich yet well-arranged and appropriate episode, both of which the work of Herodotus seems to possess in a high degree, may be mentioned the excellency of his character-drawing, which, whether nations or individuals are its object, is remarkably successful and effective. His portraiture of the principal nations with which his narrative is concerned—the Persians, the Athenians, and the Spartans—is most graphic and striking. Brave, lively, spirited, capable of sharp sayings and repartees,[2] but vain, weak, impulsive, and hopelessly servile towards their lords,[3] the ancient Persians stand out in his pages as completely depicted by a few masterly strokes as their modern descendants have been by the many touches of a Chardin or a Morier. Clearly marked out from other barbarian races by a lightness and sprightliness of character, which brought them near to the Hellenic type, yet

[7] Herod. ix. 108. Τότε δὲ ἐν τῇσι Σάρδεσι ἐὼν ἄρα [Ξέρξης] ἤρα τῆς Μασίστεω γυναικός.

[8] Ibid. ch. 107. [9] Mure, page 464.

[1] Life of Herodotus, ch. ix. p. 164. E. T.

[2] Herod. i. 127, 141; vi. 1; viii. 88, &c.

[3] See particularly the story of Prexaspes (iii. 35). Note also their submission to the whip (vii. 56, 223). It requires an accumulation of the most grievous injuries to goad a Persian into revolt (see ix. 113).

vividly contrasted with the Greeks by their passionate *abandon*[4] and slavish submission to the caprices of despotic power, they possess in the pages of Herodotus an individuality which is a guarantee of truth, and which serves very remarkably to connect them with that peculiar Oriental people—the "Frenchmen of the East," as they have been called—at present inhabiting their country. Active, vivacious, intelligent, sparkling, even graceful, but without pride or dignity, supple, sycophantic, always either tyrant or slave, the modern Persian contrasts strongly with the other races of the East, who are either rude, bold, proud, and freedom-loving, like the Kurds and Affghans, or listless and apathetic, like the Hindoos. This curious continuity of character, which however is not without a parallel,[5] very strongly confirms the truthfulness of our author, who is thus shown, even in what might seem to be the mere ornamental portion of his work, to have confined himself to a representation of actual realities.

To the Persian character that of the Greeks offers, in many points, a strong contrast—a contrast which is most clearly seen in that form of the Greek character which distinguished the races of the Doric stock, and attained its fullest development among the Spartans. Here again the picture drawn by Herodotus exhibits great power and skill. By a small number of carefully-managed touches, by a few well-chosen anecdotes, and by occasional terse remarks, he contrives to set the Spartans before us, both as individuals and as a nation, more graphically than perhaps any other writer. Their pride and independent spirit, their entire and willing submission to their laws, their firmness and solidity as troops, their stern sententiousness relieved by a touch of humour,[6] are vividly displayed in his narrative. At the same time he does not shrink from showing the dark side of their character. The selfishness, backwardness, and over-caution of their public policy,[7] their cunning and duplicity upon occasion,[8] their inability to resist corrupting influences and readiness to take bribes,[9] their cruelty and entire want of compassion, whether towards friend or foe,[1] are all distinctly noted, and complete a portrait not more striking in its features than consonant with all that we know from other sources of the leading people of Greece.

[4] Herod. viii. 99; ix. 24.

[5] A similar tenacity of character is observable in the case of the Greeks themselves, in that of the Germans (comp. Tacit. German.), and that of the Spaniards.

[6] Herod. iii. 46; vii. 226; ix. 91.

[7] Ibid. i. 152; vi. 106; viii. 4, 63; ix. 6–8, 46–7.

[8] Ibid. vi. 79, 108; ix. 10.

[9] Ibid. iii. 148; v. 51; vi. 72; ix. 82.

[1] Ibid. vi. 79–80; vii. 133, 231 (cf. ix. 71, and i. 82 ad fin.)

Similar fidelity and descriptive power are shown in the picture which he gives us of the Athenians. Like the Spartans, they are independent and freedom-loving, brave and skilful in war, patriotic, and, from the time that they obtain a form of government suited to their wants, fondly attached to it. Like them, too, they are cruel and unsparing towards their adversaries.[2] Unlike them, they are open in their public policy, active and enterprising almost to rashness, impulsive and so changeable in their conduct,[3] vain rather than proud,[4] as troops possessing more dash than firmness,[5] in manners refined and elegant;[6] witty,[7] hospitable,[8] magnificent,[9] fond of display,[10] capable upon occasion of greater moderation and self-denial than most Greeks,[11] and even possessing to a certain extent a generous spirit of Pan-Hellenism.[12] Herodotus, in his admiration of the services rendered by the Athenians to the common cause during the great war, has perhaps overestimated their pretensions to this last quality; at least it will be found that enlightened self-interest sufficiently explains their conduct during that struggle; and circumstances occurring both before and after it clearly show, that they had no scruples about calling in the Persians against their own countrymen when they expected to gain by it.[13] It ought not to be forgotten in any estimate of the Athenian character, that they *set the example* of seeking aid from Persia against their Hellenic enemies. The circumstances of the time no doubt were trying, and the resolve not to accept aid at the sacrifice of their independence was worthy of their high spirit as a nation; but still the fact remains that the common enemy first learnt through the invitation of Athens how much she had to hope from the internal quarrels and mutual jealousies of the Greek states.

In depicting other nations besides these three—who play the principal parts in his story—Herodotus has succeeded best with the varieties of barbarism existing upon the outskirts of the

[2] Herod. v. 71; vii. 133, 137, ad fin.

[3] Comp. v. 97, 103, with vi. 21; and vi. 132 with 136.

[4] Ibid. i. 143.

[5] The Athenians are rarely successful when they act merely on the defensive—they are defeated with great slaughter when attacked by the Eginetans on one occasion (v. 85–7); they fly before the mixed levies of Pisistratus (i. 63); they share in the Ionian defeat at Ephesus (v. 102). On the other hand their victories are gained by the vigour and gallantry of their attack (vi. 112; ix. 70, 102).

[6] Herod. vi. 128–130. [7] Ibid. viii. 59, 125. [8] Ibid. vi. 35.

[9] Note the frequent mention of their success in the games, a great sign of liberal expenditure (Herod. v. 71; vi. 36, 103, 122, 125, &c.)

[10] Herod. viii. 124. [11] Ibid. vii. 144; ix. 27.

[12] Ibid. vii. 139; viii. 3 and 144.

[13] Ibid. v. 73; Thucyd. viii. 48 et seq.

civilised world, and least well with those nations among whom refinement and cultivation were at the highest. He seems to have experienced a difficulty in appreciating any other phase of civilisation than that which had been developed by the Greeks. His portraiture of the Egyptians, despite its elaborate finish, is singularly ineffective; while in the case of the Lydians and Babylonians, he scarcely presents us with any distinctive national features. On the other hand, his pictures of the Scythians, the Thracians, and the wild tribes of Northern Africa, are exceedingly happy, the various forms of barbarism being well contrasted and carefully distinguished from one another.

Among the individuals most effectively portrayed by our author, may be mentioned the four Persian monarchs with whom his narrative is concerned, the Spartan kings, Cleomenes, Leonidas, and Pausanias, the Athenian statesmen and generals, Themistocles and Aristides, the tyrants Periander, Polycrates, Pisistratus, and Histiæus the Milesian, Amasis the Egyptian king, and Crœsus of Lydia. The various shades of Oriental character and temperament have never been better depicted than in the representation given by Herodotus of the first four Achæmenian kings—Cyrus, the simple, hardy, vigorous mountain chief, endowed with a vast ambition and with great military genius, changing, as his empire enlarged, into the kind and friendly paternal monarch—clement, witty, polite, familiar with his people; Cambyses, the first form of the Eastern tyrant, inheriting his father's vigour and much of his talent, but spoilt by the circumstances of his birth and breeding, violent, rash, headstrong, incapable of self-restraint, furious at opposition, not only cruel but brutal; Darius, the model Oriental prince, brave, sagacious, astute, great in the arts both of war[1] and peace, the organiser and consolidator as well as the extender of the empire, a man of kind and warm feeling, strongly attached to his friends,[2] clement and even generous towards conquered foes,[3] only severe upon system where the well-being of the empire required an example to be made;[4] and Xerxes, the second and inferior form

[1] Col. Mure says that "the general policy of Darius was directed rather to the consolidation than to the extension of his dominions" (p. 476), and denies his possession of any military genius; but the king who added to the empire the Indian satrapy (Herod. iv. 44), the Chersonese (vi. 33), great part of Thrace (iv. 93; v. 10), Pæonia (v. 15), Macedon (vi. 44), and the Greek islands (iii. 149; v. 26–7; vi. 49), cannot be considered to have disregarded the enlargement of his empire; and the successful subduer of so many revolts (i. 130; iii. 150–160; cf. Behist. Ins.), the conqueror of Thrace (iv. 93), and the not unsuccessful conductor of the Scythian campaign, cannot be fairly said to have wanted military talent.

[2] Herod. iii. 140, 160; iv. 143; v. 11; vi. 30.

[3] Ibid. vi. 20, 119.

[4] Ibid. iii. 119, 128, 159; iv. 84, 166; v. 25.

of the tyrant, weak and puerile as well as cruel and selfish, fickle, timid, licentious, luxurious, easily worked on by courtiers and women, superstitious, vainglorious, destitute of all real magnanimity, only upon occasion ostentatiously parading a generous act when nothing had occurred to ruffle his feelings.[5] Nor is Herodotus less successful in his Hellenic portraits. Themistocles is certainly better drawn by Herodotus than by Thucydides. His political wisdom and clearsightedness, his wit and ready invention, his fertility in expedients, his strong love of intrigue, his curious combination of patriotism with selfishness, his laxity of principle amounting to positive dishonesty,[6] are all vividly exhibited, and form a whole which is at once more graphic and more complete than the sketch furnished by the Attic writer. The character of Aristides presents a new point for admiration in the skill with which it is hit off with the fewest possible touches. Magnanimous, disinterestedly patriotic, transcending all his countrymen in excellence of moral character and especially in probity, the simple straightforward statesman comes before us on a single occasion,[7] and his features are portrayed without effort in a few sentences. In painting the Greek tyrants, whom he so much detested, Herodotus has resisted the temptation of representing them all in the darkest colours, and has carefully graduated his portraits from the atrocious cruelties and horrible outrages of Periander to the wise moderation and studied mildness of Pisistratus. The Spartan character, again, is correctly given under its various aspects, Leonidas being the idealized type of perfect Spartan heroism, while Pausanias is a more ordinary specimen of their nobler class of mind, brave and generous, but easily wrought upon by corrupting influences,[8] Cleomenes and Eurybiades being representatives of the two forms of evil to which Spartans were most prone,—Eurybiades weak, timorous, vacillating, and incapable ; Cleomenes cruel, false, and violent, —both alike open to take bribes, and ready to sacrifice the interests of the state to their own selfish ends.

It is not often that Herodotus bestows much pains on the character of an individual who does not belong to one or other of the two nations with which he is principally concerned, viz. the Greeks and the Persians. But in the sketches of Crœsus and Amasis he has departed from his general rule, and has pre-

[5] Herod. vii. 29, 136.

[6] See Herod. viii. 4–5, 58, 108–110, 112.

[7] Ibid. viii. 78–9.

[8] See the anecdote of Pausanias banqueting, in the tent of Mardonius (ix. 82), where the first working of the corrupting influence of wealth and luxury on a Spartan is very cleverly shown.

sented us with two pictures of Oriental monarchs, offering a remarkable contrast to the Persian kings and to each other. The character of Crœsus is rather Hellenic than barbarian; he is the mildest and most amiable of despots; a tender and affectionate parent, a faithful friend, a benevolent man. He loves his Lydians even after they have ceased to be his subjects;[9] he kindly receives the fugitive Adrastus, who has no claim on his protection, and freely forgives him after he has been the unhappy means of inflicting on him the most grievous of injuries. Besides possessing these soft and gentle qualities, he is hospitable and magnificent, lavishly liberal to those from whom he has received any benefit,[1] religious, and though unduly elated by prosperity, yet in the hour of adversity not unduly depressed, but capable of profiting by the lessons of experience. Amasis is a ruler of almost equal mildness; like Crœsus, he has a leaning towards the Greeks; he is also, like him, prosperous, and distinguished for liberality and magnificence;[2] Egypt flourishes greatly under his government, and both his internal administration and his foreign policy are eminently successful.[3] Thus far there is a remarkable parallelism between the character and circumstances of the Egyptian and the Lydian monarch; but in other respects they are made to exhibit a strong and pointed contrast. Amasis is a man of low birth and loose habits; from his youth he has lived by his wits an easy, gay, jovial life, winning the favour both of monarch and people by his free manners and ready but coarse humour. When he becomes king, though he devotes himself with great zeal to the despatch of business, and enacts laws of the utmost severity against such idle and unworthy members of society as he had himself been in time past, yet he carries with him into his new station the same love of good living and delight in low and vulgar pleasantry which had signalised the early portion of his career. This last feature, which is the leading one of his character, effectually distinguishes him from the elegant and polished Crœsus, born in the purple, and bred up amid all the refined amenities of a luxurious court. In another respect the opposition between the two princes is even more striking—so striking, indeed, as almost to appear artificial. Amasis, though owing more to fortune than even the Lydian monarch, is not dazzled by her favours, or led to forget the instability of all things human, and the special danger to the over-prosperous man from the "jealousy" of Heaven. His letter to Polycrates[4] strongly marks this fact,

[9] Herod. i. 156. [1] Ibid. i. 50–2, 54; vi. 125. [2] Ibid. ii. 175–6, 180, 182.
[3] Ibid. ii. 177, 182 ad fin. [4] Ibid. iii. 40.

which in the mind of Herodotus would serve to account for the continued and unchequered prosperity of the Egyptian king—so different from the terrible reverse which befell the too confident Lydian.

The power of Herodotus to portray female character is also worthy of notice. Unlike Thucydides, who passes over in contemptuous silence the part played by women in the transactions which he undertakes to record,[5] Herodotus seizes every opportunity of adding variety and zest to his narrative by carefully introducing to our notice the females concerned in his events. In Nitocris we have the ideal of a great Oriental queen, wise, grand, magnificent, ostentatious; prophetic in her foresight, clever in her designs, splendid in the execution of whatever works she takes in hand; the beautifier at once and the skilful protector of her capital; bent on combining utility with ornament, and in her works of utility having regard to the benefit of the great mass of her subjects. With her Tomyris, the other female character of the first book, contrasts remarkably. Tomyris is the perfection of a barbaric as Nitocris is of a civilised princess. Bold and warlike rather than sagacious or prudent, noble, careless, confident, full of passion, she meets the great conqueror of the East with a defiant, almost with a triumphant, air, chivalrously invites him to cross her frontier unmolested, only anxious for a fair fight, disdainful of petty manœuvres, and unsuspicious of artifices. When the civilised monarch has deluded and entrapped her son, she shows a single trait of womanly softness, consenting to waive the vindication of her people's honour upon the condition of receiving back her captured child. On the failure of her application and the extinction of her last hope by the voluntary death of that unhappy youth, nothing is left her but an undying grief and a fierce and quick revenge. At the head of her troops she engages and defeats her son's destroyer; and as he falls in the thick of the fight, she vents her wrath on his dead body by insult, mutilation, and defilement, in the true spirit of an outraged and infuriated barbarian. The whole character is in excellent keeping, and, however unhistoric, is certainly most true to nature.

As the diversities of female character among the non-Hellenic races are exhibited to our view in the persons of Tomyris and Nitocris, so in the slight sketch of Gorgo and the more elaborate portraiture of Artemisia Herodotus has given us oppo-

[5] The omission of any reference to Aspasia, considering her political influence and connexion with Pericles, is very remarkable. Thucydides mentions but one woman by name in the whole course of his narrative. (See ii. 101.)

site and agreeable specimens of female character among the Greeks. Gorgo is the noble, Artemisia the clever woman. Gorgo's sphere is the domestic circle, Artemisia's the world. Artemisia leads fleets, advises monarchs, fights battles, governs a kingdom—Gorgo saves her father in the hour of temptation, and becomes the fitting bride of the gallant and patriotic Leonidas. Still neither character is a mere simple one. Gorgo adds sense and intelligence to her high moral qualities,[6] and Artemisia real courage to her prudence and dexterity;[7] but these features are subordinate, and do not disturb the general effect of contrast, which is such as above stated. Although both ladies belong to races of the Doric stock, Gorgo alone is the true model of a Dorian woman; Artemisia represents female perfection, not according to the Doric, but according to the ordinary Greek type. The Dorians of Asia seem to have lost most of their distinctive features by contact with their Ionian neighbours, and Artemisia may be almost regarded as an embodiment of Ionian excellence.

It greatly enhances the artistic merit of these portraitures, and the pleasure which the reader derives from them, that the characters are made to exhibit themselves upon the scene by word and action, and are not formally set before him by the historian. Herodotus never condescends to describe a character. His men and women act and speak for themselves, and thereby leave an impression of life and individuality on the reader's mind, which the most skilful word-painting would have failed of producing. This is one of the advantages arising from that large use by Herodotus of the dramatic element in his history, in which it is allowed that he "has been far more generally successful than any other classical historian."[8]

To his skill in character-drawing Herodotus adds a power of pathos in which few writers, whether historians or others, have been his equals. The stories of the wife of Intaphernes weeping and lamenting continually at the king's gate,[9] of Psammenitus sitting in the suburb and seeing his daughter employed in servile offices and his son led to death, yet "showing no sign," but bursting into tears when an old friend accosted him and asked an alms;[1] of Lycophron silently and sadly enduring everything rather than hold converse with a father who had slain his mother, and himself suffering for his father's cruelties at the moment when a prosperous career seemed about to open on him, are examples of this excellence within the compass of a single book which it would be difficult to parallel from the entire writings of any

[6] Herod. vii. ad fin. [7] Ibid. iii. 119. [8] Mure, page 500.
[9] Ibid. iii. 14. [1] Ibid. iii. 50–3.

other historical author. But the most eminent instance of the merit in question is to be found in the story of Crœsus. It has been well observed that "the volume of popular romance contains few more beautifully told tales than that of the death of Atys;"[2] and the praise might be extended to the whole narrative of the life of Crœsus from the visit of Solon to the scene upon the pyre, which is a masterpiece of pathos, exhibiting tragic power of the highest order. The same power is exhibited in a less degree in the stories of the siege of Xanthus,[3] of Tomyris,[4] of Œobazus,[5] of Pythius,[6] of Boges,[7] and of Masistes.[8] In the last of these cases, and perhaps in one or two others, the horrible has somewhat too large a share; in all, however, the pathetic is an important and well-developed element.

It has been maintained that Herodotus, though excellent in tragic scenes, was "deficient in the sense of the comic properly so called."[9] His "good stories" and "clever sayings" are thought to be "not only devoid of true wit, but among the most insipid of his anecdotical details." The correctness of this judgment may be questioned, not only on the general ground, that tragic and comic power go together,[1] but by an appeal to fact—the *experimentum crucis* in such a case. It is of course not to be expected in a grave and serious production like a history, that humorous features should be of frequent occurrence: the author's possession of the quality of humour will be sufficiently shown if even occasionally he diversifies his narrative by anecdotes or remarks of a ludicrous character. Now in the work of Herodotus there are several stories of which the predominant characteristic is the humorous; as, very palpably, the tale of Alcmæon's visit to the treasury of Crœsus, when, having "clothed himself in a loose tunic, which he made to bag greatly at the waist, and placed upon his feet the widest buskins that he could anywhere find, he followed his guide into the treasure-house," where he "fell to upon a heap of gold-dust, and in the first place packed as much as he could inside his buskins between them and his legs, after which he filled the breast of his tunic quite full of gold, and then sprinkling some among his hair, and taking some likewise in his mouth, came forth from the treasure-house scarcely able to drag his legs along, *like anything rather than a man*, with his mouth crammed full, and his bulk increased every way."[2] The laughter of Crœsus at the sight is echoed by the

[2] Mure's Lit. of Greece, vol. iv. p. 505.
[3] Herod. i. 176. [4] Ibid. i. 212–4. [5] Ibid. iv. 84.
[6] Ibid. vii. 39–40. [7] Ibid. vii. 107. [8] Ibid. ix. 108–113.
[9] Mure, page 508. [1] See the Symposium of Plato, *sub fin.*
[2] Herod. vi. 125.

reader, who has presented to him a most ridiculous image hit off with wonderful effect, and poeticised by the touch of imagination, which regards the distorted form as having lost all semblance of humanity. It would be impossible to deny to Herodotus the possession of a sense of the comic if he had confined himself to this single exhibition of it.

As a specimen of broad humour the instance here adduced is probably the most striking that can be brought forward from the pages of our author.[3] But many anecdotes will be found scattered through them, in which the same quality shows itself in a more subdued and chastened form. It will be enough to refer, without quotation, to the well-known story of Hippoclides,[4] to the fable of Cyrus,[5] the retorts of Bias, Gelo, and Themistocles,[6] the quaint remark of Megacreon,[7] the cool observation of Dieneces, and the two answers given by the Spartans to the envoys of Samos.[8] Besides these anecdotical displays of a humorous vein, Herodotus often shows his sense of the comic in his descriptions of the manners and customs of barbarous nations. A striking example is his account of the Scythian mode of sacrificing in the fourth book, where he concludes his notice with the remark that "by this plan your ox is made to *boil himself*, and other victims also to do the like."[9] The same vein is clearly apparent in the enumeration, contained in the same book, of the animals said to inhabit the African "wild-beast tract,"—"this is the tract in which the huge serpents are found, and the lions, the elephants, the bears, the aspicks, and the horned asses. Here, too, are the dog-faced creatures, and the creatures without heads, whom the Libyans declare to have their eyes in their breasts, and also the wild men and the wild women, and many other far less fabulous beasts."[1] Touches of humour also serve to relieve his accounts of cannibalism, and prevent them from being merely horrible, as such subjects are apt to become in most writers. Of this nature is his remark when speaking of the Padæans, who put persons to death as soon as they were attacked by any malady, to prevent their flesh from spoiling, that

[3] Other instances of a broad and somewhat coarse humour are to be found in the story of Artaphernes' reply to Histiæus (vi. 1), and of the message which Amasis sent to Apries by Patarbemis (ii. 162).

[4] Herod. vi. 129. [5] Ibid. i. 141.

[6] Ibid. i. 27; vii. 162; and viii. 125.

[7] Ibid. vii. 120. Col. Mure finds this story "insipid," but most readers are amused by the lightheartedness which could make a joke out of a calamity. The other "good saying" with which he finds fault (that of Megabazus concerning the site of Byzantium, iv. 144) is not recorded by Herodotus as a witty, but as a judicious remark.

[8] Herod. vii. 226. [9] Ibid. iv. 61. [1] Ibid. iv. 191.

"*the man protests he is not ill in the least,* but his friends will not accept his denial; in spite of all he can say they kill him and feast themselves on his body."[2] A very keen sense of the ludicrous is implied by this perception of something laughable in scenes of the greatest horror.

Perhaps the most attractive feature in the whole work of Herodotus—that which prevents us from ever feeling weariness as we follow him through the nine books of his history—is the wonderful variety in which he deals. Not only historian, but geographer, traveller, naturalist, mythologer, moralist, antiquarian, he leads us from one subject to another,—

"From grave to gay, from lively to severe,—"

never pursuing his main narrative for any long time without the introduction of some agreeable episodical matter, rarely carrying an episodical digression to such an extent as to be any severe trial to our patience. Even as historian, the respect in which he especially excels other writers is the diversity of his knowledge. Contriving to bring almost the whole known world within the scope of his story, and throwing everywhere a retrospective glance at the earliest beginnings of states and empires, he exhibits before our eyes a sort of panoramic view of history, in which past and present, near and remote, civilised kingdoms and barbarous communities, kings, priests, sages, lawgivers, generals, courtiers, common men, have all their place—a place at once skilfully assigned and properly apportioned to their respective claims on our attention. Blended moreover with this profusion of historic matter are sketches of religions, graphic descriptions of countries, elaborate portraitures of the extremes of savage and civilised life, striking moral reflections, curious antiquarian and philosophical disquisitions, legends, anecdotes, criticisms—not all perhaps equally happy, but all serving the purpose of keeping alive the reader's interest, and contributing to the general richness of effect by which the work is characterised. Again, most remarkable is the variety of styles which are assumed, with almost equal success, in the descriptions and anecdotes. The masterly treatment of pathetic subjects, and the occasional indulgence, with good effect, in a comic vein, have been already noticed. Equal power is shown in dealing with such matters as are tragic without being pathetic, as in the legend of Gyges,[3] the

[2] Herod. iii. 99. Compare the description of cannibalism among the Massagetæ in the last chapter of book i., where the humour is far more subdued, but still is very perceptible.
[3] Ibid. i. 8–12.

story of the death of Cyrus,[4] the description of the self-destruction of Cleomenes,[5] and, above all, in the striking scene which portrays the last moments of Prexaspes.[6] In this, and in his account of the death of Adrastus,[7] Herodotus has, if anywhere, reached the sublime. Where his theme is lower, he has a style peculiarly his own, which seems to come to him without effort, yet which is most difficult of attainment. It is simple without being homely, familiar without being vulgar, lively without being forced or affected. Of this, remarkable and diversified specimens will be found in the history of the birth and early years of Cyrus,[8] and in the tale—which reads like a story in the Arabian Nights —of the thieves who plundered the treasury of Rhampsinitus.[9] Occasionally he exhibits another power which is exceedingly rare—that, namely, of representing the grotesque. The story of Arion has a touch of this quality,[10] which is more fully displayed in the account of the funeral rites of the Scythian kings.[11] Still more remarkable, and still more important in its bearing on the general effect of his work, is the dramatic power, so largely exhibited in the abundant dialogues and in the occasional set speeches wherewith his narrative is adorned, which by their contrast with the ordinary historical form, and their intrinsic excellence generally,[12] tend more perhaps than any other single feature, to enliven his pages, and to prevent the weariness which is naturally caused by the uniformity of continued narration.

Another excellence of Herodotus is vivid description, or the power of setting before us graphically and distinctly that which he desires us to see. This faculty however he does not exhibit equally in all subjects. Natural scenery, in common with the ancients generally, he for the most part neglects; and his descriptions of the great works constructed by the labour of man,[1] although elaborate, fail in conveying to the minds of his readers any very distinct impression of their appearance. The power in question is shown chiefly in his accounts of remarkable events or actions, which portions of his narrative have often all the beauty and distinctness of pictures. Gyges in the bedchamber of Can-

[4] Herod. i. 212–4. [5] Ibid. vi. 75. [6] Ibid. iii. 75.
[7] Ibid. i. 45. [8] Ibid. i. 108–122. [9] Ibid. ii. 121.
[10] Ibid. i. 24. [11] Ibid. iv. 71–2.
[12] The set speeches of the three conspirators in favour of democracy, aristocracy, and monarchy respectively (iii. 80–2), must be excepted from this commendation. They are not above the average of sophistical themes on the subject, and they are wholly unsuited to the characters and circumstances of the persons in whose mouths they are put. (See the foot-note ad loc.)
[1] As the barrow of Alyattes (i. 93), the temple of Belus at Babylon (i. 181), the pyramids (ii. 124, 127, 134), the labyrinth (ii. 148), and the bridge of Xerxes (vii. 36).

daules,[2] Arion on the quarter-deck chanting the Orthian,[3] Cleobis and Bito arriving at the temple of Juno,[4] Adrastus delivering himself up to Crœsus,[5] Megacles coming forth from the treasure-house,[6] are pictures of the simplest and most striking kind, presenting to us at a single glance a scene exactly suited to form a subject for a painter. Sometimes however the description is more complex and continuous. The charge of the Athenians at Marathon,[7] the various contests and especially the final struggle at Thermopylæ,[8] the conflict in the royal palace at Susa between the Magi and the seven conspirators,[9] the fight between Onesilus and Artybius,[10] the exploits of Artemisia at Salamis,[11] the death of Masistius and the contention for his body,[12] are specimens of excellent description of the more complicated kind, wherein not a single picture, but a succession of pictures, is exhibited before the eyes of the reader. These descriptions possess all the energy, life, and power of Homeric scenes and battles, and are certainly not surpassed in the compositions of any prose writer.

The most obvious merit of our author, and the last which seems to require special notice, is his simplicity. The natural flow of narrative and sentiment throughout his work, the predominant use of common and familiar words, the avoidance of all meretricious ornament and rhetorical artifice, have often been remarked, and have won the approbation of almost all critics. With Herodotus composition is not an art, but a spontaneous outpouring. He does not cultivate graces of style, or consciously introduce fine passages. He writes as his subject leads him, rising with it, but never transcending the modesty of nature, or approaching to the confines of bombast. Not only are his words simple and common, but the structure of his sentences is of the least complicated kind. He writes, as Aristotle observes,[1] not in laboured periods, but in sentences which have a continuous flow, and which only end when the sense is complete. Hence the wonderful clearness and transparency of his style, which is never involved, never harsh or forced, and which rarely allows the shadow of a doubt to rest upon his meaning.

The same spirit, which thus affects his language and mode of expression, is apparent in the whole tone and conduct of the

[2] Herod. i. 9–10. [3] Ibid. i. 24. [4] Ibid. i. 31. [5] Ibid. i. 45, sub init.
[6] Ibid. vi. 125. See the last page. [7] Ibid. vi. 112.
[8] Ibid. vii. 210–2; 223–5. [9] Ibid. iii. 78.
[10] Ibid. v. 111–2. [11] Ibid. viii. 87. [12] Ibid. ix. 22–3.

[1] See Arist. Rhet. iii. 9. Aristotle defines the *λέξις εἰρομένη*, or "continuous style," as "that which has in itself no termination, unless the matter under narration be terminated"—(*ἣ οὐδὲν ἔχει τέλος καθ' αὑτὴι, ἂν μὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα λεγόμενον τελειωθῇ*).

narrative. Everything is plainly and openly related; there is no affectation of mystery; we are not tantalised by obscure allusions or hints;[2] the author freely and fully admits us to his confidence, is not afraid to mention himself and his own impressions; introduces us to his informants; tells us plainly what he saw and what he heard; allows us to look into his heart, where there is nothing that he needs to hide, and to become sharers alike in his religious sentiments, his political opinions, and his feelings of sympathy or antipathy towards the various persons or races which he is led to mention. Hence the strong personal impression of the writer which we derive from his work, whereby, despite the meagre notices that remain to us of his life, we are made to feel towards him as towards an intimate acquaintance, and to regard ourselves as fully entitled to canvass and discuss all his qualities, moral as well as intellectual. The candour, honesty, amiability, piety, and patriotism of Herodotus, his primitive cast of mind and habits, his ardent curiosity, his strong love of the marvellous, are familiar topics with his commentators, who find his portrait drawn by himself with as much completeness (albeit unconsciously) in his writings, as those of other literary men have been by their professed biographers. All this is done moreover without the slightest affectation, or undue intrusion of his own thoughts and opinions; it is the mere result of his not thinking about himself, and is as far removed from the ostentatious display of Xenophon,[3] as from the studied concealment of Thucydides.

While the language, style, sentiments, and tone of narrative in Herodotus are thus characterised, if we compare him with later writers, by a natural simplicity and freedom from effort, which constitute to a considerable extent the charm of his writing, it is important to observe how greatly in all these respects he is in advance of former prose authors. Justice is not done to his merits unless some attention be given to the history of prose composition before his time, and something like a comparison instituted between him and his predecessors. With Herodotus simplicity never degenerates into baldness, or familiarity into what is rude and coarse. His style is full, free, and flowing, and offers a most agreeable contrast to the stiff conciseness, curt broken sentences, and almost unvaried construction, of previous historians. If we glance our eye over the fragments of the early Greek writers that have come down to our times, we

[2] The only exception is in the account of Egypt, where religious scruples occasionally interfere to check his usual openness.

[3] See Anab. III. i. § 4–47, and thenceforth *passim*.

shall be surprised to find how rude and primitive, how tame, bald, and spiritless the productions appear to have been, even of the most celebrated historians anterior to, or contemporary with our author. A few specimens are subjoined[4] of the style of

[4] Hecatæus of Miletus commenced his historical work, the 'Genealogies,' as follows:—

"Thus saith Hecatæus the Milesian: That which I write, I write as the truth seems to me. For the stories which the Greeks tell are many, and to my mind ridiculous."

The longest of his extant fragments is thus translated by Col. Mure (Lit. of Greece, vol. iv. p. 161):—

"Orestheus, son of Deucalion, arrived in Ætolia in search of a kingdom. Here his dog produced him a green plant. Upon which he ordered the dog to be buried in the earth; and from its body sprang a vine fertile in grapes. Hence he called his son Phytius. The son of Phytius was Œneus, so named after the vine-plant. For the antient Greeks called the vine Œna. The son of Œneus was Ætôlus."

The fragments of Xanthus are very brief, and of these only one is cited in his exact words. It shows no great advance on the style of Hecatæus:—

"From Lydus descend the Lydians, from Torrhebus the Torrhebians. In language these two races differ but little; and to this day they borrow from one another no few words, like the Ionians and the Dorians."

Another, which is probably very close to his phraseology, is the following:—

"The Magians marry their mothers and their daughters. They hold it lawful also to marry their sisters. Their wives are common property; and when one wishes to take the wife of another, they use no fraud nor violence, but the thing is done by consent."

Of Charon of Lampsacus we possess a passage of some length, which may be given in the translation of Col. Mure (vol. iv. pp. 169–170):—

"The Bisaltians waged war against the Cardians, and were victorious in a battle. The commander of the Bisaltians was called Onaris. This man, when a youth, had been sold as a slave in Cardia, and had been made by his master to work at the trade of a barber. Now there was an oracle current among the Cardians, that about that time they should be invaded by the Bisaltians; and this oracle was a frequent subject of conversation among those who frequented the barber's shop. Onaris, having effected his escape home, persuaded his countrymen to invade Cardia, and was himself appointed leader of the expedition. But the Cardians were accustomed to teach their horses to dance to the sound of the flute in their festivals; when standing upright on their hind-legs, they adapted the motions of their fore-feet to the time of the music. Onaris, being acquainted with this custom, procured a female flute-player from Cardia; and this flute-player, on her arrival in Bisaltis (?), instructed many of the flute-players of that city (?), whom he caused to accompany him in his march against the Cardians. As soon as the engagement commenced, he ordered the flute-players to strike up those tunes to which the Cardian horses were used to perform. And no sooner had the horses heard the music, than they stood up on their hind-legs and began to dance. But the chief force of the Cardians was in cavalry; and so they lost the battle."

Even Hellanicus, who outlived Herodotus, falls sometimes into the cramped and bald style of the old logographers, as the subjoined specimens will show:—

(1.) "From Pelasgus, the king of these men, and Menippé, the daughter of Peneus, was born Phrastor; from him sprang Amyntor; from him, Teutamidas; from him, Nanas. In his reign the Pelasgians were driven out by the Greeks, and having left their ships at the river Spines in the Ionian Gulf, they built at some distance from the shore the city of Croton. From hence they proceeded to colonise the land now called Tyrrhenia."

(2.) "When the men came from Sparta, the Athenians related to them the story of Orestes. At the conclusion, when both parties approved the judgment, the Athenians assigned it to the ninth generation after Mars and Neptune pleaded in the cause of Halirrhothius. Then, six generations later, Cephalus, the son of Deioneus,

writing customary in his day, from which the modern reader may form a tolerable estimate of the interval which separated Herodotus, as a writer, from those who had preceded him—an interval so great as to render the style of composition which he invented a sort of new art, and to entitle him to the honourable appellation, which prescription has made indisputably his, of the "Father of History."

who married Procris, the daughter of Erechtheus, and slew her, was condemned by the court of Areopagus, and suffered banishment. After the trial of Dædalus for the treacherous slaughter of his sister's son Talus, and his flight from justice, in the third generation this Clytemnestra, the daughter of Tyndarus, who had killed Agamemnon and herself been killed by Orestes, caused Orestes to be brought to trial by the Eumenides; he, however, returned after judgment was given, and became king of Argos. Minerva and Mars were the judges."

THE

HISTORY OF HERODOTUS.



THE FIRST BOOK.

THE

HISTORY OF HERODOTUS.

THE FIRST BOOK, ENTITLED CLIO.

THESE are the researches of Herodotus of Halicarnassus,[1] which he publishes, in the hope of thereby preserving from decay the remembrance of what men have done, and of preventing the great and wonderful actions of the Greeks and the Barbarians from losing their due meed of glory; and withal to put on record what were their grounds of feud.

1. According to the Persians best informed in history, the Phœnicians began the quarrel. This people, who had formerly dwelt on the shores of the Erythræan Sea,[2] having migrated to

[1] This is the reading of all our MSS. Yet Aristotle, where he quotes the passage (Rhet. iii. 9), has Thurium in the place of Halicarnassus; that is, he cites the final residence instead of the birth-place of the writer. (See the sketch of Herodotus's Life prefixed to this volume.) There is no doubt that considerable portions of the work as it stands were written at Thurium, and it is possible that Herodotus used the expression "of Thurium" in his latest recension.

The mention of the author's name and country in the first sentence of his history seems to have been usual in the age in which Herodotus wrote. The "Genealogies" of Hecatæus commenced with the words, Ἑκαταῖος Μιλήσιος ὧδε μυθεῖται. (Müller's Fragm. Hist. Gr., vol. i. Fr. 332.) And the practice is followed by Thucydides.

[2] By the Erythræan Sea Herodotus intends, not our Red Sea, which he calls the Arabian Gulf (κόλπος Ἀράβιος), but the Indian Ocean, or rather both the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, which latter he does not consider distinct from the Ocean, being ignorant of its shape.

With respect to the migration of the Phœnicians from the Persian Gulf, which is reasserted book vii. ch. 89, there seems to be no room to doubt that a very close connexion existed between the cities of Phœnicia Proper and a number of places about the Persian Gulf, whose names appear to indicate their Phœnician origin. The chief of these were Tyrus, or Tylus, and Aradus, two islands in the Gulf, where, according to Eratosthenes (ap. Strabon. xvi. p. 1090, Oxf. ed.), there were Phœnician temples, and the inhabitants of which claimed the Phœnician cities on the Mediterranean as their colonies. One of these is at the present day called *Arad.* There is also a *Sidodona*, and a *Szur*, or *Tur*, which recall the names of Sidon and

the Mediterranean and settled in the parts which they now inhabit, began at once, they say, to adventure on long voyages, freighting their vessels with the wares of Egypt and Assyria.[3] They landed at many places on the coast, and among the rest at Argos, which was then pre-eminent above all the states included now under the common name of Hellas.[4] Here they exposed their merchandise, and traded with the natives for five or six days; at the end of which time, when almost everything was sold, there came down to the beach a number of women, and among them the daughter of the king, who was, they say, agreeing in this with the Greeks, Io, the child of Inachus. The women were standing by the stern of the ship intent upon their purchases, when the Phœnicians, with a general shout, rushed upon them. The greater part made their escape, but some were seized and carried off. Io herself was among the captives. The Phœnicians put the women on board their vessel, and set sail for Egypt. Thus did Io pass into Egypt, acccording to the Persian story,[5] which differs widely from the Phœnician: and thus commenced, according to their authors, the series of outrages.

Tyre respectively. The only question seems to be whether the cities about the Persian Gulf are the mother cities of those on the Mediterranean, or colonies from them. Seetzen and Heeren incline to the latter view (Heeren's As. Nat. vol. ii. pp. 231, 415, E. T.) In favour of the former, however, is, in the first place, the double tradition, that of the Phœnicians of Phœnicia Proper mentioned by Herodotus, and that of the inhabitants of Tyrus and Aradus, recorded by Eratosthenes, who probably followed Androsthenes, the naval officer of Alexander; and secondly, what may be called the argument from general probability. Lower Babylonia, the country about the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates, is the original seat of Semitic power, whence it spreads northward and westward to the Euxine and to the Mediterranean. (See the Critical Essays, Essay vi.) Asshur goes forth out of the land of Shinar, in the book of Genesis (x. 11); Abraham and his family pass from Ur of the Chaldees (Mugheir) by Charran into Syria; the Aramæans can be traced in the Cuneiform inscriptions ascending the course of the Euphrates from the Persian Gulf towards the Mediterranean. Everything indicates a spread of the Semites from Babylonia westward, while nothing appears of any movement in the opposite direction.

The name "Phœnician," which connects with "Erythræan," both meaning "red," the colour of the Semites, confirms the general connexion, but does not show in which way the migration proceeded. In further proof of the connexion, see the Essay appended to Book vii. "On the Early Migrations of the Phœnicians."

[3] For an account of the trade of the Phœnicians, see Heeren's Asiatic Nations, vol. ii., 'Phœnicians,' chap. iii.

[4] The ancient superiority of Argos is indicated by the position of Agamemnon at the time of the Trojan war (compare Thucyd. i. 9–10), and by the use of the word Argive in Homer for Greek generally. No other name of a single people is used in the same generic way.

The absence of any general ethnic title during the earlier ages is noticed by Thucydides (i. 3). He uses the same expression—ἡ νῦν Ἑλλὰς καλουμένη—previously (i. 2).

[5] It is hardly possible that the Persians, properly so called, could have had any independent knowledge of the myth of Io, for at the period of history to which the legend refers, the Arian tribes, who were the progenitors of the Persians, were still encamped on the banks of the Indus, and were thus entirely shut out from any

2. At a later period, certain Greeks, with whose name they are unacquainted, but who would probably be Cretans,[6] made a landing at Tyre, on the Phœnician coast, and bore off the king's daughter, Europé. In this they only retaliated; but afterwards the Greeks, they say, were guilty of a second violence. They manned a ship of war, and sailed to Æa, a city of Colchis,[7] on the river Phasis; from whence, after despatching the rest of the business on which they had come, they carried off Medea, the daughter of the king of the land. The monarch sent a herald into Greece to demand reparation of the wrong, and the restitution of his child; but the Greeks made answer, that having received no reparation of the wrong done them in the seizure of Io the Argive, they should give none in this instance.

3. In the next generation afterwards, according to the same authorities, Alexander the son of Priam, bearing these events in mind, resolved to procure himself a wife out of Greece by violence, fully persuaded, that as the Greeks had not given satisfac-

contact with the Western world. The acquaintance even of the Assyrians and Babylonians with the Greeks was of a comparatively modern date. *Sargon*, indeed, who in the Cuneiform Inscriptions first mentions the Greeks,—having in about B. C. 709 received tribute in Babylon from the Grecian colonists of Cyprus, and having subsequently conducted an expedition to that island,—speaks of them as "the seven kings of the *Yaha* tribes of the country of *Yavnan* (or *Yúnan*), who dwelt in an island in the midst of the Western sea, at the distance of seven days from the coast, and the name of whose country had never been heard by my ancestors, the kings of Assyria and Chaldæa, from the remotest times, &c. &c. &c. It is at the same time far from improbable that this name of *Yaha*, which the Assyrians applied to the piratical Greeks of Cyprus, may have suggested the memory of the buccaneering stories which the Phœnicians and the Persians (of Syria?) told to Herodotus in illustration of the myth of Io. And it is further worthy of remark, that the name, thus first brought before us in its Asiatic form, may perhaps furnish an astronomical solution for the entire fable; for as the wanderings of the Greek Io have been often compared with the erratic course of the moon in the heavens, passing in succession through all the signs of the zodiac, so do we find that in the ante-Semitic period there was also an identity of name, the Egyptian title of the moon being *Yah*, and the primitive Chaldæan title being represented by a Cuneiform sign, which is phonetically *Ai*, as in modern Turkish.—[H. C. R.]

[6] Since no other Greeks were thought to have possessed a navy in these early times. Compare Thucyd. i. 4—*Μίνως παλαίτατος ὧν ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν ναυτικὸν ἐκτήσατο.*

[7] The commentators have found some difficulty in showing why the Colchians should have been held responsible for an outrage committed by the Phœnicians, and have been obliged to suggest that it was merely owing to their equally belonging to the comity of Asiatic nations; but the traditions of mutual responsibility are more readily explained by our remembering that there was a close ethnic relationship between the two nations, Colchis in the time of the Argonauts being peopled by the same Cushite or (so-called) Æthiopian race, which in the remote age of Inachus, and before the arrival of the Semites in Syria, held the seaboard of Phœnicia. The primitive Medes were one of the principal divisions of the great Cushite or Scythic race, and their connexion with Colchis and Phœnicia is marked by the myth of *Medea* in one quarter, and of Andro*meda* in the other. So too all the ancient Scythic monuments of Northern Media and Armenia are referred by Strabo to the Argonauts, Jason, as the husband of Medea, being the eponymous hero of the race.—[H. C. R.]

tion for their outrages, so neither would he be forced to make any for his. Accordingly he made prize of Helen; upon which the Greeks decided that, before resorting to other measures, they would send envoys to reclaim the princess and require reparation of the wrong. Their demands were met by a reference to the violence which had been offered to Medea, and they were asked with what face they could now require satisfaction, when they had formerly rejected all demands for either reparation or restitution addressed to them.[8]

4. Hitherto the injuries on either side had been mere acts of common violence; but in what followed the Persians consider that the Greeks were greatly to blame, since before any attack had been made on Europe, they led an army into Asia. Now as for the carrying off of women, it is the deed, they say, of a rogue; but to make a stir about such as are carried off, argues a man a fool. Men of sense care nothing for such women, since it is plain that without their own consent they would never be forced away. The Asiatics, when the Greeks ran off with their women, never troubled themselves about the matter; but the Greeks, for the sake of a single Lacedæmonian girl, collected a vast armament, invaded Asia, and destroyed the kingdom of Priam. Henceforth they ever looked upon the Greeks as their open enemies. For Asia, with all the various tribes of barbarians that inhabit it, is regarded by the Persians as their own; but Europe and the Greek race they look on as distinct and separate.[9]

[8] Aristophanes in the Acharnians (488–494) very wittily parodies the opening of Herodotus's history. Professing to give the causes of the Peloponnesian war, he says;—

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ σμικρὰ κἀπιχώρια·
πόρνην δὲ Σιμαίθαν ἰόντες Μεγάραδε
νεανίαι κλέπτουσι μεθυσοκότταβοι,
κᾆθ' οἱ Μεγαρῆς ὀδύναις πεφυσιγγωμένοι
ἀντεξέκλεψαν 'Ασπασίας πόρνα δύο·
κἀντεῦθεν ἀρχὴ τοῦ πολέμου κατεῤῥάγη
Ἕλλησι πᾶσιν ἐκ τριῶν λαικαστριῶν.

488–494.

——— "This was nothing,
Smacking too much of our accustomed manner
To give offence. But here, sirs, was the rub:
Some sparks of ours, hot with the grape, had stol'n
A mistress of the game—Simætha named—
From the Megarians: her doughty townsmen
(For the deed moved no small extent of anger)
Reveng'd the affront upon Aspasia's train,
And bore away a brace of her fair damsels.
All Greece anon gave note of martial prelude.
And what the cause of war? marry, three women.

—Mitchell, p. 70–2.

This is the earliest indication of a knowledge of the work of Herodotus on the part of any other Greek writer.

[9] The claim made by the Persians to the natural lordship of Asia was convenient

5. Such is the account which the Persians give of these matters.[1] They trace to the attack upon Troy their ancient enmity towards the Greeks. The Phœnicians, however, as regards Io, vary from the Persian statements. They deny that they used any violence to remove her into Egypt; she herself, they say, having formed an intimacy with the captain, while his vessel lay at Argos, and suspecting herself to be with child, of her own freewill accompanied the Phœnicians on their leaving the shore, to escape the shame of detection and the reproaches of her parents. Which of these two accounts is true I shall not trouble to decide. I shall proceed at once to point out the person who first within my own knowledge commenced aggressions on the Greeks, after which I shall go forward with my history, describing equally the greater and the lesser cities. For the cities which were formerly great, have most of them become insignificant; and such as are at present powerful, were weak in the olden time.[2] I shall therefore discourse equally of both,

as furnishing them with pretexts for such wars as it suited their policy to engage in with non-Asiatic nations. The most remarkable occasion on which they availed themselves of such a plea was when Darius invaded Scythia. According to Herodotus he asserted, and the Scythians believed, that his invasion was designed to punish them for having attacked the Medes, and held possession of Upper Asia for a number of years, at a time when Persia was a tributary nation to Media. (See Herod. iv. 1 and 118–9.)

[1] It is curious to observe the treatment which the Greek myths met with at the hands of foreigners. The Oriental mind, quite unable to appreciate poetry of such a character, stripped the legends bare of all that beautified them, and then treated them, thus vulgarised, as matters of simple history. Io, the virgin priestess, beloved by Jove, and hated by jealous Juno, metamorphosed, Argus-watched, and gadfly-driven from land to land, resting at last by holy Nile's sweet-tasting stream, and there becoming mother of a race of hero-kings, is changed to Io, the paramour of a Phœnician sea-captain, flying with him to conceal her pregnancy, and so carried to Egypt whither his ship was bound. The Phœnicians and the Persians are equally prosaic in their versions of the story, so that it seems the Semitic race was as unable to enter into the spirit of Greek poesy as the Arian. Both indeed appear to have been essentially unpoetical, the Semitic race only warming into poetry under the excitement of devotional feeling, the Arian never capable of anything beyond sparkling prettiness and exuberant, sometimes perhaps elegant fancy.

Herodotus, left to himself, has no tendency to treat myths in this coarse, rationalistic way: witness his legends of Crœsus, Battus, Labda, &c. His spirit is too reverent, and, if we may so say, credulous. The supernatural never shocks or startles him. It is a mistake of Pausanias (ii. xvi. § 1) to call this story of Io's passage into Egypt "the way in which *Herodotus* says she went there." Herodotus is only reporting what was alleged by the Persians.

The legend of Io forms a beautiful episode in the Prometheus Vinctus of Æschylus (572–905). That of Medea is introduced into one of the most magnificent of the Odes of Pindar. (Pyth. iv. 119–458.)

[2] Thucydides remarks on the small size to which Mycênæ had dwindled compared with its former power (i. 10). Herodotus would have remarkable examples of decline in his own neighbourhood, both when he dwelt in Asia Minor, and after he removed to Italy. Phocæa in the former country, and Sybaris in the latter, near the ruins of which Thurium rose, would be notable instances.

convinced that human happiness never continues long in one stay.

6. Crœsus, son of Alyattes, by birth a Lydian, was lord of all the nations to the west of the river Halys.[3] This stream, which separates Syria[4] from Paphlagonia, runs with a course from south to north,[5] and finally falls into the Euxine. So far as our knowledge goes, he was the first of the barbarians who held relations with the Greeks, forcing some of them to become his tributaries, and entering into alliance with others. He conquered the Æolians, Ionians, and Dorians of Asia, and made a treaty with the Lacedæmonians. Up to that time all Greeks had been free. For the Cimmerian attack upon Ionia, which was earlier than Crœsus, was not a conquest of the cities, but only an inroad for plundering.

7. The sovereignty of Lydia, which had belonged to the Heraclides, passed into the family of Crœsus, who were called the Mermnadæ, in the manner which I will now relate. There was a certain king of Sardis, Candaules by name, whom the Greeks call Myrsilus.[6] He was a descendant of Alcæus, son of Hercules.

[3] If the name of the Halys be derived from a Semitic source, we may compare the roots חול in Hebrew, or حال in Arabic, signifying "to be twisted," and suppose the epithet to refer to the *tortuous* course of the river. There are names indeed in the early Cuneiform inscriptions, *Khula* and *Khuliya*, which must either refer to this river, or to the upper course of the Euphrates. They are probably also connected with Χολοβητήνη (*Khul* of *Bitan*, the latter term being the ancient Assyrian name of Armenia) and with the *Hul* of Scripture, Gen. x. 23; see Bochart's Phaleg. lib. ii. c. 9. The upper course of the Tigris is likewise named *Khali* in the inscriptions, which may be of kindred etymology.—[H. C. R.]

[4] By Syria Herodotus here means Cappadocia, the inhabitants of which he calls Syrians (i. 72, and vii. 72), or Cappadocian Syrians (Συρίους Καππαδόκας, i. 72). Strabo called them "white Syrians" (xii. p. 788, Oxf. ed.). For arguments in favour of their Semitic origin, see Prichard's Researches, vol. iv. pp. 560–1.

Herodotus regards the words Syria and Assyria, Syrians and Assyrians, as in reality the same (vii. 63); in his use of them, however, as ethnic appellatives, he always carefully distinguishes. Syria is the tract bounded on the north by the Euxine; on the west by the Halys, Cilicia, and the Mediterranean; on the east by Armenia and the desert; and on the south by Egypt. Assyria is the upper portion of the Mesopotamian valley, bounded on the north by Armenia, on the west by the desert, on the south by Babylonia, and on the east by the Medes and Matieni. [The only true word is Assyria, from *Asshúr*. Syria is a Greek corruption of the genuine term.—H. C. R.]

[5] It has been thought (Larcher, vol. i. p. 173) that Herodotus placed the source of the Halys in the range of Taurus, near Iconium, the modern *Kónia*, and regarded the river as having from its source to its embouchure a uniform direction from south to north; but from the more elaborate description in ch. 72 of this book it appears that this was not his belief. He there places the source of the stream in the mountains of Armenia, and says, that after running through Cilicia it passes the Matieni and the Phrygians, and *then flows with a north course* between the countries of Paphlagonia and Cappadocia. Thus his statements are reconcilable with those of Arrian (Peripl. Pont. Eux. p. 127), and with the real course of the *Kizil-Irmak*.

[6] That is, son of Myrsus,—a patronymic of a Latin, or perhaps it should rather be said, of an Italic, type. [So *Larthial-i-sa*, "the wife of the son of Larthius." This

The first king of this dynasty was Agron, son of Ninus, grandson of Belus, and great-grandson of Alcæus; Candaules, son of Myrsus, was the last.[7] The kings who reigned before Agron sprang from Lydus, son of Atys, from whom the people of the land, called previously Mæonians,[8] received the name of Lydians. The Heraclides, descended from Hercules and the slave-girl of Jardanus,[9] having been entrusted by these princes with the management of affairs, obtained the kingdom by an oracle.[1] Their rule endured for two and twenty generations of men, a space of five hundred and five years,[2] during the whole of which period, from Agron to Candaules, the crown descended in the direct line from father to son.

single example, of which hardly any notice has been taken, is probably the strongest argument we possess in favour of the Lydian origin of the Etruscans.—H. C. R.]

[7] The best and latest authorities seem to be now agreed on the Semitic descent of the Lydians (see Movers's 'die Phœnicier,' i. 475; and Ottf. Müller, 'Sandon und Sardanapal,' p. 38, &c.), and the near synchronism of the commencement and duration of the Assyrian and Lydian Empires, together with the introduction by Herodotus of the Assyrian names of Belus and Ninus in the genealogy of Candaules are certainly in favour of his belief in the connexion; but on the other hand, there is no trace in the Assyrian inscriptions of Semitic names beyond the range of Taurus, nor is it easy to believe, if the intervening countries of Cilicia and Cappadocia were peopled by Scyths, that Assyrian colonists could have penetrated beyond them so far to the westward. Again the remarkable Latinism preserved in the form of Myrsilus for "the son of Myrsus" is a strong argument against the Semitic origin of the Lydians, and to whatever race the Heracleids belonged, among whom are found the Assyrian names, in a later age, at any rate, the language of the Lydians was most certainly Indo-Germanic; for the famous Xanthus has left it on record that Sardis in the vernacular dialect of his day signified "a year" (being given as an honorary epithet to the city "πρὸς τιμὴν Ἡλίου"); and this is pure Arian, *Sarat* or *Sard* being the word used for "a year" in Sanscrit and Armenian, and being retained in old Persian under the form of *Thrada*, and in modern Persian as *Sál*. Consult Xanthus apud Lyd. de mensibus, iii. 14, p. 112; Ed. Roether. [H. C. R.]

[8] Homer knows only of Mæonians, not of Lydians (Il. ii. 864–6). Xanthus spoke of the Lydians as obtaining the name at a comparatively late period in their history (Fragm. I. ed. Didot). Niebuhr (Roman Hist., vol. i. p. 108, E. T.) regards the Lydians as a distinct people from the Mæonians, and as their conquerors. The subject is discussed in the Critical Essays, Essay i. "On the Early Chronology and History of Lydia."

[9] Jardanus was the husband, or, according to some accounts, the father, of Omphalé. Hercules, while in her service, was said to have formed an intimacy with one of her female slaves, by name Malis, who bore him a son, Acelus (Hellanicus, Fragm. 102, ed. Didot). Herodotus seems to suppose her to have been also the mother of Agron.

[1] This would be important, if we could depend on it as historical. The Asiatics seem to have had no oracles of their own. They had modes of divination (infrà, ch. 78; Dino. Fr. 8; Polycharm. Frs. 1, 2), but no places where prophetic utterances were supposed to be given by divine inspiration. Under these circumstances they recognised the supernatural character of the Greek oracles, and consulted them (vide infra, chaps. 14, 19, 46, &c). It would be interesting to know that the intercourse had begun in the 13th century B. C.

[2] Herodotus professes to count three generations to the century (ii. 142), thus making the generation 33⅓ years. In this case the average of the generations is but 23 years. There is no need, however, to alter the text, as Larcher does, for Herodotus does not here calculate, but intends to state facts.

8. Now it happened that this Candaules was in love with his own wife; and not only so, but thought her the fairest woman in the whole world. This fancy had strange consequences. There was in his body-guard a man whom he specially favoured, Gyges, the son of Dascylus. All affairs of greatest moment were entrusted by Candaules to this person, and to him he was wont to extol the surpassing beauty of his wife. So matters went on for a while. At length, one day, Candaules, for he was fated to end ill, thus addressed his follower: "I see thou dost not credit what I tell thee of my lady's loveliness; but come now, since men's ears are less credulous than their eyes, contrive some means whereby thou mayest behold her naked." At this the other loudly exclaimed, saying, "What most unwise speech is this, master, which thou hast uttered? Wouldst thou have me behold my mistress when she is naked? Bethink thee that a woman, with her clothes, puts off her bashfulness. Our fathers, in time past, distinguished right and wrong plainly enough, and it is our wisdom to submit to be taught by them. There is an old saying, 'Let each look on his own.' I hold thy wife for the fairest of all womankind. Only, I beseech thee, ask me not to do wickedly."

9. Gyges thus endeavoured to decline the king's proposal, trembling lest some dreadful evil should befall him through it. But the king replied to him, "Courage, friend; suspect me not of the design to prove thee by this discourse; nor dread thy mistress, lest mischief befal thee at her hands. Be sure I will so manage that she shall not even know that thou hast looked upon her. I will place thee behind the open door of the chamber in which we sleep. When I enter to go to rest she will follow me. There stands a chair close to the entrance, on which she will lay her clothes one by one as she takes them off. Thou wilt be able thus at thy leisure to peruse her person. Then, when she is moving from the chair toward the bed, and her back is turned on thee, be it thy care that she see thee not as thou passest through the door-way.

10. Gyges, unable to escape, could but declare his readiness. Then Candaules, when night came, led Gyges into his sleeping-chamber, and a moment after the queen followed. She came in, and laid her garments on the chair, and Gyges gazed on her. After a while she moved toward the bed, and her back being then turned, he glided stealthily from the apartment. As he was passing out, however, she saw him, and instantly divining what had happened, she neither screamed as her shame impelled her, nor even appeared to have noticed aught, purposing to take vengeance upon the husband who had so affronted her. For

among the Lydians, and indeed among the barbarians generally, it is reckoned a deep disgrace, even to a man, to be seen naked.[3]

11. No sound or sign of intelligence escaped her at the time. But in the morning, as soon as day broke, she hastened to choose from among her retinue, such as she knew to be most faithful to her, and preparing them for what was to ensue, summoned Gyges into her presence. Now it had often happened before that the queen had desired to confer with him, and he was accustomed to come to her at her call. He therefore obeyed the summons, not suspecting that she knew aught of what had occurred. Then she addressed these words to him: "Take thy choice, Gyges, of two courses which are open to thee. Slay Candaules, and thereby become my lord, and obtain the Lydian throne, or die this moment in his room. So wilt thou not again, obeying all behests of thy master, behold what is not lawful for thee. It must needs be, that either he perish by whose counsel this thing was done, or thou, who sawest me naked, and so didst break our usages." At these words Gyges stood awhile in mute astonishment; recovering after a time, he earnestly besought the queen that she would not compel him to so hard a choice. But finding he implored in vain, and that necessity was indeed laid on him to kill or to be killed, he made choice of life for himself, and replied by this inquiry: "If it must be so, and thou compellest me against my will to put my lord to death, come, let me hear how thou wilt have me set on him." "Let him be attacked," she answered, "on that spot where I was by him shown naked to you, and let the assault be made when he is asleep."

12. All was then prepared for the attack, and when night fell, Gyges, seeing that he had no retreat or escape, but must absolutely either slay Candaules, or himself be slain, followed his mistress into the sleeping-room. She placed a dagger in his hand, and hid him carefully behind the self-same door. Then Gyges, when the king was fallen asleep, entered privily into the chamber and struck him dead. Thus did the wife and kingdom of Candaules pass into the possession of his follower Gyges, of whom Archilochus the Parian, who lived about the same time,[4] made mention in a poem written in Iambic trimeter verse.

[3] The contrast between the feelings of the Greeks and the barbarians on this point is noted by Thucydides (i. 6), where we learn that the exhibition of the naked person was recent, even with the Greeks (τὸ πάλαι καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὀλυμπιακῷ ἀγῶνι διαζώματα ἔχοντες περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα οἱ ἀθληταὶ ἠγωνίζοντο, καὶ οὐ πολλὰ ἔτη ἐπειδὴ πέπαυται).

[4] The age of Archilochus is a disputed point. Mr. Clinton places him B. C. 708–665 (F. H. vol. i. Ol. 18. 23, 2. &c.). Mr. Grote is of opinion that this is "a half century too high" (History of Greece, vol. iii. p. 333, note [2]). There are strong grounds

13. Gyges was afterwards confirmed in the possession of the throne by an answer of the Delphic oracle. Enraged at the murder of their king, the people flew to arms, but after a while the partisans of Gyges came to terms with them, and it was agreed that if the Delphic oracle declared him king of the Lydians, he should reign; if otherwise, he should yield the throne to the Heraclides. As the oracle was given in his favour he became king. The Pythoness, however, added that, in the fifth generation from Gyges, vengeance should come for the Heraclides; a prophecy of which neither the Lydians nor their princes took any account till it was fulfilled. Such was the way in which the Mermnadæ deposed the Heraclides, and themselves obtained the sovereignty.

14. When Gyges was established on the throne, he sent no small presents to Delphi, as his many silver offerings at the Delphic shrine testify. Besides this silver he gave a vast number of vessels of gold, among which the most worthy of mention are the goblets, six in number, and weighing altogether thirty talents, which stand in the Corinthian treasury, dedicated by him. I call it the Corinthian treasury, though in strictness of speech it is the treasury not of the whole Corinthian people, but of Cypselus, son of Eetion.[4a] Excepting Midas, son of Gordias,[5]

for believing that Archilochus was later than Callinus (Clinton, vol. i. Ol. 17), who is proved by Mr. Grote to have written after the great Cimmerian invasion in the reign of Ardys. But there is nothing to show at what time in the reign of Ardys this invasion happened. Archilochus may have been contemporary both with Gyges and Ardys. The Cimmerian invasion may have been early in the reign of the latter prince, say B. C. 675. Archilochus may have flourished B. C. 708–665, and yet have witnessed the great invasion, and (as Strabo and Clement argue) have outlived Callinus. It seems better to raise our date for the Cimmerian invasion, which (in Mr. Grote's words) "appears fixed for *some* date in the reign of Ardys," but which is not fixed to any particular part of his long reign of 49 years, than to disregard all the authorities (Herodotus, Cicero, Clemens, Tatian, Cyril, Ælian, Proclus, &c.) who place Archilochus in the reign of Gyges, or a little afterwards.

A line of Archilochus, in which mention was made of Gyges, has been preserved —Οὔ μοι τὰ Γύγεω τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει (Ar. Rhet. iii. 17, Plut. Mor. ii. p. 470, C). If it had been spoken in his own person, it would have settled the question of his date, but we learn from Aristotle that it was put in the mouth of one of his characters.

[4a] The offerings of Cypselus to Delphi and other shrines are spoken of by several writers. (Pausan. V. ii. § 4; Plut. Sept. Sap. Agaclyt. ap. Phot. in Κυψελιδῶν ἀνάθημα.) See note on book ii. ch. 167, ad fin. That the Corinthians in later times sought to substitute in the titles of the offerings the name of their state for that of their quondam king, is apparent from the story which Pausanias tells.

[5] In the royal house of Phrygia, the names Midas and Gordias seem to have alternated perpetually, as in that of Cyrênê the names Battus and Arcesilaüs. Every Phrygian king mentioned in ancient history is either Midas, son of Gordias, or Gordias son of Midas. Bouhier (Dissertations, ch. viii.) reckons four kings of Phrygia named Midas, each the son of a Gordias. Three of these are mentioned in Herodotus. (See, besides the present passage, i. 35, and viii. 138.)

The tomb of which a representation is given by Texier, is the burial-place ap-

king of Phrygia, Gyges was the first of the barbarians whom we know to have sent offerings to Delphi. Midas dedicated the royal throne whereon he was accustomed to sit and administer justice, an object well worth looking at. It lies in the same place as the goblets presented by Gyges. The Delphians call the whole of the silver and the gold which Gyges dedicated, after the name of the donor, Gygian.[6]

As soon as Gyges was king he made an inroad on Miletus and Smyrna,[7] and took the city of Colophon. Afterwards, however, though he reigned eight and thirty years, he did not perform a single noble exploit. I shall therefore make no further mention of him, but pass on to his son and successor in the kingdom, Ardys.

15. Ardys took Priênê[8] and made war upon Miletus. In his reign the Cimmerians, driven from their homes by the nomades of Scythia, entered Asia and captured Sardis, all but the citadel.[9] He reigned forty-nine years, and was succeeded by his son, Sadyattes, who reigned twelve years. At his death, his son Alyattes mounted the throne.

16. This prince waged war with the Medes under Cyaxares, the grandson of Deïoces,[9a] drove the Cimmerians out of Asia, conquered Smyrna, the Colophonian colony,[1] and invaded Clazomenæ. From this last contest he did not come off as he could have wished, but met with a sore defeat: still, however, in the

parently of one of these kings. It is at *Doganlu*, near *Kutaya* (Cotyæum), in the ancient Phrygia; and has two inscriptions, which may be read thus:—

1. Ατες Αρκιαεϝας ακενανογαϝος Μιδαι γαϝαγταει ϝανακτει εδαες.
2. Βαβα Μεμεϝαις Προιταϝος κϝι γαναϝεγος Σικεμαν εδαες.

(See Texier's Asie Mineure, vol. i. p. 155; and compare the Essay "On the Ethnic Affinities of the Nations of Western Asia," where these and some other Phrygian inscriptions are considered.)

[6] Theopompus (Fr. 219) and Phanias of Eresus (Fr. 12) said that these were the first gold and silver offerings which had been made to the shrine at Delphi.

[7] To this war belongs, apparently, the narrative which Plutarch quotes from Dositheüs (Dosith. Fr. 6), who wrote a Lydian History. The Smyrnæans seem to have been hard pressed, but by a stratagem, which they commemorated ever afterwards by the festival of the Eleutheria, destroyed the army which had been sent against them. According to one account, Gyges and his Lydians had actually seized the city, when the Smyrnæans rose up and expelled them. (Pausan. iv. xxi. § 3.) Mimnermus, the elegiac poet, celebrated the event in one of his pieces. (Ibid. ix. xxix. § 2.)

[8] Mr. Grote says, "This possession cannot have been maintained, for the city appears afterwards as autonomous" (History of Greece, vol. iii. p. 301); but I have been unable to find any authority for the latter statement. No Ionian city, once conquered by any Lydian king, recovers its independence. The encroachments were progressive, and were maintained in all cases.

[9] For an account of this and the other inroads of the Cimmerians, see Essay i.

[9a] Vide infra, chaps. 73–4. [1] Vide infra, ch. 150.

course of his reign, he performed other actions very worthy of note, of which I will now proceed to give an account.

17. Inheriting from his father a war with the Milesians, he pressed the siege against the city by attacking it in the following manner. When the harvest was ripe on the ground he marched his army into Milesia to the sound of pipes and harps, and flutes masculine and feminine.[2] The buildings that were scattered over the country he neither pulled down nor burnt, nor did he even tear away the doors, but left them standing as they were. He cut down, however, and utterly destroyed all the trees and all the corn throughout the land, and then returned to his own dominions. It was idle for his army to sit down before the place, as the Milesians were masters of the sea. The reason that he did not demolish their buildings was, that the inhabitants might be tempted to use them as homesteads from which to go forth to sow and till their lands; and so each time that he invaded the country he might find something to plunder.

18. In this way he carried on the war with the Milesians for eleven years, in the course of which he inflicted on them two terrible blows; one in their own country in the district of Limeneium, the other in the plain of the Mæander. During six of these eleven years, Sadyattes, the son of Ardys, who first lighted the flames of this war, was king of Lydia, and made the incursions. The five following years only belong to the reign of Alyattes, son of Sadyattes, who (as I said before) inheriting the war from his father, applied himself to it unremittingly. The Milesians throughout the contest received no help at all from any of the Ionians, excepting those of Chios, who lent them troops in requital of a like service rendered them in former times, the Milesians having fought on the side of the Chians during the whole of the war between them and the people of Erythræ.

19. It was in the twelfth year of the war that the following mischance occurred from the firing of the harvest-fields. Scarcely

[2] Aulus Gellius understood the "male and female flutes," as flutes played by men, and flutes played by women (Noct. Attic. i. 11). But it is more probable that flutes of different tones or pitches are intended. (See the essay of Böttiger, Ueber die Lydische Doppelflöte,' in Wieland's Attisch. Mus. vol. i. part ii. p. 334.) The flute, the pitch of which was lower, would be called *male;* the more treble or shrill-sounding one would be the *female.* It is possible that the two flutes represented respectively the Lydian and Phrygian musical scales, as Larcher conjectures (note on the passage, vol. i. p. 192). If this were the case, however, the male flute would be the Phrygian, the female flute the Lydian: for the Lydian musical scale was more highly pitched than the Phrygian. Larcher states exactly the reverse of the truth when he says, "Les flutes Lydienes dont le son étoit grave, et les Phrygienes, qui avoient le son aigu." (See the article on Greek Music in Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, contributed by Professor Donkin.)

had the corn been set a-light when a violent wind carried the flames against the temple of Minerva Assesia, which caught fire, and was burnt to the ground. At the time no one made any account of the circumstance; but afterwards, on the return of the army to Sardis, Alyattes fell sick. His illness continuing, either advised thereto by some friend, or perchance himself conceiving the idea, he sent messengers to Delphi to inquire of the god concerning his malady. On their arrival the Pythoness declared that no answer should be given them until they had rebuilt the temple of Minerva, burnt by the Lydians at Assêsus in Milesia.

20. Thus much I know from information given me by the Delphians; the remainder of the story the Milesians add.

The answer made by the oracle came to the ears of Periander, son of Cypselus, who was a very close friend to Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus at that period. He instantly despatched a messenger to report the oracle to him, that Thrasybulus forewarned of its tenor, might the better adapt his measures to the posture of affairs.

21. Alyattes, the moment that the words of the oracle were reported to him, sent a herald to Miletus in hopes of concluding a truce with Thrasybulus and the Milesians for such a time as was needed to rebuild the temple. The herald went upon his way; but meantime Thrasybulus had been apprised of everything; and conjecturing what Alyattes would do, he contrived this artifice. He had all the corn that was in the city, whether belonging to himself or to private persons, brought into the market-place, and issued an order that the Milesians should hold themselves in readiness, and, when he gave the signal, should, one and all, fall to drinking and revelry.

22. The purpose for which he gave these orders was the following. He hoped that the Sardian herald, seeing so great store of corn upon the ground, and all the city given up to festivity, would inform Alyattes of it, which fell out as he anticipated. The herald observed the whole, and when he had delivered his message, went back to Sardis. This circumstance alone, as I gather, brought about the peace which ensued. Alyattes, who had hoped that there was now a great scarcity of corn in Miletus, and that the people were worn down to the last pitch of suffering, when he heard from the herald on his return from Miletus, tidings so contrary to those he had expected, made a treaty with the enemy by which the two nations became close friends and allies. He then built at Assêsus two temples to

Minerva instead of one,[3] and shortly after recovered from his malady. Such were the chief circumstances of the war which Alyattes waged with Thrasybulus and the Milesians.

23. This Periander, who apprised Thrasybulus of the oracle, was son of Cypselus, and tyrant of Corinth.[4] In his time a very wonderful thing is said to have happened. The Corinthians and the Lesbians agree in their account of the matter. They relate that Arion of Methymna, who as a player on the harp was second to no man living at that time, and who was, so far as we know, the first to invent the dithyrambic measure,[5] to give it its name, and to recite in it at Corinth, was carried to Tænarum on the back of a dolphin.

24. He had lived for many years at the court of Periander, when a longing came upon him to sail across to Italy and Sicily. Having made rich profits in those parts, he wanted to recross

[3] The feeling that restitution should be twofold, when made to the gods, was a feature of the religion of Rome (see Niebuhr's History, vol. ii. p. 550, E. T.). It was not recognised in Greece. Pericles proposed that, if necessity required, the Athenians should make use of Athênê's golden ornaments, and afterwards replace them with ornaments of *equal* value (μὴ ἐλάσσω. Thucyd. ii. 13). Undoubtedly there are points of similarity between the Lydian and Italic nations, which seem to indicate that the myth of Tyrsênus and Lydus has in it some germ of truth.

[4] Bähr says (Not. ad loc.) Periander was tyrant in the *ancient* sense of the word, in which it is simply equivalent to the Latin "rex," and the Greek ἄναξ, or βασιλεὺς; because he inherited the crown from his father Cypselus. But it would rather seem that the word bears here its usual sense of a king who rules with a usurped and unconstitutional authority. There might be a dynasty of τύραννοι as easily as an individual τύραννος. (Compare the case of Athens under the Pisistratidæ). So long as the king is not recognised as *de jure*, but only as *de facto*, king, he is τύραννος, not βασιλεύς. This was the case at Corinth. Vid. inf. v. 92.

[5] The invention of the Dithyramb, or Cyclic chorus, was ascribed to Arion, not only by Herodotus, but also by Aristotle, by Hellanicus, by Dicæarchus, and, implicitly, by Pindar (cf. Proclus ap. Phot. Cod. 239, p. 985, and Schol. Pindar. ad Olymp. xiii. 25), who said it was invented at Corinth. Dio (Orat. xxxvii. p. 455, A.) and Suidas agreed with this. Clement of Alexandria and others attributed the invention to Lasus of Hermionê. (Strom. i. p. 365, Schol. ad Aristoph. Av. 1403.) This is undoubtedly erroneous. It has been questioned, however, if the dithyramb was not more ancient than Arion. A fragment ascribed to Archilochus is preserved in Athenæus (Deipnosoph. xiv. vi. p. 628), where the dithyramb is spoken of, and which has itself a dithyrambic character. The Scholiast on Pindar, Ol. xiii. 25, informs us that Pindar varied from his statement in that place, and said in one poem that the dithyramb was invented at Naxos, in another at Thebes. Larcher thinks the dithyramb was so ancient a form of composition that its inventor was not known (vol. i. p. 196). Perhaps it is best to conclude with a recent writer that Arion did not invent, but only improved the dithyramb, (Plehn. in Lesbiac. p. 168).

The dithyramb was originally a mere hymn in honour of Bacchus, with the circumstances of whose birth the word is somewhat fancifully connected (Eurip. Bacch. 526). It was sung by a κῶμος, or band of revellers, directed by a leader. It is thought that Arion's improvement was to adapt it to the system of Doric chorusses, thereby making it anti-strophic, and substituting the accompaniment of the harp for that of the flute. It was danced by a chorus of fifty men or boys round an altar, whence it was called κύκλιος χορός; and Arion was mythically said to be the son of Cyclon or Cycleus.

the seas to Corinth.[6] He therefore hired a vessel, the crew of which were Corinthians, thinking that there was no people in whom he could more safely confide; and, going on board, he set sail from Tarentum. The sailors, however, when they reached the open sea, formed a plot to throw him overboard and seize upon his riches. Discovering their design, he fell on his knees, beseeching them to spare his life, and making them welcome to his money. But they refused; and required him either to kill himself outright, if he wished for a grave on the dry land, or without loss of time, to leap overboard into the sea. In this strait Arion begged them, since such was their pleasure, to allow him to mount upon the quarter-deck, dressed in his full costume, and there to play and sing, promising that, as soon as his song was ended, he would destroy himself. Delighted at the prospect of hearing the very best harper in the world, they consented, and withdrew from the stern to the middle of the vessel: while Arion dressed himself in the full costume of his calling, took his harp, and standing on the quarter-deck, chanted the Orthian.[7] His strain ended, he flung himself, fully attired as he was, headlong into the sea. The Corinthians then sailed on to Corinth. As for Arion, a dolphin, they say, took him upon his back and carried him to Tænarum, where he went ashore, and thence walked to Corinth in his musician's dress, and told all that had happened to him. Periander, however, disbelieved the story, and put Arion in ward, to prevent his leaving Corinth, while he watched anxiously for the return of the mariners. On their arrival he summoned them before him and asked them if they could give him any tidings of Arion. They returned for answer that he was alive and in good health in Italy, and that they had left him at Tarentum, where he was doing well. Thereupon Arion appeared before them, just as he was when he jumped from the vessel: the men, astonished and detected in falsehood, could no longer deny their guilt. Such is the account which the Corinthians and Lesbians give; and there is to this day at Tænarum, an offering of Arion's at the shrine, which is a small figure in bronze, representing a man seated upon a dolphin.[8]

[6] Another version of the story was, that he grew rich at Corinth, and wished to return to Methymna (Lucian, vol. ii. p. 109).

[7] The Orthian is mentioned as a particular sort of melody by Plutarch (De Musicâ, vol. ii. 1134, D.), Dio Chrysostom (De Regno, p. 1, B.), and the Scholiast on Aristophanes (Acharn. 16). According to the last authority, it was pitched in a high key, as the name would imply, and was a lively spirited air.

[8] Various attempts have been made to rationalize the legend of Arion. Larcher conjectures that he swam ashore, and afterwards got on board a swift-sailing vessel, which happened to have a dolphin for its figure-head, and arrived at Corinth before

25. Having brought the war with the Milesians to a close, and reigned over the land of Lydia for fifty-seven years, Alyattes died. He was the second prince of his house who made offerings at Delphi. His gifts, which he sent on recovering from his sickness, were a great bowl of pure silver, with a salver in steel curiously inlaid, a work among all the offerings at Delphi the best worth looking at. Glaucus, the Chian, made it, the man who first invented the art of inlaying steel.[9]

26. On the death of Alyattes, Crœsus, his son, who was in his thirty-fifth year, succeeded to the throne. Of the Greek cities, Ephesus was the first that he attacked. The Ephesians, when he laid siege to the place, made an offering of their city to Diana, by stretching a rope from the town wall to the temple of the Goddess,[1] which was distant from the ancient city, then besieged by Crœsus, a space of seven furlongs.[2] They were, as I said, the first Greeks whom he attacked.[3] Afterwards, on some

the ship from which he had been ejected came into port (Hérodote, vol. i. p. 201). Clinton supposes that the whole story may have grown out of the fact, that Arion was taken by pirates, and made his escape from them (F. H. vol. i. p. 217).

The truth seems to be, that the legend grew out of the figure at Tænarum, which was known by its inscription to be an offering of Arion's (See Creuzer's Dissert. de mythis ab artium operibus profectis, § 2). It may have had no other groundwork.

The figure itself remained at Tænarum more than seven hundred years. It was seen by Ælian in the third century after Christ, when it bore the following inscription:—

Ἀθανάτων πομπαῖσιν Ἀρίονα, Κύκλονος υἱὸν,
Ἐκ Σικελοῦ πελάγους σῶσεν ὄχημα τόδε.

[9] It is questionable whether by κόλλησις is to be understood the inlaying, or merely the welding of iron together. The only two descriptions which eye-witnesses have left us of the salver, lead in opposite directions. Pausanias gives as its peculiarity that the various portions were not fastened together by nails or rivets, but united by welding (X. xvi. § 1); Athenæus, that it was covered with representations of plants and animals (Deipnosoph. v. 13, p. 210). Larcher's reasoning in favour of inlaying is ingenious. The main difficulties are the etymological meaning of the word, and the description of Pausanias.

Stephen of Byzantium calls Glaucus a Samian (in voc. Αἰθάλη) against the concurrent testimony of all other ancient writers. He was led into the mistake probably by his knowledge of the general priority of Samos in matters of art. (Vide infr. i. 51; iii. 42 and 60; iv. 88, &c.)

[1] An analogous case is mentioned by Plutarch (Solon. c. 12). The fugitives implicated in the insurrection of Cylon at Athens connected themselves with the altar by a cord. Through the breaking of the cord they lost their sacred character. So, too, when Polycrates dedicated the island of Rheneia to the Delian Apollo, he connected it with Delos by a chain (Thucyd. iii. 104).

[2] We learn by this that the site of Ephesus had changed between the time of Crœsus and that of Herodotus. It is curious that, notwithstanding, Xenophon speaks of the temple of Diana (Artemis) as still distant exactly seven stades from the city (Ephes. i. 2). Afterwards the temple drew the population to it. The building seen by Herodotus was that burnt by Eratostratus, B. C. 356.

[3] The story of Pindarus, which Mr. Grote interweaves into his history at this

pretext or other, he made war in turn upon every Ionian and Æolian state, bringing forward, where he could, a substantial ground of complaint; where such failed him, advancing some poor excuse.

27. In this way he made himself master of all the Greek cities in Asia, and forced them to become his tributaries; after which he began to think of building ships, and attacking the islanders. Everything had been got ready for this purpose, when Bias of Priêné (or, as some say, Pittacus the Mytilenean) put a stop to the project. The king had made inquiry of this person, who was lately arrived at Sardis, if there were any news from Greece; to which he answered, "Yes, sire, the islanders are gathering ten thousand horse, designing an expedition against thee and against thy capital." Crœsus, thinking he spake seriously, broke out, "Ah, might the gods put such a thought into their minds as to attack the sons of the Lydians with cavalry!" "It seems, oh! king," rejoined the other, "that thou desirest earnestly to catch the islanders on horseback upon the mainland,—thou knowest well what would come of it. But what thinkest thou the islanders desire better, now that they hear thou art about to build ships and sail against them, than to catch the Lydians at sea, and there revenge on them the wrongs of their brothers upon the mainland, whom thou holdest in slavery?" Crœsus was charmed with the turn of the speech; and thinking there was reason in what was said, gave up his shipbuilding and concluded a league of amity with the Ionians of the isles.

28. Crœsus afterwards, in the course of many years, brought under his sway almost all the nations to the west of the Halys. The Lycians and Cilicians alone continued free; all the other tribes he reduced and held in subjection. They were the following: the Lydians, Phrygians, Mysians, Mariandynians, Chalybians, Paphlagonians, Thynian and Bithynian Thracians, Carians, Ionians, Dorians, Æolians and Pamphylians.[4]

point (vol. iii. p. 347), is far too questionable in its details, and rests upon too little authority (Ælian. Hist. Var. iii. 26; Polyæn. Strateg. vi. 50) to be entitled to much consideration.

[4] For the position of these several tribes see the map of Asia Minor. It is not quite correct to speak of the Cilicians as dwelling *within* (*i. e.* west of) the Halys, for the Halys in its upper course ran *through* Cilicia (διὰ Κιλίκων, ch. 72), and that country lay chiefly *south* of the river.

Lycia and Cilicia would be likely to maintain their independence, being both countries of great natural strength. They lie upon the high mountain-range of Taurus, which runs from east to west along the south of Asia Minor, within about a degree of the shore, and sends down from the main chain a series of lateral branches or spurs, which extend to the sea along the whole line of coast from the Gulf of

29. When all these conquests had been added to the Lydian empire, and the prosperity of Sardis was now at its height, there came thither, one after another, all the sages of Greece living at the time, and among them Solon, the Athenian.[5] He was on his travels, having left Athens to be absent ten years, under the pretence of wishing to see the world, but really to avoid being forced to repeal any of the laws which, at the request of the Athenians, he had made for them. Without his sanction the Athenians could not repeal them, as they had bound themselves under a heavy curse to be governed for ten years by the laws which should be imposed on them by Solon.[6]

30. On this account, as well as to see the world, Solon set out upon his travels, in the course of which he went to Egypt to the court of Amasis,[7] and also came on a visit to Crœsus at Sardis. Crœsus received him as his guest, and lodged him in the royal palace. On the third or fourth day after, he bade his servants conduct Solon over his treasuries,[8] and show him all their greatness and magnificence. When he had seen them all, and, so far as time allowed, inspected them, Crœsus addressed this question to him: "Stranger of Athens, we have heard much of thy wisdom and of thy travels through many lands, from love of knowledge and a wish to see the world. I am curious therefore

Makri, opposite Rhodes, to the plain of Tarsus. The mountains of the interior are in many parts covered with snow during the whole or the greater part of the year. (See Beaufort's Karamania.)

[5] Solon's visit to Crœsus was rejected as fabulous before the time of Plutarch (Solon. c. 27), on account of chronological difficulties, which it has been proposed to obviate by the hypothesis of the association of Crœsus in the government by his father, some considerable time before his death. (See Larcher in loc.; and Clinton, F. H. vol. ii. p. 365.) The improbability of this hypothesis is shown in the Crit. Essays (Essay i. sub fin.). There is no necessity for it, in order to bring Solon and Crœsus into contact during the reign of the latter. Crœsus most probably reigned from B. C. 568 to B. C. 554. Solon certainly outlived the first usurpation of the government at Athens by Pisistratus, which was B. C. 560. Some writers spoke of his travels as commencing at that time. (Laert. i. 50; Suidas in voc. Σόλων.) It is possible that he travelled twice, once before and once after the commencement of the tyranny of Pisistratus. And what happened on the latter occasion may have been transferred to the former. Or he may have started on his first travels a few years later than Clinton conjectures, B. C. 571, instead of B. C. 575; and his visit to Crœsus may have been in the last of the 10 years B. C. 561.

[6] The travels of Solon are attested by Plato (Tim. p. 21) and others. Various motives were assigned for his leaving Athens. Laertius and Suidas said it was to escape the tyranny of Pisistratus; Plutarch, that it was to avoid the troubles into which he foresaw Athens would be plunged (Solon. c. 25). The view of Herodotus has prevailed, notwithstanding its intrinsic improbability.

[7] Amasis began to reign B. C. 569. Solon might sail from Athens to Egypt, thence to Cyprus (Herod. v. 113), and from Cyprus to Lydia. This is the order of his travels according to Laertius (i. 49). Herodotus, too, seems to place the visit to Egypt *before* that to Lydia, when he says, ἐκδημήσας ὁ Σόλων ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκετο, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Σάρδις.

[8] Vide infra, vi. 125.

to inquire of thee, whom, of all the men that thou hast seen, thou deemest the most happy?" This he asked because he thought himself the happiest of mortals: but Solon answered him without flattery, according to his true sentiments, "Tellus of Athens, sire." Full of astonishment at what he heard, Crœsus demanded sharply, "And wherefore dost thou deem Tellus happiest?" To which the other replied, "First, because his country was flourishing in his days, and he himself had sons both beautiful and good, and he lived to see children born to each of them, and these children all grew up; and further because, after a life spent in what our people look upon as comfort, his end was surpassingly glorious. In a battle between the Athenians and their neighbours near Eleusis, he came to the assistance of his countrymen, routed the foe, and died upon the field most gallantly. The Athenians gave him a public funeral on the spot where he fell, and paid him the highest honours."

31. Thus did Solon admonish Crœsus by the example of Tellus, enumerating the manifold particulars of his happiness. When he had ended, Crœsus inquired a second time, who after Tellus seemed to him the happiest, expecting that, at any rate, he would be given the second place. "Cleobis and Bito," Solon answered; "they were of Argive race: their fortune was enough for their wants, and they were besides endowed with so much bodily strength that they had both gained prizes at the Games. Also this tale is told of them:—There was a great festival in honour of the goddess Juno at Argos, to which their mother must needs be taken in a car.[9] Now the oxen did not come home from the field in time: so the youths, fearful of being too late, put the yoke on their own necks, and themselves drew the car in which their mother rode. Five and forty furlongs did they draw her, and stopped before the temple. This deed of theirs was witnessed by the whole assembly of worshippers, and then their life closed in the best possible way. Herein, too, God showed forth most evidently, how much better a thing for man death is than life. For the Argive men stood thick around the car and extolled the vast strength of the youths; and the Argive women extolled the mother who was blessed with such a pair of

[9] Cicero (Tusc. Disp. i. 47) and others, as Servius (ad Virg. Georg. iii. 532) and the author of the Platonic dialogue entitled Axiochus (367. C), relate that the ground of the necessity was the circumstance that the youths' mother was priestess of Juno at the time. Servius says a pestilence had destroyed the oxen, which contradicts Herodotus. Otherwise the tale is told with fewer varieties than most ancient stories. The Argives had a sculptured representation of the event in their temple of Apollo Lycius to the time of Pausanias. (Pausan. II. xx. § 2.)

sons; and the mother herself, overjoyed at the deed and at the praises it had won, standing straight before the image, besought the goddess to bestow on Cleobis and Bito, the sons who had so mightily honoured her, the highest blessing to which mortals can attain. Her prayer ended, they offered sacrifice, and partook of the holy banquet, after which the two youths fell asleep in the temple. They never woke more, but so passed from the earth. The Argives, looking on them as among the best of men, caused statues of them to be made, which they gave to the shrine at Delphi."

32. When Solon had thus assigned these youths the second place, Crœsus broke in angrily, "What, stranger of Athens, is my happiness, then, so utterly set at nought by thee, that thou dost not even put me on a level with private men?"

"Oh! Crœsus," replied the other, "thou askedst a question concerning the condition of man, of one who knows that the power above us is full of jealousy,[9a] and fond of troubling our lot. A long life gives one to witness much, and experience much oneself, that one would not choose. Seventy years I regard as the limit of the life of man.[1] In these seventy years are contained, without reckoning intercalary months, twenty-five thousand and two hundred days. Add an intercalary month to every other year, that the seasons may come round at the right time, and there will be, besides the seventy years, thirty-five such months, making an addition of one thousand and fifty days. The whole number of the days contained in the seventy years will thus be twenty-six thousand two hundred and fifty,[2]

[9a] In the original, φθονερὸν ἐὸν τὸ θεῖον. The φθόνος of God is a leading feature in Herodotus's conception of the Deity, and no doubt is one of the chief moral conclusions which he drew from his own survey of human events, and intended to impress on us by his history. (Vide infra, iii. 40, vii. 46, and especially vii. 10, § 5–6.) Plutarch long ago reprehended this view (De Herod. Malignit. Op. ii. p. 857); and notwithstanding the ingenious defence of Valckenaer (ad Herod. iii. 40), repeated since by Dahlmann (Life of Herodotus, ch. viii. p. 131, E. T.) and Bähr (ad Herod. i. 32), it cannot be justified. Herodotus's φθονερὸς θεὸς is not simply the "*Deus ultor*" of religious Romans, much less the "*jealous* God" of Scripture, to which Dahlmann compares the expression. This last is a completely distinct notion. The idea of an avenging God is *included* in the Herodotean conception, but it is far from being the whole of it. Prosperity, not pride, eminence, not arrogance, provokes him. He does not like any one to be great or happy but himself (vii. 46, end).

What is most remarkable is, that with such a conception of the Divine Nature, Herodotus could maintain such a placid, cheerful, childlike temper. Possibly he was serene because he felt secure in his mediocrity.

[1] "The days of our years are threescore years and ten" (Ps. xc. 10).

[2] No commentator on Herodotus has succeeded in explaining the curious mistake whereby the solar year is made to average 375 days. That Herodotus knew the true solar year was not 375, but more nearly 365 days, is clear from book ii. ch. 4. It is also clear that he must be right as to the fact that the Greeks were in the habit

whereof not one but will produce events unlike the rest. Hence man is wholly accident. For thyself, oh! Crœsus, I see that thou art wonderfully rich, and art the lord of many nations; but with respect to that whereon thou questionest me, I have no answer to give, until I hear that thou hast closed thy life happily. For assuredly he who possesses great store of riches is no nearer happiness than he who has what suffices for his daily needs, unless it so hap that luck attend upon him, and so he continue in the enjoyment of all his good things to the end of life. For many of the wealthiest men have been unfavoured of fortune, and many whose means were moderate, have had excellent luck. Men of the former class excel those of the latter but in two respects; these last excel the former in many. The wealthy man is better able to content his desires, and to bear up against a sudden buffet of calamity. The other has less ability to withstand these evils (from which, however, his good luck keeps him clear), but he enjoys all these following blessings: he is whole of limb, a stranger to disease, free from misfortune, happy in his children, and comely to look upon. If, in addition to all this, he end his life well, he is of a truth the man of whom thou art in search, the man who may rightly be termed happy. Call him, however, until he die, not happy but fortunate. Scarcely, indeed, can any man unite all these advantages: as there is no country which contains within it all that it needs, but each, while it possesses some things, lacks others, and the best country is that which contains the most; so no single human being is complete in every respect—something is always lacking. He who unites the greatest number of advantages, and retaining them to the day of his death, then dies peaceably, that man alone, sire, is, in my judgment, entitled to bear the name of 'happy.' But in every matter it behoves us to mark well the end; for often-

of intercalating a month every other year. This point is confirmed by a passage in Censorinus (De Die Natal. xviii. p. 91), where it is explained that the Greek years were alternately of 12 and 13 months, and that the biennium was called "annus magnus," or τριετηρίς.

Two inaccuracies produce the error in Herodotus. In the first place he makes Solon count his months at 30 days each, whereas it is notorious that the Greek months, after the system of intercalation was introduced, were alternately of 29 and 30 days. By this error his first number is raised from 24,780 to 25,200; and also his second number from 1033 to 1050. Secondly, he omits to mention that from time to time (every 4th τριετηρὶς probably) the intercalary month was omitted altogether. (See Dr. Schmitz's account of the Greek year, in Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, 2d edit. p. 222; where, however, by an accidental slip of the pen, the *insertion* of an additional month every fourth year (τριετηρίς?) is substituted for its omission.) These two corrections would reduce the number of days to the proper amount.

times God gives men a gleam of happiness, and then plunges them into ruin."[3]

33. Such was the speech which Solon addressed to Crœsus, a speech which brought him neither largess nor honour. The king saw him depart with much indifference, since he thought that a man must be an arrant fool who made no account of present good, but bade men always wait and mark the end.

34. After Solon had gone away a dreadful vengeance, sent of God, came upon Crœsus, to punish him, it is likely, for deeming himself the happiest of men. First he had a dream in the night, which foreshowed him truly the evils that were about to befall him in the person of his son. For Crœsus had two sons, one blasted by a natural defect, being deaf and dumb; the other, distinguished far above all his co-mates in every pursuit. The name of the last was Atys. It was this son concerning whom he dreamt a dream, that he would die by the blow of an iron weapon. When he woke, he considered earnestly with himself, and, greatly alarmed at the dream, instantly made his son take a wife, and whereas in former years the youth had been wont to command the Lydian forces in the field, he now would not suffer him to accompany them. All the spears and javelins, and weapons used in the wars, he removed out of the male apartments, and laid them in heaps in the chambers of the women, fearing lest perhaps one of the weapons that hung against the wall might fall and strike him.

35. Now it chanced that while he was making arrangements for the wedding, there came to Sardis a man under a misfortune, who had upon him the stain of blood. He was by race a Phrygian, and belonged to the family of the king. Presenting himself at the palace of Crœsus, he prayed to be admitted to purification according to the customs of the country. Now the Lydian method of purifying is very nearly the same as the Greek. Crœsus granted the request, and went through all the customary rites, after which he asked the suppliant of his birth and country, addressing him as follows:—"Who art thou, stranger, and from

[3] Larcher says, "Sophocles a paraphrasé cette sentence de Solon dans son Œdipe Roi" (vol. i. p. 232). But it might be argued with quite as much probability that Herodotus has here borrowed from Sophocles, since Herodotus seems to have continued to make additions to his history as late perhaps as B. C. 425 (see the introductory Essay, p. 26), and Sophocles exhibited as early as B. C. 468. As the exact date of the publication of the Œdipus Tyrannus is unknown, and it is uncertain whether the passage in Herodotus was part of the original history, or one of the additions which he made at Thurium, it is impossible to say which writer was the plagiarist. Perhaps the γνώμη was really one of Solon's, as Aristotle believed (Eth. Nic. i. x.). It became a favorite τόπος of Greek tragedy. See, besides the passages in Sophocles (Œd. T. 1195, and 1528–30), Eurip. Andromach. 100, Troas, 513, &c. &c.

what part of Phrygia fleddest thou to take refuge at my hearth? And whom, moreover, what man or what woman, hast thou slain?" "Oh! king," replied the Phrygian, "I am the son of Gordias, son of Midas. I am named Adrastus.[4] The man I unintentionally slew was my own brother. For this my father drove me from the land, and I lost all. Then fled I here to thee." "Thou art the offspring," Crœsus rejoined, "of a house friendly to mine,[5] and thou art come to friends. Thou shalt want for nothing so long as thou abidest in my dominions. Bear thy misfortune as easily as thou mayest, so will it go best with thee." Thenceforth Adrastus lived in the palace of the king.

36. It chanced that at this very same time there was in the Mysian Olympus a huge monster of a boar, which went forth often from this mountain-country, and wasted the corn-fields of the Mysians. Many a time had the Mysians collected to hunt the beast, but instead of doing him any hurt, they came off always with some loss to themselves. At length they sent ambassadors to Crœsus, who delivered their message to him in these words: "Oh! king, a mighty monster of a boar has appeared in our parts, and destroys the labour of our hands. We do our best to take him, but in vain. Now therefore we beseech thee to let thy son accompany us back, with some chosen youths and hounds, that we may rid our country of the animal." Such was the tenor of their prayer.

But Crœsus bethought him of his dream, and answered, "Say no more of my son going with you; that may not be in any wise. He is but just joined in wedlock, and is busy enough with that. I will grant you a picked band of Lydians, and all my hunting array, and I will charge those whom I send to use all zeal in aiding you to rid your country of the brute."

[4] This name, and likewise the name of Atys, are thought to be significant. Adrastus is "the doomed"—"the man unable to escape." Atys is "the youth under the influence of Até"—"the man judicially blind." (See Mure's Literature of Greece, vol. iv. p. 326.)

Hephæstion gave the name of the brother as Agathon, and said that he and Adrastus quarrelled about a quail (ap. Phot. Bibl. cod. 190, p. 472); but the discoveries of Hephæstion in such matters are a severe trial to the modern reader's credulity.

[5] Here the legend has forgotten that Phrygian independence was at an end. We might, indeed, get over the difficulty of a Phrygian royal house, and a King Gordias at this time, by supposing, with Larcher (vol. i. p. 237), that Phrygia had become tributary while retaining her kings; but the language of Crœsus is not suitable to such a supposition. Equality appears in the phrase, "thou art the offspring of a house friendly to mine, and thou art come to friends;" and the independence of Phrygia seems clearly implied in the proviso, "thou shalt want for nothing so long as thou abidest in my dominions" (μένων ἐν ἡμετέρου). Phrygia is not under Crœsus.

37. With this reply the Mysians were content; but the king's son, hearing what the prayer of the Mysians was, came suddenly in, and on the refusal of Crœsus to let him go with them, thus addressed his father: "Formerly, my father, it was deemed the noblest and most suitable thing for me to frequent the wars and hunting-parties, and win myself glory in them; but now thou keepest me away from both, although thou hast never beheld in me either cowardice or lack of spirit. What face meanwhile must I wear as I walk to the forum or return from it? What must the citizens, what must my young bride think of me? What sort of man will she suppose her husband to be? Either, therefore, let me go to the chace of this boar, or give me a reason why it is best for me to do according to thy wishes."

38. Then Crœsus answered, "My son, it is not because I have seen in thee either cowardice or aught else which has displeased me that I keep thee back; but because a vision, which came before me in a dream as I slept, warned me that thou wert doomed to die young, pierced by an iron weapon. It was this which first led me to hasten on thy wedding, and now it hinders me from sending thee upon this enterprise. Fain would I keep watch over thee, if by any means I may cheat fate of thee during my own lifetime. For thou art the one and only son that I possess; the other, whose hearing is destroyed, I regard as if he were not."

39. "Ah! father," returned the youth, "I blame thee not for keeping watch over me after a dream so terrible; but if thou mistakest, if thou dost not apprehend the dream aright, 'tis no blame for me to show thee wherein thou errest. Now the dream, thou saidst thyself, foretold that I should die stricken by an iron weapon. But what hands has a boar to strike with? What iron weapon does he wield? Yet this is what thou fearest for me. Had the dream said that I should die pierced by a tusk, then thou hadst done well to keep me away; but it said a weapon. Now here we do not combat men, but a wild animal. I pray thee, therefore, let me go with them."

40. "There thou hast me, my son," said Crœsus, "thy interpretation is better than mine. I yield to it, and change my mind, and consent to let thee go."

41. Then the king sent for Adrastus the Phrygian, and said to him, "Adrastus, when thou wert smitten with the rod of affliction—no reproach, my friend—I purified thee, and have taken thee to live with me in my palace, and have been at every charge. Now, therefore, it behoves thee to requite the good offices which thou hast received at my hands by consenting

to go with my son on this hunting-party, and to watch over him, if perchance you should be attacked upon the road by some band of daring robbers. Even apart from this, it were right for thee to go where thou mayest make thyself famous by noble deeds. They are the heritage of thy family, and thou too art so stalwart and strong."

42. Adrastus answered, "Except for thy request, Oh! king, I would rather have kept away from this hunt, for methinks it ill beseems a man under a misfortune such as mine to consort with his happier compeers, and besides, I have no heart to it. On many grounds I had stayed behind, but, as thou urgest it, and I am bound to pleasure thee (for truly it does behove me to requite thy good offices), I am content to do as thou wishest. For thy son, whom thou givest into my charge, be sure thou shalt receive him back safe and sound, so far as depends upon a guardian's carefulness."

43. Thus assured, Crœsus let them depart, accompanied by a band of picked youths, and well provided with dogs of chace. When they reached Olympus, they scattered in quest of the animal; he was soon found, and the hunters, drawing round him in a circle, hurled their weapons at him. Then the stranger, the man who had been purified of blood, whose name was Adrastus, he also hurled his spear at the boar, but missed his aim, and struck Atys. Thus was the son of Crœsus slain by the point of an iron weapon, and the warning of the vision was fulfilled. Then one ran to Sardis to bear the tidings to the king, and he came and informed him of the combat, and of the fate that had befallen his son.

44. If it was a heavy blow to the father to learn that his child was dead, it yet more strongly affected him to think that the very man whom he himself once purified had done the deed. In the violence of his grief he called aloud on Jupiter Catharsius,[6] to be a witness of what he had suffered at the stranger's hands. Afterwards he invoked the same god as Jupiter Ephistius and Hetæreus—using the one term because he had unwittingly harboured in his house the man who had now slain his son; and the

[6] Jupiter was Catharsius, the god of purifications, not (as Bähr says) on account of the resemblance of the rites of purification with those of Jupiter Μειλίχιος, but simply in the same way that he was Ephistius and Hetærêüs, god of hearths, and of companionship, because he presided over all occasions of obligation between man and man, and the purified person contracted an obligation towards his purifier. Compare, on the general principle, Eustath. ad Hom. Od. xvi. 429, "Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι μάρτυς λέγεται τοῖς ἱκέταις ὁ Ζεὺς καθὰ καὶ τοῖς ἑταίροις, ἵνα ὡς εὖ εἰδὼς καὶ ἐπιτιμήτωρ, ποιητικῶς εἰπεῖν, ὕστερον τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσι γίγνοιτο."—See also Note A at the end of this Book.

other, because the stranger, who had been sent as his child's guardian, had turned out his most cruel enemy.

45. Presently the Lydians arrived, bearing the body of the youth, and behind them followed the homicide. He took his stand in front of the corse, and, stretching forth his hands to Crœsus, delivered himself into his power with earnest entreaties that he would sacrifice him upon the body of his son—"his former misfortune was burthen enough; now that he had added to it a second, and had brought ruin on the man who purified him, he could not bear to live." Then Crœsus, when he heard these words, was moved with pity towards Adrastus, notwithstanding the bitterness of his own calamity; and so he answered, "Enough, my friend; I have all the revenge that I require, since thou givest sentence of death against thyself. But in sooth it is not thou who hast injured me, except so far as thou hast unwittingly dealt the blow. Some god is the author of my misfortune, and I was forewarned of it a long time ago." Crœsus after this buried the body of his son, with such honours as befitted the occasion. Adrastus, son of Gordias, son of Midas, the destroyer of his brother in time past, the destroyer now of his purifier, regarding himself as the most unfortunate wretch whom he had ever known, so soon as all was quiet about the place, slew himself upon the tomb. Crœsus, bereft of his son, gave himself up to mourning for two full years.

46. At the end of this time the grief of Crœsus was interrupted by intelligence from abroad. He learnt that Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, had destroyed the empire of Astyages, the son of Cyaxares; and that the Persians were becoming daily more powerful. This led him to consider with himself whether it were possible to check the growing power of that people before it came to a head. With this design he resolved to make instant trial of the several oracles in Greece, and of the one in Libya.[7] So he sent his messengers in different directions, some to Delphi, some to Abæ in Phocis, and some to Dodôna; others to the oracle of Amphiaraüs; others to that of Trophonius; others, again, to Branchidæ in Milesia.[8] These were the Greek oracles

[7] "*The one* in Libya" (Africa)—that of Ammon, because Egypt was regarded by Herodotus as in Asia, not in Africa. (See below, ii. 17. 65. iv. 39. 197.) In Egypt there were numerous oracles (ii. 83).

[8] The oracle at Abæ seems to have ranked next to that at Delphi. Compare Sophocl. Œd. Tyr. 897–899. *Οὐκ ἔτι τὸν ἄθικτον εἶμι γᾶς ἐπ' ὀμφαλὸν σέβων, οὐδ' ἐς τὸν 'Αβαῖσι ναόν*, where the Scholiast has absurdly, *Ἄβαι, τόπος Λυκίας*. It is again mentioned by Herodotus, viii. 134. With respect to the oracle of Dodona, "the most ancient of all in Greece," vide infra, ii. 52. The oracular shrine of Trophonius was at Lebadeia, in Bœotia (infra, viii. 134). That of Amphiaraüs is generally

which he consulted. To Libya he sent another embassy, to consult the oracle of Ammon. These messengers were sent to test the knowledge of the oracles, that, if they were found really to return true answers, he might send a second time, and inquire if he ought to attack the Persians.

47. The messengers who were despatched to make trial of the oracles were given the following instructions: they were to keep count of the days from the time of their leaving Sardis, and, reckoning from that date, on the hundredth day they were to consult the oracles, and to inquire of them what Crœsus the son of Alyattes, king of Lydia, was doing at that moment. The answers given them were to be taken down in writing, and brought back to him. None of the replies remain on record except that of the oracle at Delphi. There, the moment that the Lydians entered the sanctuary,[9] and before they put their questions,[1] the Pythoness thus answered them in hexameter verse:—

"I can count the sands, and I can measure the ocean;
I have ears for the silent, and know what the dumb man meaneth;
Lo! on my sense there striketh the smell of a shell-covered tortoise,
Boiling now on a fire, with the flesh of a lamb, in a cauldron,—
Brass is the vessel below, and brass the cover above it."

48. These words the Lydians wrote down at the mouth of the Pythoness as she prophesied, and then set off on their return to Sardis. When all the messengers had come back with the answers which they had received, Crœsus undid the rolls, and read what was written in each. Only one approved itself to him, that of the Delphic oracle. This he had no sooner heard than he instantly made an act of adoration, and accepted it as true, declaring that the Delphic was the only really oracular shrine,

thought to have been at Thebes. (Grote's History of Greece, vol. iv. p. 253. Bähr's Index, vol. iv. p. 450.) It appears, however, to have been really at, or rather near, Orôpus (Paus. I. xxxiv. § 2; Liv. xlv. 27. Dicæarch. Fr. 59 § 6). The passage of Herodotus which has been supposed to fix it to Thebes (viii. 134), leaves the locality uncertain. It only appears that Mys visited the shrine while he was staying at Thebes, which he might easily do, as Orôpus was but about 20 miles from that city.

The Orientals do not appear to have possessed any indigenous oracles.

[9] ἐς τὸ μέγαρον. Larcher and Beloe translate—"the temple of Delphi"—"le temple de Delphes"—incorrectly. The μέγαρον was the inner shrine, the sacred chamber where the oracles were given—the "penetrale templi" as Schweighæuser renders the word (cf. infra, ii. 141, 143, 169, &c.).

[1] Here Schweighæuser has missed the sense equally with Beloe and Larcher. All render ἐπειρώτεον, "*had* asked," instead of "were in the act of asking," or "were for asking." Herodotus changes from the aorist, εἰσῆλθον, to the imperfect ἐπειρώτεον, to mark a change in the action. Had he meant that they "*had* asked" this question, he would have said ἐπειρώτησαν. For a similar use of the imperfect, vide infra, i. 68.

the only one that had discovered in what way he was in fact employed. For on the departure of his messengers he had set himself to think what was most impossible for any one to conceive of his doing,[2] and then, waiting till the day agreed on came, he acted as he had determined. He took a tortoise and a lamb,[3] and cutting them in pieces with his own hands, boiled them both together in a brazen cauldron, covered over with a lid which was also of brass.

49. Such then was the answer returned to Crœsus from Delphi. What the answer was which the Lydians who went to the shrine of Amphiaraüs and performed the customary rites, obtained of the oracle there, I have it not in my power to mention, for there is no record of it. All that is known is, that Crœsus believed himself to have found there also an oracle which spoke the truth.

50. After this Crœsus, having resolved to propitiate the Delphic god with a magnificent sacrifice, offered up three thousand of every kind of sacrificial beast,[4] and besides made a huge pile, and placed upon it couches coated with silver and with gold,

[2] Whatever explanation is to be given of this remarkable oracle, that of Larcher seems to be precluded, not less by these words than by probability. He supposes that Crœsus had determined what he would do before he sent his embassies, and had confided his intention to one of the ambassadors, who imparted the secret to the Delphian priests. If we allow Crœsus to have possessed ordinary common sense, it is inconceivable that he should have been guilty of a folly which was so likely to frustrate his whole design. The utter incredulity of Cicero seems better than this—"Cur autem hoc credam unquam editum Crœso? aut Herodotum cur veraciorem ducam Ennio?" (De Div. ii. tom. vi. p. 655, Ernesti.)

It is impossible to discuss such a question as the nature of the ancient oracles, which has had volumes written upon it, within the limits of a note. I will only observe that in forming our judgment on the subject, two points should be kept steadily in view: 1. the fact that the Pythoness (*παιδίσκη τις ἔχουσα πνεῦμα Πύθωνος*), whom St. Paul met with on his first entrance into European Greece, was *really possessed* by an evil spirit, which St. Paul cast out, thereby depriving her masters of all their hopes of gain (Acts xvi. 16–19): and 2. the phenomena of Mesmerism. In one or other of these, or in both of them combined, will be found the simplest, and probably the truest explanation, of all that is really marvellous in the responses of the oracles.

[3] Mr. Birch thinks that Crœsus chose these two because they were the sacred animals of Apollo and of Ammon; the two chief oracles of the day being those of Delphi and Ammon; thinking to test the power of those gods by killing their favourite emblems, and by the oddity of the selection.—[G. W.]

[4] This is undoubtedly the meaning of *κτήνεα τὰ θύσιμα πάντα τρισχίλια*. Cf. infra, iv. 88. *Μανδροκλέα ἐδωρήσατο πᾶσι δέκα.* ix. 70. *Παυσανίῃ πάντα δέκα ἐξαιρέθη.* Although Larcher had rightly rendered the passage, "trois mille victimes de toutes les espèces d'animaux qu'il est permis d'offrir aux Dieux," Beloe missed the sense, and translated "three thousand chosen victims." The chapter is, indeed, one of Beloe's worst. He renders *ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς θυσίης ἐγένετο, καταχεάμενος χρυσὸν ἄπλετον, ἡμιπλίνθια ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξήλαυνε*, "*as at the conclusion of the above ceremony* a considerable quantity of gold *had run together*, he formed of it a number of tiles;" and *ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακρότερα ποιέων ἑξαπάλαιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ βραχύτερα, τριπάλαιστα*—"*the larger of these were* six palms long, *the smaller* three."

and golden goblets, and robes and vests of purple; all which he burnt in the hope of thereby making himself more secure of the favour of the god. Further he issued his orders to all the people of the land to offer a sacrifice according to their means. When the sacrifice was ended, the king melted down a vast quantity of gold, and ran it into ingots, making them six palms long, three palms broad, and one palm in thickness. The number of ingots was a hundred and seventeen, four being of refined gold, in weight two talents and a half;[5] the others of pale gold, and in weight two talents. He also caused a statue of a lion to be made in refined gold, the weight of which was ten talents. At the time when the temple of Delphi was burnt to the ground,[6] this lion fell from its place upon the ingots; it now stands in the Corinthian treasury, and weighs only six talents and a half, having lost three talents and a half by the fire.

51. On the completion of these works Crœsus sent them away to Delphi, and with them two bowls of an enormous size, one of gold, the other of silver, which used to stand, the latter upon the right, the former upon the left, as one entered the temple. They too were moved after the fire; and now the golden one is in the Clazomenian treasury, and weighs eight talents and forty-two minæ; the silver one stands in the corner of the antechapel, and holds six hundred amphoræ.[6a] This is known, because the Delphians fill it at the time of the Theophania.[7] It is said by the Delphians to be a work of Theodore the Samian,[8] and I think that they say true, for assuredly it is the work of no common artist. Crœsus sent also four silver casks, which are

[5] The reading τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον suggested by Matthiæ, and adopted by Schweighæuser, Gaisford, and Bähr, seems to be required instead of the τρία ἡμιτάλαντα of the MSS., not only because Herodotus must have known pure gold to be heavier than alloyed, but also because he is not in the habit of reckoning by half talents. He would not be more likely to say of a thing, "it weighed three half-talents," than a modern to say, "it weighed three half-pounds." With respect to the weight of these ingots, it has been calculated (Bähr in loc.) from their size, that those of pure gold weighed 325 lbs. (French), and therefore those of pale or alloyed gold 260 lbs. To this result it is objected that it produces a talent not elsewhere heard of, viz. one of 130 lbs. (French). Herodotus, however, would be a better judge of the size of the ingots than of their weight. He probably measured them with his own hand, but he must have taken the word of the Delphians as to what they weighed. The Delphians are not unlikely to have understated their value.

[6] Vide infra, ii. 180, v. 62. It was burnt accidentally—αὐτομάτως κατεκάη.

[6a] Above 5000 gallons (cf. iv. 81).

[7] There is no need of the correction of Valckenaer (Θεοξενίοισι for Θεοφανίοισι), since both in Julius Pollux (I. i. 34) and in Philostratus (Vit. Apoll. Tyan. iv. 31) there is mention of the Theophania, as a festival celebrated by the Greeks. No particulars are known of it.

[8] Vide infra, iii. 42. Pausanias ascribed to Theodore of Samos the invention of casting in bronze, and spoke of him also as an architect (III. xii. § 8; VIII. XIV. § 5). Pliny agreed with both statements (Nat. Hist. xxxv. 12), and described also certain minute

in the Corinthian treasury, and two lustral vases, a golden and a silver one. On the former is inscribed the name of the Lacedæmonians, and they claim it as a gift of theirs, but wrongly, since it was really given by Crœsus. The inscription upon it was cut by a Delphian, who wished to pleasure the Lacedæmonians. His name is known to me, but I forbear to mention it. The boy, through whose hand the water runs, is (I confess) a Lacedæmonian gift, but they did not give either of the lustral vases. Besides these various offerings, Crœsus sent to Delphi many others of less account, among the rest a number of round silver basins. Also he dedicated a female figure in gold, three cubits high, which is said by the Delphians to be the statue of his baking-woman; and further, he presented the necklace and the girdles of his wife.

52. These were the offerings sent by Crœsus to Delphi. To the shrine of Amphiaraüs, with whose valour and misfortune he was acquainted,[9] he sent a shield entirely of gold, and a spear, also of solid gold, both head and shaft. They were still existing in my day at Thebes, laid up in the temple of Ismenian Apollo.

53. The messengers who had the charge of conveying these treasures to the shrines, received instructions to ask the oracles whether Crœsus should go to war with the Persians, and if so, whether he should strengthen himself by the forces of an ally. Accordingly, when they had reached their destinations and presented the gifts, they proceeded to consult the oracles in the following terms:—"Crœsus, king of Lydia and other countries, believing that these are the only real oracles in all the world, has sent you such presents as your discoveries deserved, and now inquires of you whether he shall go to war with the Persians, and if so, whether he shall strengthen himself by the forces of a confederate." Both the oracles agreed in the tenor of their reply, which was in each case a prophecy that if Crœsus attacked

works of his making. It has been suggested that there were two Theodores, both Samians; the first, the architect and inventor of casting in bronze, who flourished before B. C. 660: the second, the maker of this bowl, and also of the ring of Polycrates (cf. Bähr ad loc.).

[9] For the story of Amphiaraüs, cf. Pausan. i. 34, ii. 13, § 6. Æschyl. Sept. contr. Th. 564 et seqq. The "misfortune" is his being engulfed near Orôpus, or (as some said) at Harma in Bœotia.

The fact that the gifts sent to Amphiaraüs were seen by Herodotus at *Thebes*, does not militate against the position maintained in a former note, that the oracular shrine of Amphiaraüs was not at Thebes but at Orôpus. The Thebans, ere they lost Orôpus to Attica, might have carried away the most valuable of its treasures to their own city. Indeed this passage may rather be adduced as proof that the shrine of Amphiaraüs was not at Thebes. For, had it been, why should the shield and spear have been in the temple of Ismenian Apollo, and not at the shrine itself?

the Persians, he would destroy a mighty empire, and a recommendation to him to look and see who were the most powerful of the Greeks, and to make alliance with them.

54. At the receipt of these oracular replies Crœsus was overjoyed, and feeling sure now that he would destroy the empire of the Persians, he sent once more to Pytho, and presented to the Delphians, the number of whom he had ascertained, two gold staters apiece.[9a] In return for this the Delphians granted to Crœsus and the Lydians the privilege of precedency in consulting the oracle, exemption from all charges, the most honourable seat at the festivals, and the perpetual right of becoming at pleasure citizens of their town.

55. After sending these presents to the Delphians, Crœsus a third time consulted the oracle, for having once proved its truthfulness, he wished to make constant use of it. The question whereto he now desired an answer was—"Whether his kingdom would be of long duration?" The following was the reply of the Pythoness:—

"Wait till the time shall come when a mule is monarch of Media;
Then, thou delicate Lydian, away to the pebbles of Hermus;[1]
Haste, oh! haste thee away, nor blush to behave like a coward."

56. Of all the answers that had reached him, this pleased him far the best, for it seemed incredible that a mule should ever come to be king of the Medes, and so he concluded that the sovereignty would never depart from himself or his seed after him. Afterwards he turned his thoughts to the alliance which he had been recommended to contract, and sought to ascertain by inquiry which was the most powerful of the Grecian states. His inquiries pointed out to him two states as pre-eminent above the rest. These were the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians, the former of Doric, the latter of Ionic blood. And indeed these two nations had held from very early times the most distinguished place in Greece, the one being a Pelasgic the other a Hellenic people, and the one having never quitted its original seats, while the other had been excessively migratory; for during the reign of Deucalion, Phthiôtis was the country in which the Hellenes dwelt, but under Dorus, the son of Hellen, they moved to the

[9a] For the value of the stater see note on Book vii. ch. 28.

[1] The Hermus is the modern *Kodus* or *Ghiediz Chai*, which rises in the Morad mountains and runs into the sea near Smyrna. Sardis was till recently a village known as *Sart;* but M. Texier declares that there is now no place of the name (Asie Mineure, vol. iii. p. 17). It was situated in the valley of the Hermus, at the point where the Pactôlus, a brook descending from Tmôlus, joined the great stream.

tract at the base of Ossa and Olympus, which is called Histiæôtis; forced to retire from that region by the Cadmeians,[2] they settled, under the name of Macedni, in the chain of Pindus. Hence they once more removed and came to Dryopis; and from Dryopis having entered the Peloponnese[3] in this way, they became known as Dorians.

57. What the language of the Pelasgi was I cannot say with any certainty. If, however, we may form a conjecture from the tongue spoken by the Pelasgi of the present day,—those, for instance, who live at Creston above the Tyrrhenians,[4] who formerly dwelt in the district named Thessaliôtis, and were neighbours of the people now called the Dorians,—or those again who founded Placia and Scylacé upon the Hellespont, who had previously dwelt for some time with the Athenians,[5]—or those, in short, of any other of the cities which have dropped the name but are in fact Pelasgian; if, I say, we are to form a conjecture from any of these, we must pronounce that the Pelasgi spoke a bar-

[2] The Cadmeians were the Græco-Phœnician race (their name merely signifying "the Easterns"), who in the ante-Trojan times, occupied the country which was afterwards called Bœotia. Hence the Greek tragedians, in plays of which ancient Thebes is the scene (Æsch. Sept. c. Theb. Sophocl. Œd. R. and Antig. Eurip. Phœniss.), invariably speak of the Thebans as Καδμεῖοι, Καδμεῖος λεώς. The Bœotians of Arné in Thessaly expelled the Cadmeians from the region historically known as Bœotia, some time (60 years) after the Trojan war (Thucyd. i. 12). The Cadmeians fled in various directions. They are found at Athens (infr. v. 57), at Sparta (inf. iv. 147), and in Asia Minor (inf. i. 146). Some may have fled to Histiæôtis, the north-western portion of Thessaly, a mountain tract watered by the head-streams of the Peneus. Such regions were not so much coveted by the powerful invaders as the more fertile plains.

[3] After many vain attempts to force an entrance by way of the isthmus, they crossed the strait at Rhium, in conjunction with the Ætolians (Paus. v. iii. 5, and Apollodorus, II. viii. § 3).

[4] Niebuhr (Hist. of Rome, i. p. 34, note 89) would read Κρότωνα for Κρηστῶνα here, and understand Croton or Cortona in Etruria. It is certain that Dionysius so read and understood (cf. Dionys. Ant. Rom. i. 26, p. 69, Reiske). And the best MSS., Niebuhr observes, are defective in this portion of Herodotus, so that the fact that there is no variety of reading in the copies is of the less importance. Dahlmann (Life of Herod. ch. iv. p. 43, E. T.) and Bähr (in loc.) oppose this view, and maintain the reading Κρηστῶνα. There certainly were Crestonians, and they dwelling in the vicinity of Tyrrhenians too, in the tract sometimes called Mygdonia (vide Thucyd. iv. 109). But these Tyrrhenians were themselves Pelasgi, as Thucydides declares in the passage, and so should have spoken the same language with the Crestonians. Niebuhr denies that there was any *city* of Creston in these parts, but in this he contradicts Stephen (ad voc. Κρήστων).

An insuperable objection to Niebuhr's theory is the assertion of Herodotus that the Pelasgic people of whom he is speaking "formerly dwelt in the district named Thessaliôtis, and were neighbours of the Dorians." He could not possibly intend to speak so positively of the particular part of Greece in which the Pelasgic population of Etruria lived before they occupied Italy, an event probably anterior to the names Thessaliôtis and Dorians.

[5] Vide infra, vi. 137. Thucyd. iv. 109. Pausanias, i. 28. On the migrations of the Pelasgi, their language, and ethnic character, see the Essay appended to book vi.

barous language.[6] If this were really so, and the entire Pelasgic race spoke the same tongue, the Athenians, who were certainly Pelasgi, must have changed their language at the same time that they passed into the Hellenic body; for it is a certain fact that the people of Creston speak a language unlike any of their neighbours, and the same is true of the Placianians, while the language spoken by these two people is the same; which shows that they both retain the idiom which they brought with them into the countries where they are now settled.

58. The Hellenic race has never, since its first origin, changed its speech. This at least seems evident to me. It was a branch of the Pelasgic, which separated from the main body,[7] and at first was scanty in numbers and of little power; but it gradually spread and increased to a multitude of nations, chiefly by the voluntary entrance into its ranks of numerous tribes of barbarians.[8] The Pelasgi, on the other hand, were, as I think, a barbarian race which never greatly multiplied.

59. On inquiring into the condition of these two nations, Crœsus found that one, the Athenian, was in a state of grievous oppression and distraction under Pisistratus, the son of Hippocrates, who was at that time tyrant of Athens. Hippocrates, when he was a private citizen, is said to have gone once upon a time to Olympia to see the games, when a wonderful prodigy happened to him. As he was employed in sacrificing, the cauldrons which stood near, full of water and of the flesh of the victims, began to boil without the help of fire, and continued till the water overflowed the pot. Chilon the Lacedæmonian, who happened to be there and to witness the prodigy, advised Hip-

[6] "The Pelasgians were a different nation from the Hellenes: their language was peculiar, and not Greek: this assertion, however, must not be stretched to imply a difference like that between the Greek and the Illyrian or Thracian. Nations whose languages were more nearly akin than the Latin and Greek, would still speak so as not to be mutually understood; and this is what Herodotus has in his eye." (Niebuhr's Rom. Hist. vol. i. p. 27.)

[7] *ἀποσχισθὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ.* This is the term which Herodotus uses when he wishes to express the divergence of a *branch* stream from the main current of a river. Vide infra, iv. 56. *Ἕβδομος δὲ Γέῤῥος ποταμὸς ἀπέσχισται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθένεος, κ. τ. λ.* When the river divides into two or more equal channels, the verb used is the simple *σχίζεσθαι.* See ii. 17. *σχίζεται τριφασίας ὁδοὺς* [*ὁ Νεῖλος*]. iv. 39. *σχίζεται τὰ στόματα τοῦ Ἴστρου.* The assertion of Herodotus therefore is, that the Hellenes *branched from* the Pelasgi. Neither the "séparée des Pélasges" of Larcher, nor the "discretum à Pelasgico genere" of Schweighæuser sufficiently express this meaning.

[8] Thucydides explains further, that the various tribes of Pelasgi became Hellenized by the voluntary placing of themselves under Hellenic guidance, from a conviction of the benefit that would thereby accrue to them (Thucyd. i. 3. *ἐπαγομενων αὐτοὺς ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ ἐς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, καθ' ἑκάστους ἤδη τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ μᾶλλον καλεῖσθαι Ἕλληνας.*

pocrates, if he were unmarried, never to take into his house a wife who could bear him a child ; if he already had one, to send her back to her friends ; if he had a son, to disown him. Chilon's advice did not at all please Hippocrates, who disregarded it, and some time after became the father of Pisistratus. This Pisistratus, at a time when there was civil contention in Attica between the party of the Sea-coast headed by Megacles the son of Alcmæon, and that of the Plain headed by Lycurgus, one of the Aristolaïds, formed the project of making himself tyrant, and with this view created a third party.[9] Gathering together a band of partisans, and giving himself out for the protector of the Highlanders, he contrived the following stratagem. He wounded himself and his mules, and then drove his chariot into the market-place, professing to have just escaped an attack of his enemies, who had attempted his life as he was on his way into the country. He besought the people to assign him a guard to protect his person, reminding them of the glory which he had gained when he led the attack upon the Megarians, and took the town of Nisæa,[1] at the same time performing many other exploits. The Athenians, deceived by his story, appointed him a band of citizens to serve as a guard, who were to carry clubs instead of spears, and to accompany him wherever he went. Thus strengthened, Pisistratus broke into revolt and seized the citadel. In this way he acquired the sovereignty of Athens, which he continued to hold without disturbing the previously existing offices or altering any of the laws. He administered the state according to the established usages, and his arrangements were wise and salutary.

60. However, after a little time, the partisans of Megacles and those of Lycurgus agreed to forget their differences, and united to drive him out. So Pisistratus, having by the means

[9] There can be no doubt that these local factions must also have been political parties. Indeed one of them, that of the Highlanders (ὑπεράκριοι), is identified by Herodotus himself with the demus or Democratical party. The two others are connected by Plutarch (Solon. c. 13), and on grounds of probability, with the Oligarchical and the Moderate party. (See the Essays appended to Book V. Essay ii.)

[1] Plutarch mentions a war between Athens and Megara, under the conduct of Solon, in which Pisistratus was said to have distinguished himself (Solon. c. 8), as having occurred before Solon's legislation, *i. e.* before B. C. 594. Mr. Grote justly observes that distinction gained five and thirty years before would have availed Pisistratus but little in the party conflicts of this period. The objection that he could not, when so young, be said with any propriety to have captured Nisæa is not so well founded, for a young officer may lead a storming party, or even command at the siege of a town not the chief object of the war, and in either case would be said to have captured the place. The chief scene of this war was Salamis. See Mr. Grote's History, vol. iii. p. 205, note.)

described first made himself master of Athens, lost his power again before it had time to take root. No sooner, however, was he departed than the factions which had driven him out quarrelled anew, and at last Megacles, wearied with the struggle, sent a herald to Pisistratus, with an offer to re-establish him on the throne if he would marry his daughter. Pisistratus consented, and on these terms an agreement was concluded between the two, after which they proceeded to devise the mode of his restoration. And here the device on which they hit was the silliest to be found in all history, more especially considering that the Greeks have been from very ancient times distinguished from the barbarians by superior sagacity and freedom from foolish simpleness, and remembering that the persons on whom this trick was played were not only Greeks but Athenians, who have the credit of surpassing all other Greeks in cleverness. There was in the Pæanian district a woman named Phya,[2] whose height only fell short of four cubits by three fingers' breadth, and who was altogether comely to look upon. This woman they clothed in complete armour, and, instructing her as to the carriage which she was to maintain in order to beseem her part, they placed her in a chariot and drove to the city. Heralds had been sent forward to precede her, and to make proclamation to this effect: "Citizens of Athens, receive again Pisistratus with friendly minds. Minerva, who of all men honours him the most, herself conducts him back to her own citadel." This they proclaimed in all directions, and immediately the rumour spread throughout the country districts that Minerva was bringing back her favourite. They of the city also, fully persuaded that the woman was the veritable goddess, prostrated themselves before her, and received Pisistratus back.

61. Pisistratus, having thus recovered the sovereignty, married, according to agreement, the daughter of Megacles. As, however, he had already a family of grown up sons, and the

[2] It is related that this Phya was the daughter of a certain Socrates, and made a livelihood by selling chaplets, yet that she was afterwards married by Pisistratus to his son Hipparchus, which seems very improbable. (See Clitodem. Fr. 24.)

Mr. Grote has some just remarks upon the observations with which Herodotus accompanies the story of Phya. It seems clear that the Greeks of the age of Pisistratus fully believed in the occasional presence upon earth of the gods. Mr. Grote refers to the well-known appearance of the god Pan to Phidippides a little before the battle of Marathon, which Herodotus himself states to have been received as true by the Athenians (vi. 105). He might have compared also the story of the gigantic phantom-warrior at Marathon who smote Epizêlus with blindness as he passed by him to strike the man at his side (Herod. vi. 117), and that of the appearance of the two superhuman hoplites in the battle with the Persians at Delphi, whom the Delphians recognised for their local heroes, Phylacus and Autonoüs (viii. 38–9).

Alcmæonidæ were supposed to be under a curse,[3] he determined that there should be no issue of the marriage. His wife at first kept this matter to herself, but after a time, either her mother questioned her, or it may be that she told it of her own accord. At any rate, she informed her mother, and so it reached her father's ears. Megacles, indignant at receiving an affront from such a quarter, in his anger instantly made up his differences with the opposite faction, on which Pisistratus, aware of what was planning against him, took himself out of the country. Arrived at Eretria, he held a council with his children to decide what was to be done. The opinion of Hippias prevailed, and it was agreed to aim at regaining the sovereignty. The first step was to obtain advances of money from such states as were under obligations to them. By these means they collected large sums from several countries, especially from the Thebans, who gave them far more than any of the rest. To be brief, time passed, and all was at length got ready for their return. A band of Argive mercenaries arrived from the Peloponnese, and a certain Naxian named Lygdamis, who volunteered his services, was particularly zealous in the cause, supplying both men and money.

62. In the eleventh year of their exile the family of Pisistratus set sail from Eretria on their return home. They made the coast of Attica, near Marathon, where they encamped, and were joined by their partisans from the capital and by numbers from the country districts, who loved tyranny better than freedom. At Athens, while Pisistratus was obtaining funds, and even after he landed at Marathon, no one paid any attention to his proceedings. When, however, it became known that he had left Marathon, and was marching upon the city, preparations were made for resistance, the whole force of the state was levied, and led against the returning exiles. Meantime the army of Pisistratus, which had broken up from Marathon, meeting their adversaries near the temple of the Pallenian Minerva,[4] pitched their camp opposite them. Here a certain soothsayer, Amphilytus by

[3] Vide infra, v. 70–1; Thucyd. i. 126; Plut. Solon. c. 12. The curse rested on them upon account of their treatment of the partisans of Cylon. The archon of the time, Megacles, not only broke faith with them after he had, by a pledge to spare their lives, induced them to leave the sacred precinct of Minerva in the Acropolis, but also slew a number at the altar of the Eumenides.

[4] Pallêné was a village of Attica, near Gargettus, which is the modern *Garitó* (Leake, Demi of Attica, p. 45). It was famous for its temple of Minerva, which was of such magnificence as to be made the subject of a special treatise by Themison, whose book, entitled *Pallenis*, is mentioned by Athenæus (vi. 6, p. 235). The exact site of the ancient village seems to be a place about 1½ miles south-west of *Garitó*, where there are extensive remains (Leake, ibid.).

name, an Acarnanian,[5] moved by a divine impulse, came into the presence of Pisistratus, and approaching him uttered this prophecy in the hexameter measure :—

"Now has the cast been made, the net is out-spread in the water,
Through the moonshiny night the tunnies will enter the meshes."

63. Such was the prophecy uttered under a divine inspiration. Pisistratus, apprehending its meaning, declared that he accepted the oracle, and instantly led on his army. The Athenians from the city had just finished their midday meal, after which they had betaken themselves, some to dice, others to sleep, when Pisistratus with his troops fell upon them and put them to the rout. As soon as the flight began, Pisistratus bethought himself of a most wise contrivance, whereby the Athenians might be induced to disperse and not unite in a body any more. He mounted his sons on horseback and sent them on in front to overtake the fugitives, and exhort them to be of good cheer, and return each man to his home. The Athenians took the advice, and Pisistratus became for the third time master of Athens.[6]

64. Upon this he set himself to root his power more firmly, by the aid of a numerous body of mercenaries, and by keeping up a full exchequer, partly supplied from native sources, partly from the countries about the river Strymon.[7] He also demanded

[5] Valckenaer proposed to read ὁ Ἀκαρνεὺς (Ionic form of Ἀχαρνεὺς), the *Acharnian*, for ὁ Ἀκαρνὰν, the *Acarnanian.* Larcher argued in favour of this reading, while Gronovius considered that ὁ Ἀκαρκὰν might have the meaning of "the Acharnian." So too Schweighæuser, who renders "Acarnan, *sive potius Acharnensis.*" The vicinity of Acharnæ to Pallênê is a circumstance of some weight on this side of the question. And it is certain that Plato calls Amphilytus a compatriot (Theag. p. 124), and that Clement calls him an Athenian (Strom. I. i. p. 398). But on the other hand Acarnania was famous for soothsayers, especially at this period. It is only necessary to mention Megistias, the Acarnanian soothsayer, at Thermopylæ, and Hippomachus, the Leucadian (Leucas was on the coast of Acarnania) at Platæa. (Vide infra, vii. 221, and ix. 38.)

[6] Mr. Grote is of opinion that "the proceedings" throughout this struggle "have altogether the air of a concerted betrayal" (Hist. of Greece, vol. iv. p. 143). Such, however, is clearly not the opinion of Herodotus. And as the Alcmæonidæ were undoubtedly at the head of affairs, and knew that they had nothing to hope, but everything to fear, from the success of Pisistratus, it seems quite inconceivable that they should have voluntarily betrayed the state into his hands. It is prejudice to suppose that the popular party alone can never lose ground by its own fault, or without a *betrayal.* The fact seems to have been, that at this time, before the weight of a tyranny had been felt, many, as Herodotus says, "loved tyranny better than freedom," and the mass were indifferent. Besides, Pisistratus was considered as in a great measure the champion of democracy, and his return was looked on by his countrymen with much the same feelings as those wherewith the French regarded that of Napoleon from Elba in 1815.

[7] The revenues of Pisistratus were derived in part from the income-tax of five per cent. which he levied from his subjects (Thucyd. vi. 54. Ἀθηναίους εἰκοστὴν πρασσομενοι τῶν γιγνομένων), in part probably from the silver-mines at Laurium.

hostages from many of the Athenians who had remained at home, and not left Athens at his approach; and these he sent to Naxos, which he had conquered by force of arms, and given over into the charge of Lygdamis.[8] Farther, he purified the island of Delos, according to the injunctions of an oracle, after the following fashion. All the dead bodies which had been interred within sight of the temple he dug up, and removed to another part of the isle.[9] Thus was the tyranny of Pisistratus established at Athens, many of the Athenians having fallen in the battle, and many others having fled the country together with the son of Alcmæon.

65. Such was the condition of the Athenians when Crœsus made inquiry concerning them.[1] Proceeding to seek information concerning the Lacedæmonians, he learnt that, after passing through a period of great depression, they had lately been victorious in a war with the people of Tegea; for, during the joint reign of Leo and Agasicles, kings of Sparta, the Lacedæmonians, successful in all their other wars, suffered continual defeats at the hands of the Tegeans. At a still earlier period they had been the very worst governed people in Greece, as well in matters of internal management as in their relations towards foreigners, from whom they kept entirely aloof. The circumstances

which a little later were so remarkably productive (Herod. vii. 144). It is not certain that the mines at Thoricus (Xenoph. de Vectigal. iv. 43) were worked yet. He had also a third source of revenue, of which Herodotus here speaks, consisting apparently either of lands or mines lying near the Strymon, and belonging to him probably in his private capacity. That part of Thrace was famous for its gold and silver mines (infr. v. 17, 23, vi. 46; Thucyd. iv. 105; Strab. vii. p. 481). Mr. Grote curiously mistakes the meaning of this passage (vol. iv. p. 145, note [1]). "Herodotus," he says, "tells us that Pisistratus brought mercenary soldiers from the Strymon, but that he levied the money to pay them in Attica: ἐῤῥίζωσε τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπικούροισί τε πολλοῖσι, καὶ χρημάτων συνόδοισι, τῶν μὲν αὐτόθεν, τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ Στρύμονος ποταμοῦ συνιόντων." As if the latter clause referred to the ἐπικοῦροι!

[8] It is difficult to reconcile this account of the establishment of Lygdamis in Naxos with the statements of Aristotle on the subject. According to Aristotle, the revolution which placed him upon the throne was of home growth, and scarcely admitted of the interference of a foreigner. Telestagoras, a man beloved by the common people, had been grossly injured and insulted by some youths belonging to the oligarchy which then ruled Naxos. A general outbreak was the consequence, and the common people under Lygdamis, who though by birth an aristocrat, placed himself at their head, overcame the oligarchy, and made Lygdamis king. (See the Fragments of Aristotle in Müller's Frag. Hist. Gr. vol. ii. p. 155, Fr. 168, and compare Arist. Pol. V. v. § 1.) It is of course quite possible that Pisistratus may have lent Lygdamis some aid; but if we accept Aristotle's account, which seems too circumstantial to be false, we must consider Herodotus to have been altogether mistaken in his view of the matter.

[9] Compare Thucyd. iii. 104.

[1] The embassy of Crœsus cannot possibly have been subsequent to the final establishment of Pisistratus at Athens, which was in B.C. 542 at the earliest. (See Clinton's F. H., vol. ii. pp. 252–4.) It probably occurred during his first term of power.

which led to their being well governed were the following:—Lycurgus, a man of distinction among the Spartans, had gone to Delphi, to visit the oracle. Scarcely had he entered into the inner fane, when the Pythoness exclaimed aloud,

"Oh! thou great Lycurgus, that com'st to my beautiful dwelling,
Dear to Jove, and to all who sit in the halls of Olympus,
Whether to hail thee a god I know not, or only a mortal,
But my hope is strong that a god thou wilt prove, Lycurgus."

Some report besides, that the Pythoness delivered to him the entire system of laws which are still observed by the Spartans. The Lacedæmonians, however, themselves assert that Lycurgus, when he was guardian of his nephew, Labotas,[2] king of Sparta, and regent in his room, introduced them from Crete;[3] for as soon as he became regent, he altered the whole of the existing customs, substituting new ones, which he took care should be observed by all. After this he arranged whatever appertained to war, establishing the Enomotiæ, Triacades, and Syssitia,[4] besides which he instituted the senate,[5] and the epho-

[2] Since Labotas was, in all probability, noways related to Lycurgus, being of the other royal house, and Lycurgus is said by Aristotle (Polit. II. vii. § 2) and most ancient writers to have been regent for Charilaüs, it has been proposed (Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 428), to read—*Λυκοῦργον ἐπιτροπεύσαντα ἀδελφιδέου μὲν ἑωυτοῦ, βασιλεύοντος δὲ Σπαρτητέων Λεωβώτεω.* Larcher approves of this emendation, and translates accordingly. Clinton also is satisfied with it. (F. H. vol. i. p. 144, note b.) But in the first place the reading in Herodotus is at least as old as Pausanias, who says, "Herodotus in his discourse of Crœsus asserts that Labotas in his boyhood had for guardian Lycurgus the lawgiver." (Paus. III. ii. § 3.) And secondly, the alteration would not remove the difficulty. For Labotas was dead seventy years before Charilaüs mounted the throne. The truth seems to be that Herodotus has simply made a mistake.

[3] Aristotle was of this opinion (Polit. II. vii. § 1). *καὶ γὰρ ἔοικε καὶ λέγεται δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα μεμιμῆσθαι τὴν Κρητικὴν πολιτείαν ἡ τῶν Λακώνων. . . . καὶ γὰρ τὸν Λυκοῦργον, ὅτε τὴν ἐπιτροπείαν τὴν Χαριλάου τοῦ βασιλέως καταλιπὼν ἀπεδήμησε, τότε τὸν πλεῖστον διατρίψαι χρόνον περὶ τὴν Κρήτην.*

[4] That the *ἐνωμοτίαι* were divisions of the Spartan cohort (*λόχος*) is proved by the concurrent testimony of Thucydides (v. 68) and Xenophon (Hellen. VI. iv. § 12). Thucydides says the *λόχος* contained four pentecostyes and 200 men, the pentecostys four enomoties, and 50 men. Xenophon gives but two pentecostyes to the *λόχος*, and two enomoties to the pentecostys. It is probable that the Spartans had changed the organization of their army during the interval. The word *ἐνωμοτία* implies that its members were bound together by a common oath. Cf. Hesych. in voc. *ἐνωμοτία—τάξις τις διὰ σφαγίων ἐνώμοτος.*

The *τριηκάδες* seem to have been also divisions of the army—but divisions confined to the camp, not existing in the field. The army was divided into *messes* of 30 men each. (See Larcher in loc. vol. i. p. 288.)

The word *συσσίτια* would seem in this place to be exegetical of *τριηκάδας.* It does not refer to the ordinary *συσσίτια* at Sparta, but to the common meals taken by the soldiers in the camp. (*τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἔχοντα ἐνωμοτίας καὶ τριηκάδας καὶ συσσίτια.*)

[5] It is quite inconceivable that Lycurgus should in any sense have instituted the senate. If it ever comes to pass in a monarchy that the council of the nobles

ralty.[6] Such was the way in which the Lacedæmonians became a well-governed people.

66. On the death of Lycurgus they built him a temple, and ever since they have worshipped him with the utmost reverence. Their soil being good and the population numerous, they sprang up rapidly to power, and became a flourishing people. In consequence they soon ceased to be satisfied to stay quiet; and, regarding the Arcadians as very much their inferiors, they sent to consult the oracle about conquering the whole of Arcadia. The Pythoness thus answered them:—

"Cravest thou Arcady? Bold is thy craving. I shall not content it.
Many the men that in Arcady dwell, whose food is the acorn—
They will never allow thee. It is not I that am niggard.
I will give thee to dance in Tegea, with noisy foot-fall,
And with the measuring line mete out the glorious champaign."

When the Lacedæmonians received this reply, leaving the rest of Arcadia untouched, they marched against the Tegeans, carrying with them fetters, so confident had this oracle (which was, in truth, but of base metal) made them that they would enslave the Tegeans. The battle, however, went against them, and many fell into the enemy's hands. Then these persons, wearing the fetters which they had themselves brought, and fastened together in a string, measured the Tegean plain as they executed their labours. The fetters in which they worked, were still, in my day, preserved at Tegea where they hung round the walls of the temple of Minerva Alea.[7]

67. Throughout the whole of this early contest with the Tegeans, the Lacedæmonians met with nothing but defeats; but

ceases to be a power in the state, it does not owe its re-establishment to royal, or *quasi*-royal authority. Nothing less than a revolution can recover it. Compare the history of Rome under the last Tarquin. Lycurgus appears to have made scarcely any changes in the *constitution*. What he did was to alter the customs and habits of the people. With regard to the senate, its institution was primitive, and we can scarcely imagine that it had ever dropped out of use. As, however, the whole Spartan constitution was considered to be the work of Lycurgus, all its parts came by degrees to be assigned to him.

[6] The institution of the Ephoralty is ascribed to Lycurgus by Xenophon (De Rep. Laced. viii. 3), Satyrus (ap. Diog. Laert. i. 68), and the author of the letters ascribed to Plato (Ep. viii.). Plutarch (Lycurg. c. 7), and Aristotle (Polit. v. 9, § 1), assign it to Theopompus. These conflicting statements are best reconciled by considering that the ephors existed as a magistracy at least from the time of Lycurgus, but obtained an entirely new position in the reign of Theopompus. (Cf. Thirlwall's Hist. of Greece, vol. i. p. 354, and see the Essays appended to Book V. Essay i.)

[7] Minerva Alea was an Arcadian Goddess. She was worshipped at Mantinea, Manthyrea, and Alea, as well as at Tegea. Her temple at Tegea was particularly magnificent. See the description in Pausanias (VIII. xlvii. § 1–2). The name *Alea* does not appear to be a local appellative, like Assesia (supra, ch. 19), Pallênis (ch. 52), &c., but rather a title, signifying 'protectress,' —lit. "she who gives *escape*."

in the time of Crœsus, under the kings Anaxandrides and Aristo, fortune had turned in their favour, in the manner which I will now relate. Having been worsted in every engagement by their enemy, they sent to Delphi, and inquired of the oracle what god they must propitiate to prevail in the war against the Tegeans. The answer of the Pythoness was, that before they could prevail, they must remove to Sparta the bones of Orestes, the son of Agamemnon.[7a] Unable to discover his burial-place, they sent a second time, and asked the god where the body of the hero had been laid. The following was the answer they received:—

"Level and smooth is the plain where Arcadian Tegea standeth;
There two winds are ever, by strong necessity, blowing,
Counter-stroke answers stroke, and evil lies upon evil.
There all-teeming Earth doth harbour the son of Atrides;
Bring thou him to thy city, and then be Tegea's master."

After this reply, the Lacedæmonians were no nearer discovering the burial-place than before, though they continued to search for it diligently; until at last a man named Lichas, one of the Spartans called Agathoërgi, found it. The Agathoërgi are citizens who have just served their time among the knights. The five eldest of the knights go out every year, and are bound during the year after their discharge, to go wherever the State sends them, and actively employ themselves in its service.[8]

68. Lichas was one of this body when, partly by good luck, partly by his own wisdom, he discovered the burial-place. Intercourse between the two States existing just at this time, he went to Tegea, and, happening to enter into the workshop of a smith, he saw him forging some iron. As he stood marvelling at what he beheld,[9] he was observed by the smith who, leaving off his work, went up to him and said,

[7a] Compare the removal of the bones of Tisamenus to Sparta (Pausan. vii. i. § 3).

[8] It is difficult to reconcile this passage with the statement of Xenophon concerning the mode of election of the knights (De Rep. Laced. iv. 3). Xenophon says the ephors choose three ἱππαγρέται, who each selected a hundred youths, which seems at first sight to imply that the whole body of the knights was renewed annually. It is impossible to suppose that no more than five retired each year. Such an arrangement would have soon made the knights a body of old men. Possibly the Ephors of each year appointed Hippagretæ who drew out the list of knights afresh, having power to scratch off the roll such as they thought unworthy, and to place others upon it, the five senior members only being incapable of re-appointment. The greater number of the knights would usually be re-appointed, but besides the five eldest who necessarily retired, the Hippagretæ would omit any whom they thought unfit for the service. All accounts agree in representing the knights as the picked *youth* of Sparta. (Xenoph. l. s. c. Plutarch. Lyc. c. 25. Eustath. ad Il. Θ. 23.) The substitution of older men by Leonidas before Thermopylæ (*infrà*, vii. 205, and note *ad loc.*) was exceptional.

[9] Herodotus means to represent that the forging of *iron* was a novelty at the

"Certainly, then, you Spartan stranger, you would have been wonderfully surprised if you had seen what I have, since you make a marvel even of the working in iron. I wanted to make myself a well in this room, and began to dig it, when what think you? I came upon a coffin seven cubits long. I had never believed that men were taller in the olden times than they are now, so I opened the coffin. The body inside was of the same length; I measured it, and filled up the hole again."

Such was the man's account of what he had seen. The other, on turning the matter over in his mind, conjectured that this was the body of Orestes, of which the oracle had spoken. He guessed so, because he observed that the smithy had two bellows, which he understood to be the two winds, and the hammer and anvil would do for the stroke and the counter-stroke, and the iron that was being wrought for the evil lying upon evil. This he imagined might be so because iron had been discovered to the hurt of man. Full of these conjectures, he sped back to Sparta and laid the whole matter before his countrymen. Soon after, by a concerted plan, they brought a charge against him, and began a prosecution. Lichas betook himself to Tegea, and on his arrival acquainted the smith with his misfortune, and proposed to rent his room of him. The smith refused for some time; but at last Lichas persuaded him, and took up his abode in it. Then he opened the grave, and collecting the bones, returned with them to Sparta. From henceforth, whenever the Spartans and the Tegeans made trial of each other's skill in arms, the Spartans always had greatly the advantage; and by the time to which we are come now they were masters of most of the Peloponnese.

69. Crœsus, informed of all these circumstances, sent messengers to Sparta, with gifts in their hands, who were to ask the Spartans to enter into alliance with him. They received strict injunctions as to what they should say, and on their arrival at Sparta spake as follows:—

"Crœsus, king of the Lydians and of other nations, has sent us to speak thus to you? 'Oh! Lacedæmonians, the god has

time. Brass was known to the Greeks before iron, as the Homeric poems sufficiently indicate. Cf. also Hesiod. Op. et Dies, 150–1.

τοῖς δ' ἦν χάλκεα μὲν τεύχεα, χάλκεοι δέ τε οἶκοι,
χαλκῷ δ' εἰργάζοντο· μέλας δ' οὐκ ἔσκε σίδηρος.

and Lucretius,

"Prior æris quàm ferri cognitus usus" (v. 1292).

Hence smithies were termed χαλκεῖα, χαλκήϊα, as in this instance,—and smiths χαλκεῖς.

bidden me to make the Greek my friend; I therefore apply to you, in conformity with the oracle, knowing that you hold the first rank in Greece, and desire to become your friend and ally in all true faith and honesty.'"

Such was the message which Crœsus sent by his heralds. The Lacedæmonians, who were aware beforehand of the reply given him by the oracle, were full of joy at the coming of the messengers, and at once took the oaths of friendship and alliance: this they did the more readily as they had previously contracted certain obligations towards him. They had sent to Sardis on one occasion to purchase some gold, intending to use it on a statue of Apollo—the statue, namely, which remains to this day at Thornax in Laconia,[1] when Crœsus, hearing of the matter, gave them as a gift the gold which they wanted.

70. This was one reason why the Lacedæmonians were so willing to make the alliance: another was, because Crœsus had chosen them for his friends in preference to all the other Greeks. They therefore held themselves in readiness to come at his summons, and not content with so doing, they further had a huge vase made in bronze, covered with figures of animals all round the outside of the rim, and large enough to contain three hundred amphoræ, which they sent to Crœsus as a return for his presents to them. The vase, however, never reached Sardis. Its miscarriage is accounted for in two quite different ways. The Lacedæmonian story is, that when it reached Samos, on its way towards Sardis, the Samians having knowledge of it, put to sea in their ships of war and made it their prize. But the Samians declare, that the Lacedæmonians who had the vase in charge, happening to arrive too late, and learning that Sardis had fallen and that Crœsus was a prisoner, sold it in their island, and the purchasers (who were, they say, private persons) made an offering of it at the shrine of Juno:[2] the sellers were very likely on their return to Sparta to have said that they had been robbed of it by the Samians. Such, then, was the fate of the vase.

[1] Pausanias declares that the gold obtained of Crœsus by the Lacedæmonians was used in fact upon a statue of Apollo at Amyclæ (III. x. § 10). Larcher, and Siebelis (ad Pausan. l. s. c.) remark that this does not in reality contradict Herodotus, since he only states the *intention* of the Spartans, which Pausanias recognises, while the latter gives in addition their *act*.

This is no doubt true. But the same explanation cannot be given of the passage of Theopompus (Fr. 219.), which distinctly asserts that the original object of the Lacedæmonians was to buy gold for the Amyclæan statue. One interesting fact is learnt from this writer, viz. that the gold was used to cover the face of the statue, which was of colossal size, 45 feet high, according to Pausanias (III. xix. § 2).

[2] Vide infra, ii. 182.

71. Meanwhile Crœsus, taking the oracle in a wrong sense, led his forces into Cappadocia, fully expecting to defeat Cyrus and destroy the empire of the Persians. While he was still engaged in making preparations for his attack, a Lydian named Sandanis, who had always been looked upon as a wise man, but who after this obtained a very great name indeed among his countrymen, came forward and counselled the king in these words:

"Thou art about, oh! king, to make war against men who wear leathern trousers, and have all their other garments of leather;[2a] who feed not on what they like, but on what they can get from a soil that is sterile and unkindly; who do not indulge in wine, but drink water; who possess no figs nor anything else that is good to eat. If, then, thou conquerest them, what canst thou get from them, seeing that they have nothing at all? But if they conquer thee, consider how much that is precious thou wilt lose: if they once get a taste of our pleasant things, they will keep such hold of them that we shall never be able to make them loose their grasp. For my part, I am thankful to the gods, that they have not put it into the hearts of the Persians to invade Lydia."

Crœsus was not persuaded by this speech, though it was true enough; for before the conquest of Lydia, the Persians possessed none of the luxuries or delights of life.

72. The Cappadocians are known to the Greeks by the name of Syrians.[3] Before the rise of the Persian power, they had been subject to the Medes; but at the present time they were within the empire of Cyrus, for the boundary between the Me-

[2a] For a description of the Persian dress, see note on ch. 135.

[3] Vide infra, vii. 72. The Cappadocians of Herodotus inhabit the country bounded by the Euxine on the north, the Halys on the west, the Armenians apparently on the east (from whom the Cappadocians are clearly distinguished, vii. 72–3), and the Matieni on the south.

It has been usual to consider the fact that the Cappadocians were always called Syrians by the Greeks (supra, ch. 6, infra, vii. 72; Strab. xii. p. 788; Dionys. Perieg. ver. 772; Scylax. p. 80; Ptol. v. 6; Apollon. Rhod. ii. 946; Eustath. ad Dion. Per.) as almost indisputable evidence of their being a Semitic race. (Prichard's Researches into the Phys. Hist. of Mankind, vol. iii. p. 561; Bunsen's Philosophy of Univ. Hist. vol. ii. p. 10.) But there are strong grounds for questioning this conclusion. See the Critical Essays, Essay xi., On the Ethnic Affinities of the Nations of Western Asia.

In the Persian inscriptions Cappadocia is mentioned under the name of Katapatuka, and appeared to be assigned wider limits than those given in Herodotus. (See Col. Rawlinson's Memoir on the Behistun Inscription. Vol. II. p. 95.) No countries are named between Armenia and Ionia but Cappadocia and Saparda, which together fill up the whole of Asia Minor except the western coast. See the three enumerations of the Persian provinces in the inscriptions of Darius (pages 197, 280, and 294 of the first volume of Col. Rawlinson's Memoir), and compare the notes on the Babylonian text (vol. iii. p. xix.)

dian and the Lydian empires was the river Halys. This stream, which rises in the mountain country of Armenia, runs first through Cilicia; afterwards it flows for a while with the Matiêni on the right, and the Phrygians on the left: then, when they are passed, it proceeds with a northern course, separating the Cappadocian Syrians from the Paphlagonians, who occupy the left bank, thus forming the boundary of almost the whole of Lower Asia, from the sea opposite Cyprus to the Euxine. Just there is the neck of the peninsula, a journey of five days across for an active walker.[4]

73. There were two motives which led Crœsus to attack Cappadocia: firstly, he coveted the land, which he wished to add to his own dominions; but the chief reason was, that he wanted to revenge on Cyrus the wrongs of Astyages, and was made confident by the oracle of being able so to do: for the Astyages, son of Cyaxares and king of the Medes, who had been dethroned by Cyrus, son of Cambyses, was Crœsus' brother by marriage.

[4] Herodotus tells us in one place (iv. 101), that he reckons the day's journey at 200 stadia, that is at about 23 of our miles. If we regard this as the measure intended here, we must consider that Herodotus imagined the isthmus of Natolia to be but 115 miles across, 165 miles short of the truth. It must be observed, however, that the ordinary day's journey cannot be intended by the ὁδὸς εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί. The ἀνὴρ εὔζωνος is not the mere common traveller. He is the lightly-equipped pedestrian, and his day's journey must be estimated at something considerably above 200 stades. Major Rennell, in his comments on the passage (Geogr. of Herod. p. 190), made an allowance on this account, and reckoned the day's journey of the "active walker" at about 30 miles. Even thus, however, the error of Herodotus remained very considerable—a mistake of 130, instead of 165, miles. Dahlmann (Life of Herod., pp. 72–3. E. T.) endeavours to vindicate Herodotus from having erred at all. He remarks that the story of Phidippides (Herod. vi. 106), proves that the trained runners (ἡμεροδρόμοι) of the period could travel from 50 to 60 miles a day, and supposes Herodotus to allude to certain known cases in which the isthmus had been traversed in five days. But, 1. it does not seem correct to regard the ἀνὴρ εὔζωνος as the same with the ἡμεροδρόμος, and 2. Herodotus appears to speak not of any particular case or cases, but generally of all lightly equipped pedestrians. He cannot therefore be rightly regarded as free from mistake in the matter. Probably he considered the isthmus at least 100 miles narrower than it really is.

It renders such a mistake the less surprising to find that Pliny, after all the additional information derived from the expedition of Alexander and the Roman occupation, estimated the distance at no more than 200 Roman, or less than 190 British miles. (Plin. vi. 2.)

[The day's journey of Herodotus, mentioned in iv. 101, refers to the regular caravan stage performed by loaded camels or mules, and is correctly enough estimated at 200 Olympic stadia. The average length of such a stage at the present day is 6 *farsakhs*, or about 22½ English miles. The ἡμεροδρόμος, on the other hand, is to be compared to the *Kásid*, or foot-messenger of the present day, who, in fine weather and over a tolerably easy country, ought to accomplish 50 miles per diem. It may be doubted, however, considering the rugged character of the range of Taurus and its branches, if the most active Kásid could pass from Tarsus on the Mediterranean to Samsoon on the Euxine—estimated by Eratosthenes (Strab. ii. 1) at 3000 stadia—in less than 10 days.—H.C.R.]

This marriage had taken place under circumstances which I will now relate. A band of Scythian nomads, who had left their own land on occasion of some disturbance, had taken refuge in Media. Cyaxares, son of Phraortes, and grandson of Deïoces, was at that time king of the country. Recognising them as suppliants, he began by treating them with kindness, and coming presently to esteem them highly, he intrusted to their care a number of boys, whom they were to teach their language and to instruct in the use of the bow. Time passed, and the Scythians employed themselves, day after day, in hunting, and always brought home some game; but at last it chanced that one day they took nothing. On their return to Cyaxares with empty hands, that monarch, who was hot-tempered, as he showed upon the occasion, received them very rudely and insultingly. In consequence of this treatment, which they did not conceive themselves to have deserved, the Scythians determined to take one of the boys whom they had in charge, cut him in pieces, and then dressing the flesh as they were wont to dress that of the wild animals, serve it up to Cyaxares as game: after which they resolved to convey themselves with all speed to Sardis, to the court of Alyattes, the son of Sadyattes. The plan was carried out: Cyaxares and his guests ate of the flesh prepared by the Scythians, and they themselves, having accomplished their purpose, fled to Alyattes in the guise of suppliants.

74. Afterwards, on the refusal of Alyattes to give up his suppliants when Cyaxares sent to demand them of him, war broke out[5] between the Lydians and the Medes, and continued for five years, with various success. In the course of it the Medes gained many victories over the Lydians, and the Lydians also gained many victories over the Medes. Among their other battles there was one night engagement. As, however, the balance had not inclined in favour of either nation, another combat took place in the sixth year, in the course of which, just as the battle was growing warm, day was on a sudden changed into night. This event had been foretold by Thales, the Milesian, who forewarned the Ionians of it, fixing for it the very year in which it

[5] Mr. Grote remarks that "the passage of nomadic hordes from one government in the East to another has been always, and is even down to the present day, a frequent cause of dispute between the different governments: they are valuable both as tributaries and as soldiers." And he proceeds to give instances (vol. iii. p. 310, note 1). But one cannot but suspect the whole story to be either pure invention, or a distorted representation of the fact, that some of the Scythians whom Cyaxares had expelled from Media fled westward and took service with the Lydian king. (See the subject discussed in the Essay "On the Early Chronology and History of Lydia.")

actually took place.[6] The Medes and Lydians, when they observed the change, ceased fighting, and were alike anxious to have terms of peace agreed on. Syennesis[7] of Cilicia,[7a] and Labyne-

[6] Various years have been assigned as the true date of this eclipse. Among the ancients, Pliny (II. xii.) placed it Ol. 48. 4 (B. C. 584), Clemens Alexandrinus (Stromat. I. p. 354) in Ol. 50. 1 (B. C. 579). Of moderns, Volney inclines to B. C. 625, Bouhier and Larcher to B. C. 597, Mr. Clinton to B. C. 603, Ideler and Mr. Grote to B. C. 610, Des Vignoles and Mr. Bosanquet to B. C. 585. Mr. Grote says that "recent calculations made by Oltmanns from the newest astronomical tables, and more trustworthy than the calculations which preceded, have shown that the eclipse of 610 B. C. fulfils the conditions required, and that the other eclipses do not" (Grote's Hist. of Greece, vol. iii. p. 312, note). Mr. Bosanquet (Fall of Nineveh, p. 14) depends on the still more recent calculations of Mr. Hind and Mr. Airy.

That Thales predicted this eclipse was asserted by Aristotle's disciple, Eudemus (Clem. Alex. l. s. c.), as also by Cic. (de Div. i. 49) and Pliny (ii. 12). Another prediction is ascribed to him by Aristotle himself (Polit. I. v.), that of a good olive-crop. A third by Nicolas of Damascus (p. 68, Orelli). Anaxagoras was said to have foretold the fall of an aërolite (Arist. Meteorol. i. 7).

[The prediction of this eclipse by Thales may fairly be classed with the prediction of a good olive crop or of the fall of an aërolite. Thales, indeed, could only have obtained the requisite knowledge for predicting eclipses from the Chaldæans, and that the science of these astronomers, although sufficient for the investigation of lunar eclipses, did not enable them to calculate solar eclipses—dependent as such a calculation is, not only on the determination of the period of recurrence, but on the true projection also of the track of the sun's shadow along a particular line over the surface of the earth—may be inferred from our finding that in the astronomical canon of Ptolemy, which was compiled from the Chaldæan registers, the observations of the moon's eclipse are alone entered.—H.C.R.]

[7] The name Syennesis is common to all the kings of Cilicia mentioned in history. Vide infra, v. 118; vii. 98; Xenoph. Anab. I. ii. § 25; Æschyl. Pers. 324. It has been supposed not to be really a name, but, like Pharaoh, a title. Cf. Bähr in loc.

[The Cuneiform inscriptions do not assist us in determining whether Syennesis was a title or a proper name. The only cuneiform name which has any resemblance to it is that of *Siéni*, who was king of *Dayán*, a province contiguous to Cilicia, under the first Tiglathpileser of Assyria, in about B. C. 1120. The kings of Cilicia mentioned by the Greeks are of a much later date, being the respective contemporaries of Cyaxares, Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes Mnemon.—H. C. R.]

[7a] Cilicia had become an independent state, either by the destruction of Assyria, or in the course of her decline after the reign of Esarhaddon. Previously, she had been included in the dominions of the Assyrian kings.

[Cilicia is first mentioned in the Cuneiform inscriptions about B. C. 711, Sargon, in the ninth year of his reign, having sent an expedition against *Ambris*, the son of *Khuliya*, who was hereditary chief of *Tubal* (the southern slopes of Taurus), and upon whom the Assyrian monarch is said at an earlier period to have bestowed the country of Cilicia (*Khilak*) as the dowry of his daughter *Maruk*. *Ambris*, it appears, regardless of this alliance and of the favour with which he was treated by Sargon, had cultivated relations with the Kings of *Musak* and *Vararat* (Meshech and Ararat, or the Moschi and Armenia), who were in revolt against Assyria, and thus drew on himself the hostility of the great king. His chief city, *Bit-Burutas*, was taken and sacked, and he himself was brought a prisoner to Nineveh, Assyrian colonists being sent to occupy the country.

In the reign of Sennacherib, about B. C. 701, Cilicia again revolted and was reduced, a vast number of the inhabitants being carried off to Nineveh to assist, in concert with Chaldæan, Aramæan, Syrian, and Armenian captives, in building that famous palace of which the ruins have lately been excavated at Koyunjik.

When Polyhistor describes as continuous events under the reign of Sennacherib —the repulse by the Assyrians of a Greek invasion of Cilicia, the erection of a

tus[8] of Babylon, were the persons who mediated between the parties, who hastened the taking of the oaths, and brought about the exchange of espousals. It was they who advised that Alyattes should give his daughter Aryênis in marriage to Astyages the son of Cyaxares, knowing, as they did, that without some sure bond of strong necessity, there is wont to be but little security in men's covenants. Oaths are taken by these people in the same way as by the Greeks, except that they make a slight flesh wound in their arms, from which each sucks a portion of the other's blood.[9]

75. Cyrus had captured this Astyages, who was his mother's father, and kept him prisoner, for a reason which I shall bring forward in another part of my history. This capture formed the ground of quarrel between Cyrus and Crœsus, in consequence of which Crœsus sent his servants to ask the oracle if he should attack the Persians; and when an evasive answer came, fancying it to be in his favour, carried his arms into the Persian territory. When he reached the river Halys, he transported his army across it, as I maintain, by the bridges[1] which exist there at the present

trophy on the spot to commemorate the monarch's exploits, and the subsequent building of Tarsus—he is probably confounding together three independent matters belonging to three distinct periods of history; for the only irruption of the Greeks into the Assyrian territory recorded in the inscriptions took place under Sargon, while Sennacherib's trophy on the shore of the Mediterranean refers to the conquest of Phœnicia and the defeat of the Egyptians, and not to any repulse of the Greeks; and Tarsus, again, instead of being built by that monarch, was in reality founded by Esarhaddon, after his conquest of Sidon, as stated in his annals. The Inscriptions have not furnished us as yet with any notice of Tarsus or Cilicia after the time of Esarhaddon. Bochart supposes the name of Cilicia to be derived from the Hebrew root חלק, and to have been given to the country on account of its rugged and stony character; but the Hebrew *Khalak*, although applied to "stones," signifies properly "to be smooth" or "polished," and is thus singularly inapplicable to Cilicia. There are indeed no grounds whatever for assigning a Semitic etymology to the name. The ancient Cilicians in all probability belonged to the same Scythic family as the neighbouring races of Meshech and Tubal.—H.C.R.]

[8] The Babylonian monarch at this time was either Nabopolassar or Nebuchadnezzar. (See the Astronomical Canon.) Neither of these names is properly Hellenized by Labynetus. Labynetus is undoubtedly the Nabunit of the inscriptions, the Nabonadius of the Canon, the Nabonnedus of Berosus and Megasthenes. There was only one king of the name between Nabonassar (B.C. 747) and Cyrus. He reigned 17 years, from B.C. 555 to B.C. 538. If the name here be not a mistake of our author's, this Labynetus must have been a prince of the royal house, sent in command of the Babylonian contingent, of whom nothing else is known. He might be a son of Nabopolassar.

[9] Vide infra, iv. 70, and Tacit. Annal. xii. 47.

[1] The Halys (*Kizil Irmak*) is fordable at no very great distance from its mouth (Hamilton's Asia Minor, vol. i. p. 327), but bridges over it are not unfrequent (ibid. p. 297, 411). These are of a very simple construction, consisting of planks laid across a few slender beams, extending from bank to bank, without any parapet. Bridges with stone piers have existed at some former period (ib. p. 326), but they belong probably to Roman, and not to any earlier times. The ancient constructions mentioned by Herodotus are more likely to have been of the modern type. By his

day; but, according to the general belief of the Greeks,[2] by the aid of Thales the Milesian. The tale is, that Crœsus was in doubt how he should get his army across, as the bridges were not made at that time, and that Thales, who happened to be in the camp, divided the stream and caused it to flow on both sides of the army instead of on the left only. This he effected thus:—Beginning some distance above the camp, he dug a deep channel, which he brought round in a semicircle, so that it might pass to rearward of the camp; and that thus the river, diverted from its natural course into the new channel at the point where this left the stream, might flow by the station of the army, and afterwards fall again into the ancient bed. In this way the river was split into two streams, which were both easily fordable. It is said by some that the water was entirely drained off from the natural bed of the river. But I am of a different opinion; for I do not see how, in that case, they could have crossed it on their return.

76. Having passed the Halys with the forces under his command, Crœsus entered the district of Cappadocia which is called Pteria.[3] It lies in the neighbourhood of the city of Sinôpé[4] upon the Euxine, and is the strongest position in the whole country thereabouts. Here Crœsus pitched his camp, and began to ravage the fields of the Syrians. He besieged and took the chief city of the Pterians, and reduced the inhabitants to slavery: he likewise made himself master of the surrounding villages. Thus he brought ruin on the Syrians, who were guilty of no of-

use of the plural number in this place we may conclude, that on the route to which he refers the river was crossed by two bridges, advantage being taken of its separation into two channels. This is the case now at Bafra, on the route between Samsun and Sinôpé, which is not unlikely to have been the point at which Crœsus passed the river. The fact of the double channel may have given rise to the story about Thales.

[2] Larcher (vol. i. p. 313) remarks that this opinion held its ground notwithstanding the opposition of Herodotus. It is spoken of as an indisputable fact by the Scholiast on Aristophanes (Nubes, 18), by Lucian (Hippias, § 2, vol. vii. p. 295), and by Diogenes Laertius (i. 38).

[3] Pteria in Herodotus is a district, not a city, as Larcher supposes (not. ad loc.). Its capital ("the city of the Pterians") may have borne the same name, as Stephen seems to have thought (ad voc. Πτερία), but this is uncertain. The site cannot possibly be at *Boghâz-Keui*, where M. Texier places it (Asie Mineure, vol. i. pp. 222–4), for the connexion of the name with Sinôpé, both in Herodotus and in Stephen, implies that Pteria was near the coast. A name resembling Pteria seems to have been given to several Asiatic strongholds, as to a certain Median city, and to the acropolis of Babylon. (Steph. Byz. l. s. c.)

[4] Sinôpé, which recent events have once more made famous, was a colony of the Milesians, founded about B.C. 630 (infra, iv. 12). It occupied the neck of a small peninsula projecting into the Euxine towards the northeast, in lat. 42°, long. 35°, nearly. The ancient town has been completely ruined, and the modern is built of its fragments (Hamilton's Asia Minor, vol. i. p. 317–9).

fence towards him. Meanwhile, Cyrus had levied an army and marched against Crœsus, increasing his numbers at every step by the forces of the nations that lay in his way. Before beginning his march he had sent heralds to the Ionians, with an invitation to them to revolt from the Lydian king: they, however, had refused compliance. Cyrus, notwithstanding, marched against the enemy, and encamped opposite them in the district of Pteria, where the trial of strength took place between the contending powers. The combat was hot and bloody, and upon both sides the number of the slain was great; nor had victory declared in favour of either party, when night came down upon the battle-field. Thus both armies fought valiantly.

77. Crœsus laid the blame of his ill success on the number of his troops, which fell very short of the enemy; and as on the next day Cyrus did not repeat the attack, he set off on his return to Sardis, intending to collect his allies and renew the contest in the spring. He meant to call on the Egyptians to send him aid, according to the terms of the alliance which he had concluded with Amasis,[5] previously to his league with the Lacedæmonians. He intended also to summon to his assistance the Babylonians, under their king Labynetus,[6] for they too were bound to him by treaty: and further, he meant to send word to Sparta, and appoint a day for the coming of their succours. Having got together these forces in addition to his own, he would, as soon as the winter was past and springtime come, march once more against the Persians. With these intentions Crœsus, immediately on his return, despatched heralds to his various allies, with a request that they would join him at Sardis in the course of the fifth month from the time of the departure of his messengers. He then disbanded the army—consisting of mercenary troops—which had been engaged with the Persians and had since accompanied him to his capital, and let them de-

[5] The treaty of Amasis with Crœsus would suffice to account for the hostility of the Persians against Egypt. (See note on Book ii. ch. 177.)

[6] Undoubtedly the Nabonadius of the Canon, and the Nabunit of the monuments. The fact that it was with this monarch that Crœsus made his treaty helps greatly to fix the date of the fall of Sardis; it proves that that event *cannot have happened earlier* than B. C. 554. For Nabunit did not ascend the throne till B. C. 555 (Astron. Can.), and a full year must be allowed between the conclusion of the treaty and the taking of the Lydian capital.

[As Nebuchadnezzar had a few years previously carried the Babylonian arms over all Western Asia, reasserting the ancient Assyrian supremacy over the countries which touched the Mediterranean, there is no improbability in the existence of political relations between Crœsus and Nabunit. The history of this king, however, the last of the Babylonian monarchs, so far as it has been as yet recovered from the monuments, is exclusively domestic, and thus does not enable us to ascertain what part he took in the contest between Cyrus and Crœsus.—H. C. R.]

part to their homes, never imagining that Cyrus, after a battle in which victory had been so evenly balanced, would venture to march upon Sardis.

78. While Crœsus was still in this mind, all the suburbs of Sardis were found to swarm with snakes, on the appearance of which the horses left feeding in the pasture-grounds, and flocked to the suburbs to eat them. The king, who witnessed the unusual sight, regarded it very rightly as a prodigy. He therefore instantly sent messengers to the soothsayers of Telmessus,[7] to consult them upon the matter. His messengers reached the city, and obtained from the Telmessians an explanation of what the prodigy portended, but fate did not allow them to inform their lord; for ere they entered Sardis on their return, Crœsus was a prisoner. What the Telmessians had declared was, that Crœsus must look for the entry of an army of foreign invaders into his country, and that when they came they would subdue the native inhabitants; since the snake, said they, is a child of earth, and the horse a warrior and a foreigner. Crœsus was already a prisoner when the Telmessians thus answered his inquiry, but they had no knowledge of what was taking place at Sardis, or of the fate of the monarch.

79. Cyrus, however, when Crœsus broke up so suddenly from his quarters after the battle at Pteria, conceiving that he had marched away with the intention of disbanding his army, considered a little, and soon saw that it was advisable for him to advance upon Sardis with all haste, before the Lydians could get their forces together a second time. Having thus determined, he lost no time in carrying out his plan. He marched forward with such speed that he was himself the first to announce his coming to the Lydian king. That monarch, placed in the utmost difficulty by the turn of events which had gone so entirely against all his calculations, nevertheless led out the Lydians to battle. In all Asia there was not at that time a

[7] There were two cities of this name in Asia Minor, one in Lycia on the coast, the other, called also Termessus, in Pisidia. Both are mentioned by Arrian (Exped. Alex. I. xxiv. and xxvii.), and by Strabo (xiii. p. 981; xiv. p. 982). The Lycian city was the one famous for its soothsayers (Suidas in voc. Τελμισεῖς). Cicero places it in Caria when he says "Telmessus in Cariâ est, quâ in urbe excellit haruspicum disciplina" (De Div. i. 41). In this he follows Polemon (Fr. 35). Other writers remark that the city was exactly at the confines of Caria and Lycia (cf. Plin. v. 27; Pomp. Mel. i. 15).

Telmessus lay upon the coast occupying the site of the modern village of *Makri*, where are some curious remains, especially tombs, partly Greek, partly native Lycian. In the Greek inscriptions at this place the name is written Telm*e*ssus, not Telm*i*ssus, as in Arrian. (See Clarke's Travels, vol. ii. p. 222 et seqq.; Fellows's Asia Minor, p. 243 et seqq.; Leake's Tour, p. 128; and for pictorial representations consult the magnificent work of M. Texier, vol. iii. plates 166–178.)

braver or more warlike people.[8] Their manner of fighting was on horseback; they carried long lances, and were clever in the management of their steeds.

80. The two armies met in the plain before Sardis. It is a vast flat, bare of trees, watered by the Hyllus and a number of other streams, which all flow into one larger than the rest, called the Hermus.[9] This river rises in the sacred mountain of the Dindymenian Mother,[1] and falls into the sea near the town of Phocæa.[2]

[8] Mr. Grote has some good observations on the contrast between the earlier and the later national character of the Lydians and Phrygians (Hist. of Greece, vol. iii. pp. 289–291). The Lydians did not become ἁβροδίαιτοι (Æsch. Pers. 40) until after the Persian conquest.

[9] Sardis (the modern *Sart*) stood in the broad valley of the Hermus at a point where the hills approach each other more closely than in any other place. Some vestiges of the ancient town remain, but, except the ruins of the great temple of Cybêlé (infra, v. 102), they seem to be of a late date (Texier, vol. iii. pp. 17–19). Above Sardis, to the east, opens out the plain, formed by the junction of the Cogamus with the Hermus, thus described by Chandler: "The plain beside the Hermus, which divides it, is well watered by rills from the slopes. It is wide, beautiful, and cultivated." (Travels, vol. i. ch. lxxiv. p. 289.) Strabo appears to have intended this by his "plain of Cyrus," which *adjoined Phrygia* (xiii. p. 929). See Rennell's Geography of Western Asia, vol. i. p. 383.

There is a second more extensive and still richer plain below Sardis, of which Strabo also speaks (ὑποκεῖται τῇ πόλει (Sardis) τό τε Σαρδιανὸν πεδίον, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἕρμου, καὶ τὸ Καϋστριανὸν, συνεχῆ τε ὄντα καὶ πάντων ἄριστα πεδίων). This plain is formed by the junction of the Hyllus with the Hermus, and reaches from Magnesia, the modern *Manser*, to Sardis. It is thus spoken of by Sir C. Fellows:—"From Manser we started before nine o'clock, and travelled across the valley directly north. At two miles' distance we crossed the river Hermus by a bridge, and almost immediately afterwards its tributary, the Hyllus, by a ferry; the latter is larger (?) than the main river, which it joins within a furlong of the ferry. The valley over which we continued to ride must be *at least twelve miles directly across* from Manser. . . . *The land is excellent*, and I scarcely saw a stone during the first eighteen miles. *Cotton and corn grow luxuriantly*, but there are *few trees* (compare Herodotus's ψιλὸν) except the willow and pollard poplar." (Fellows' Asia Minor, p. 201.) This must certainly be the plain intended by Herodotus: τὸ πεδίον τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος τοῦ Σαρδιηνοῦ . . . διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ποταμοὶ ῥέοντες καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Ὕλλος συῤῥηγνῦσι ἐς τὸν μέγιστον, καλεόμενον δὲ Ἕρμον. But it is scarcely possible that the battle can really have taken place on this side of Sardis.

[1] The Dindymenian mother was Cybêlé, the special deity of Phrygia. It is impossible to say for certain what mountain or mountain-range Herodotus intended by his οὖρος Μητρὸς Δινδυμήνης. The interior of Asia Minor was but very little known in his day. Probably, however, he meant to place the sources of the Hermus in Phrygia, which is correct, so far as it goes.

The Hermus rises from two principal sources, both in the range of *Morad*, which is a branch from the great chain of Taurus, forming the watershed between the streams which flow westward into the Ægean, and those which run northward into the Euxine. The chief source of the two is not, as Col. Leake thought (Asia Minor, p. 169), that which rises near the modern *Ghiediz* or *Kodus* (the Καδοί of Strabo), but the stream flowing from the foot of *Morad Dagh*, which has perhaps some claim to be regarded as the Mount Dindymêné of Strabo (xiii. p. 897) and our author. See Hamilton's Asia Minor, vol. i. p. 108.

[2] The Hermus (*Ghiediz-Chai*) now falls into the sea very much nearer to Smyrna than to Phocæa. Its course is perpetually changing (Chandler, vol. i. ch. xxi.), and of late years its embouchure has been gradually approaching Smyrna, whose harbour

When Cyrus beheld the Lydians arranging themselves in order of battle on this plan, fearful of the strength of their cavalry, he adopted a device which Harpagus, one of the Medes, suggested to him. He collected together all the camels that had come in the train of his army to carry the provisions and the baggage, and taking off their loads, he mounted riders upon them accoutred as horsemen. These he commanded to advance in front of his other troops against the Lydian horse; behind them were to follow the foot soldiers, and last of all the cavalry. When his arrangements were complete, he gave his troops orders to slay all the other Lydians who came in their way without mercy, but to spare Crœsus and not kill him, even if he should be seized and offer resistance. The reason why Cyrus opposed his camels to the enemy's horse was, because the horse has a natural dread of the camel, and cannot abide either the sight or the smell of that animal. By this stratagem he hoped to make Crœsus's horse useless to him,[3] the horse being what he chiefly depended on for victory. The two armies then joined battle, and immediately the Lydian war-horses, seeing and smelling the camels, turned round and galloped off; and so it came to pass that all Crœsus's hopes withered away. The Lydians, however, behaved manfully. As soon as they understood what was happening, they leaped off their horses, and engaged with the Persians on foot. The combat was long; but at last, after a great slaughter on both sides, the Lydians turned and fled. They were driven within their walls, and the Persians laid siege to Sardis.

81. Thus the siege began. Meanwhile Crœsus, thinking that the place would hold out no inconsiderable time, sent off fresh heralds to his allies from the beleaguered town. His former messengers had been charged to bid them assemble at Sardis in the course of the fifth month; they whom he now sent were to say that he was already besieged, and to beseech them to come to his aid with all possible speed. Among his other allies Crœsus did not omit to send to Lacedæmon.

82. It chanced, however, that the Spartans were themselves

is seriously threatened by the extensive shoals which advance opposite the *Sanjiac Kaleh*, formed of the mud brought down by the Hermus. (See Hamilton's Asia Minor, vol. i. p. 45.)

[3] It is said that in one of the great battles between the Servians and the Turks "a council of war was held in the Turkish camp, and some of the generals proposed that the camels should be placed in front of the army, in order that the horses of the enemy might be frightened by them." It was, however, determined on this occasion not to have recourse to stratagem. (Frontier Lands of the Christian and the Turk, vol. ii. p. 380.)

just at this time engaged in a quarrel with the Argives about a place called Thyrea,[4] which was within the limits of Argolis, but had been seized on by the Lacedæmonians. Indeed, the whole country westward, as far as Cape Malea, belonged once to the Argives, and not only that entire tract upon the mainland, but also Cythêra, and the other islands.[5] The Argives collected troops to resist the seizure of Thyrea, but before any battle was fought, the two parties came to terms, and it was agreed that three hundred Spartans and three hundred Argives should meet and fight for the place, which should belong to the nation with whom the victory rested.[6] It was stipulated also that the other troops on each side should return home to their respective countries, and not remain to witness the combat, as there was danger, if the armies stayed, that either the one or the other, on seeing their countrymen undergoing defeat, might hasten to their assistance. These terms being agreed on, the two armies marched off, leaving three hundred picked men on each side to fight for the territory. The battle began, and so equal were the combatants, that at the close of the day, when night put a stop to the fight, of the whole six hundred only three men remained alive, two Argives, Alcanor and Chromius, and a single Spartan, Othryadas. The two Argives, regarding themselves as the victors, hurried to Argos. Othryadas, the Spartan, remained upon the field, and, stripping the bodies of the Argives who had fallen, carried their armour to the Spartan camp. Next day the two armies returned to learn the result. At first they disputed, both parties claiming the victory, the one, because they had the greater number of survivors; the other, because their man remained on the field, and stripped the bodies of the slain, whereas

[4] Thyrea was the chief town of the district called Cynuria, the border territory between Laconia and Argolis (cf. Thucyd. v. 41). The Cynurians were a remnant of the ancient population of the Peloponnese before the Dorian conquest. They called themselves Ionians, and claimed to be αὐτόχθονες (vide infra, viii. 73). The convent of *Luku* seems to mark the site of the ancient town. Here on "a tabular hill covered with shrubs and small trees, and having a gentle descent towards the river of *Luku*," are extensive remains of a considerable town (Leake's Morea, vol. ii. p. 487). The distance from the sea is greater by a good deal than in the time of Thucydides (iv. 57), as the river has brought down large deposits.

[5] In the time of Pheidon the First, about B. C. 748. See Müller's Dorians, vol. i. p. 154. Compare the Fragment of Ephorus (15, ed. Didot), "συμπράττειν δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, εἴτε φθονήσαντας τῇ διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην εὐτυχίᾳ, εἴτε καὶ συνεργοὺς ἕξειν νομίσαντας πρὸς τὸ καταλῦσαι τὸν Φείδωνα ἀφῃρημένον αὐτοὺς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν Πελοποννησίων, ἣν ἐκεῖνοι προέκτηντο."

[6] Thucydides confirms this fact (v. 41). The Argives, 130 years afterwards, proposed the insertion of a clause in a treaty which they were making with Sparta, to the effect that, on due notice given, Thyrea might again be fought for, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερόν ποτε. The Spartans thought the proposal *folly*, so much had opinion changed in the interval.

the two men of the other side ran away; but at last they fell from words to blows, and a battle was fought, in which both parties suffered great loss, but at the end the Lacedæmonians gained the victory.[7] Upon this the Argives, who up to that time had worn their hair long, cut it off close, and made a law, to which they attached a curse, binding themselves never more to let their hair grow, and never to allow their women to wear gold, until they should recover Thyrea. At the same time the Lacedæmonians made a law the very reverse of this, namely, to wear their hair long, though they had always before cut it close. Othryadas[8] himself, it is said, the sole survivor of the three hundred, prevented by a sense of shame from returning to Sparta after all his comrades had fallen, laid violent hands upon himself in Thyrea.

83. Although the Spartans were engaged with these matters when the herald arrived from Sardis to entreat them to come to the assistance of the besieged king, yet, notwithstanding, they instantly set to work to afford him help. They had completed their preparations, and the ships were just ready to start, when a second message informed them that the place had already fallen, and that Crœsus was a prisoner. Deeply grieved at his misfortune, the Spartans ceased their efforts.

84. The following is the way in which Sardis was taken. On the fourteenth day of the siege Cyrus bade some horsemen ride about his lines, and make proclamation to the whole army that he would give a reward to the man who should first mount the wall. After this he made an assault, but without success. His troops retired, but a certain Mardian, Hyrœades by name, resolved to approach the citadel and attempt it at a place where no guards were ever set. On this side the rock was so precipitous, and the citadel (as it seemed) so impregnable, that no fear was entertained of its being carried in this place. Here was the only portion of the circuit round which their old king

[7] Plutarch asserts that there was no second battle, but that an appeal was made to the Amphictyons, who decided in favour of Sparta (Moral. ii. p. 306, B.). He cites as his authority a certain Chrysermus, who had written a book entitled Πελοποννησιακά.

[8] Various tales were told of Othryadas. According to one (Theseus ap. Stob. Flor. vii. 67) he was mortally wounded in the fight, upon which he hid himself under some of the dead bodies till the two Argive survivors were gone; he then crawled forth, erected a trophy, and wrote a superscription with his blood; when he had done this, he fell dead (Suidas in voc. Ὀθρυάδης). According to another story, he survived the occasion, and was afterwards slain by Perilaüs, son of Alcanor, one of the two Argives who escaped (Pausan. II. xx. § 6). Othryadas was a favourite subject with the epigram writers. (See Brunck's Analecta, vol. i. pp. 130, 496; vol. ii. p. 2.)

Meles[9] did not carry the lion which his leman bore to him. For when the Telmessians had declared that if the lion were taken round the defences, Sardis would be impregnable, and Meles, in consequence, carried it round the rest of the fortress where the citadel seemed open to attack, he scorned to take it round this side, which he looked on as a sheer precipice, and therefore absolutely secure. It is on that side of the city which faces Mount Tmolus. Hyrœades, however, having the day before observed a Lydian soldier descend the rock after a helmet that had rolled down from the top, and having seen him pick it up and carry it back, thought over what he had witnessed, and formed his plan. He climbed the rock himself, and other Persians followed in his track, until a large number had mounted to the top. Thus was Sardis taken,[1] and given up entirely to pillage.

85. With respect to Crœsus himself, this is what befell him at the taking of the town. He had a son, of whom I made mention above, a worthy youth, whose only defect was that he was deaf and dumb. In the days of his prosperity Crœsus had done the utmost that he could for him, and among other plans which he had devised, had sent to Delphi to consult the oracle on his behalf. The answer which he had received from the Pythoness ran thus :—

'Lydian, wide-ruling monarch, thou wondrous simple Crœsus,
Wish not ever to hear in thy palace the voice thou hast prayed for,
Utt'ring intelligent sounds. Far better thy son should be silent!
Ah! woe worth the day when thine ear shall first list to his accents."

[9] Two Lydian kings of this name are mentioned by Nicolas of Damascus (Fr. 24), who probably follows Xanthus. One is said to have been a tyrant, and to have been deposed by a certain Moxus, who succeeded him on the throne. The other immediately preceded Myrsus, the father of Candaules. He is noticed by Eusebius, who improperly makes him the immediate predecessor of Candaules (Euseb. Chron. Can., Part II. p. 322). The former of these two kings is probably the "old king Meles" of Herodotus.

[1] Sardis was taken a second time in almost exactly the same way by Lagoras, one of the generals of Antiochus the Great (Polyb. vii. 4–7).

Three stories were current as to the mode in which the capture by Cyrus was effected.—1. This of Herodotus, which Xenophon followed in its principal features (Cyrop. VIII. ii. § 1–13).—2. That of Ctesias, reported also by Polyænus (Strateg. VII. vi. § 10), which made Cyrus take Sardis by the advice of Œbares, who suggested to him to alarm the inhabitants by placing figures of men on long poles, and elevating them to the top of the walls (Persic. Excerpt. § 4).—3. The following, given also by Polyænus (ib. § 2)—on what authority it is impossible to say, possibly that of Xanthus. Cyrus, it was said, assented to a truce, and drew off his army, but the night following he returned, and, finding the walls unguarded, scaled them with ladders. This last seems likely to have been the Lydian version.

Few people will hesitate to prefer the narrative of Herodotus to the other accounts. That of Ctesias is too puerile to deserve a moment's consideration. The other, which rests on no authority but that of Polyænus, makes Cyrus guilty of a foul piece of treachery, which is completely at variance with the character borne by him alike in Oriental and in Grecian story.

When the town was taken, one of the Persians was just going to kill Crœsus, not knowing who he was. Crœsus saw the man coming, but under the pressure of his affliction, did not care to avoid the blow, not minding whether or no he died beneath the stroke. Then this son of his, who was voiceless, beholding the Persian as he rushed towards Crœsus, in the agony of his fear and grief burst into speech, and said, "Man, do not kill Crœsus." This was the first time that he had ever spoken a word, but afterwards he retained the power of speech for the remainder of his life.

86. Thus was Sardis taken by the Persians, and Crœsus himself fell into their hands, after having reigned fourteen years, and been besieged in his capital fourteen days; thus too did Crœsus fulfil the oracle, which said that he should destroy a mighty empire,—by destroying his own. Then the Persians who had made Crœsus prisoner brought him before Cyrus. Now a vast pile had been raised by his orders, and Crœsus, laden with fetters, was placed upon it, and with him twice seven of the sons of the Lydians. I know not whether Cyrus was minded to make an offering of the first-fruits to some god or other, or whether he had vowed a vow and was performing it, or whether, as may well be, he had heard that Crœsus was a holy man, and so wished to see if any of the heavenly powers would appear to save him from being burnt alive. However it might be, Cyrus was thus engaged, and Crœsus was already on the pile, when it entered his mind in the depth of his woe that there was a divine warning in the words which had come to him from the lips of Solon, "No one while he lives is happy." When this thought smote him he fetched a long breath, and breaking his deep silence, groaned out aloud, thrice uttering the name of Solon. Cyrus caught the sounds, and bade the interpreters inquire of Crœsus who it was he called on. They drew near and asked him, but he held his peace, and for a long time made no answer to their questionings, until at length, forced to say something, he exclaimed, "One I would give much to see converse with every monarch." Not knowing what he meant by this reply, the interpreters begged him to explain himself; and as they pressed for an answer, and grew to be troublesome, he told them how, a long time before, Solon, an Athenian, had come and seen all his splendour, and made light of it; and how whatever he had said to him had fallen out exactly as he foreshowed, although it was nothing that especially concerned him, but applied to all mankind alike, and most to those who seemed to themselves happy. Meanwhile, as he thus spoke, the pile was lighted,

and the outer portion began to blaze. Then Cyrus, hearing from the interpreters what Crœsus had said, relented, bethinking himself that he too was a man, and that it was a fellow-man, and one who had once been as blessed by fortune as himself, that he was burning alive ; afraid, moreover, of retribution, and full of the thought that whatever is human is insecure. So he bade them quench the blazing fire as quickly as they could, and take down Crœsus and the other Lydians, which they tried to do, but the flames were not to be mastered.

87. Then, the Lydians say that Crœsus, perceiving by the efforts made to quench the fire that Cyrus had relented, and seeing also that all was in vain, and that the men could not get the fire under, called with a loud voice upon the god Apollo, and prayed him, if he had ever received at his hands any acceptable gift, to come to his aid, and deliver him from his present danger. As thus with tears he besought the god, suddenly, though up to that time the sky had been clear and the day without a breath of wind,[2] dark clouds gathered, and the storm burst over their heads with rain of such violence, that the flames were speedily extinguished. Cyrus, convinced by this that Crœsus was a good man and a favourite of heaven, asked him after he was taken off the pile, "Who it was that had persuaded him to lead an army into his country, and so become his foe rather than continue his friend ?" to which Crœsus made answer as follows : "What I did, oh ! king, was to thy advantage and to my own loss. If there be blame, it rests with the god of the Greeks, who encouraged me to begin the war. No one is so foolish as to prefer to peace war, in which, instead of sons burying their fathers, fathers bury their sons. But the gods willed it so."[3]

[2] The later romancers regarded this incident as over-marvellous, and softened down the miracle considerably. See the fragment of Nicolaus Damascenus translated at the close of the Essay on the Chronology and History of Lydia. The words of the original are, "*χειμὼν δ' ἔτυχε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἐξ ἠοῦς, οὐ μὴν ὑετός γε.*"

[3] Modern critics seem not to have been the first to object to this entire narrative, that the religion of the Persians did not allow the burning of human beings (vide infrà, iii. 16). The objection had evidently been made before the time of Nicolas of Damascus, who meets it indirectly in his narrative. The Persians (he gives us to understand) had for some time before this neglected the precepts of Zoroaster, and allowed his ordinances with respect to fire to fall into desuetude. The miracle whereby Crœsus was snatched from the flames reminded them of their ancient creed, and induced them to re-establish the whole system of Zoroaster. It may be doubted, however, whether the system of Zoroaster was at this time any portion of the Persian religion (see the Critical Essays, Essay v).

Ctesias, in his account of the treatment of Cyrus, omitted all mention of the pile and the fire. According to him, thunder and lightning were sent from heaven, and the chains of Crœsus miraculously struck off, after which Cyrus treated him with kindness, assigning him the city of Barênê (Barcé of Justin, i. 7) for his residence. See the Persica of Ctesias (Excerpt. § 4).

88. Thus did Crœsus speak. Cyrus then ordered his fetters to be taken off, and made him sit down near himself, and paid him much respect, looking upon him, as did also the courtiers, with a sort of wonder. Crœsus, wrapped in thought, uttered no word. After a while, happening to turn and perceive the Persian soldiers engaged in plundering the town, he said to Cyrus, "May I now tell thee, oh! king, what I have in my mind, or is silence best?" Cyrus bade him speak his mind boldly. Then he put this question: "What is it, oh! Cyrus, which those men yonder are doing so busily?" "Plundering thy city," Cyrus answered, "and carrying off thy riches." "Not my city," rejoined the other, "nor my riches. They are not mine any more. It is thy wealth which they are pillaging."

89. Cyrus, struck by what Crœsus had said, bade all the court to withdraw, and then asked Crœsus what he thought it best for him to do as regarded the plundering. Crœsus answered, "Now that the gods have made me thy slave, oh! Cyrus, it seems to me that it is my part, if I see anything to thy advantage, to show it to thee. Thy subjects, the Persians, are a poor people with a proud spirit. If then thou lettest them pillage and possess themselves of great wealth, I will tell thee what thou hast to expect at their hands. The man who gets the most, look to having him rebel against thee. Now then, if my words please thee, do thus, oh! king:—Let some of thy body-guards be placed as sentinels at each of the city gates, and let them take their booty from the soldiers as they leave the town, and tell them that they do so because the tenths are due to Jupiter. So wilt thou escape the hatred they would feel if the plunder were taken away from them by force; and they, seeing that what is proposed is just, will do it willingly."

90. Cyrus was beyond measure pleased with this advice, so excellent did it seem to him. He praised Crœsus highly, and gave orders to his body-guard to do as he had suggested. Then, turning to Crœsus, he said, "Oh! Crœsus, I see that thou art resolved both in speech and act to show thyself a virtuous prince: ask me, therefore, whatever thou wilt as a gift at this moment." Crœsus replied, "Oh! my lord, if thou wilt suffer me to send these fetters to the god of the Greeks, whom I once honoured above all other gods, and ask him if it is his wont to deceive his benefactors,—that will be the highest favour thou canst confer on me." Cyrus upon this inquired what charge he had to make against the god. Then Crœsus gave him a full account of all his projects, and of the answers of the oracle, and of the offerings which he had sent, on which he dwelt especially, and

told him how it was the encouragement given him by the oracle which had led him to make war upon Persia. All this he related, and at the end again besought permission to reproach the god with his behaviour. Cyrus answered with a laugh, " This I readily grant thee, and whatever else thou shalt at any time ask at my hands." Crœsus, finding his request allowed, sent certain Lydians to Delphi, enjoining them to lay his fetters upon the threshold of the temple, and ask the god, " If he were not ashamed of having encouraged him, as the destined destroyer of the empire of Cyrus, to begin a war with Persia, of which such were the first-fruits ? " As they said this they were to point to the fetters; and further they were to inquire, "if it was the wont of the Greek gods to be ungrateful ? "

91. The Lydians went to Delphi and delivered their message, on which the Pythoness is said to have replied—" It is not possible even for a god to escape the decree of destiny. Crœsus has been punished for the sin of his fifth ancestor,[4] who, when he was one of the body-guard of the Heraclides, joined in a woman's fraud, and, slaying his master, wrongfully seized the throne. Apollo was anxious that the fall of Sardis should not happen in the lifetime of Crœsus, but be delayed to his son's days ; he could not, however, persuade the Fates.[5] All that they were willing to allow he took and gave to Crœsus. Let Crœsus know that Apollo delayed the taking of Sardis three full years, and that he is thus a prisoner three years later than was his destiny. Moreover it was Apollo who saved him from the burning pile. Nor has Crœsus any right to complain with respect to the oracular answer which he received. For when the god told him that, if he attacked the Persians, he would destroy a mighty empire, he ought, if he had been wise, to have sent again and inquired which empire was meant, that of Cyrus or his own ; but if he neither understood what was said, nor took the trouble to seek for enlightenment, he has only himself to blame for the result. Besides, he had misunderstood the last answer which had been given him about the mule. Cyrus was that mule. For the parents of Cyrus were of different races, and of different conditions,—his mother a Median princess, daughter of

[4] Vide supra, ch. 13.

[5] Mr. Grote remarks with great truth on this passage—"It is rarely that these supreme goddesses or hyper-goddesses—for the gods themselves must submit to them—are brought into such distinct light and action ; usually they are kept in the dark, or are left to be understood as the unseen stumbling-block in cases of extreme incomprehensibility ; and it is difficult clearly to determine where the Greeks conceived sovereign power to reside, in respect to the government of the world. But here *the sovereignty of the Mœræ, and the subordinate agency of the gods, are unequivocally set forth*" (Hist. of Greece, vol. iv. p. 262).

King Astyages, and his father a Persian and a subject, who, though so far beneath her in all respects, had married his royal mistress."

Such was the answer of the Pythoness. The Lydians returned to Sardis and communicated it to Crœsus, who confessed, on hearing it, that the fault was his, not the god's. Such was the way in which Ionia was first conquered, and so was the empire of Crœsus brought to a close.

92. Besides the offerings which have been already mentioned, there are many others in various parts of Greece presented by Crœsus; as at Thebes in Bœotia, where there is a golden tripod, dedicated by him to Ismenian Apollo;[6] at Ephesus, where the golden heifers, and most of the columns are his gift; and at Delphi, in the temple of Pronaia,[7] where there is a huge shield in gold, which he gave. All these offerings were still in existence in my day; many others have perished: among them those which he dedicated at Branchidæ in Milesia, equal in weight, as I am informed, and in all respects like to those at Delphi. The Delphian presents, and those sent to Amphiaraüs, came from his own private property, being the first-fruits of the fortune which he inherited from his father; his other offerings came from the riches of an enemy, who, before he mounted the throne, headed a party against him, with the view of obtaining the crown of Lydia for Pantaleon. This Pantaleon was a son of Alyattes, but by a different mother from Crœsus; for the mother of Crœsus was a Carian woman, but the mother of Pantaleon an Ionian. When, by the appointment of his father, Crœsus obtained the kingly dignity,[8] he seized the man who had plotted against him, and broke him upon the wheel. His property, which he had pre-

[6] The river Ismênius washed the foot of the hill on which this temple stood (Paus. ix. 10, 2); hence the phrase "Ismenian Apollo." Compare *Pallenian Minerva* (supra, ch. 62).

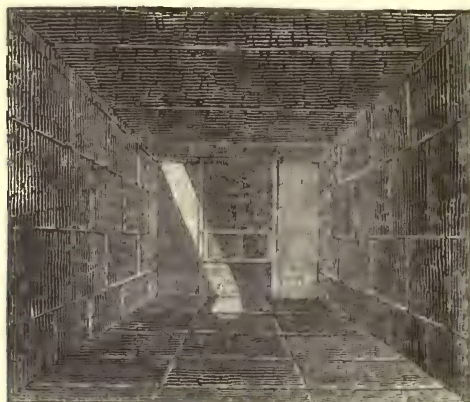
[7] The temple of Minerva at Delphi stood in front of the great temple of Apollo. Hence the Delphian Minerva was called Minerva Pronaia (διὰ τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ ἱδρῦσθαι, as Harpocration says). Vide infra, viii. 37. Pausanias mentions that the shield was no longer there in his day. It had been carried off by Philomêlus, the Phocian general in the Sacred War (Paus. x. viii. § 4).

[8] This has been supposed to mean that Alyattes associated Crœsus with him in the government (see Wesseling and Bähr in loc. Also Clinton's F. H. vol. ii. p. 363). But there are no sufficient grounds for such an opinion. Association, common enough in Egypt, was very rarely practised in the East until the time of the Sassanian princes; and does not seem ever to obtain unless where the succession is doubtful. Nor would it have been likely that, during a joint-reign with his father, Crœsus should have treated the partisan of his brother with such severity. Herodotus undoubtedly intends to speak of the *nomination* of Crœsus by Alyattes as his successor upon the throne. The verb used is the same as that which occurs below (ch. 208), where the nomination of Cambyses by Cyrus is mentioned.

viously devoted to the service of the gods, Crœsus applied in the way mentioned above. This is all I shall say about his offerings.

93. Lydia, unlike most other countries, scarcely offers any wonders for the historian to describe, except the gold-dust which is washed down from the range of Tmolus. It has, however, one structure of enormous size, only inferior to the monuments of Egypt[9] and Babylon. This is the tomb of Alyattes,[1] the fa-

[9] The colossal size of the monuments in Egypt is sufficiently known. They increased in size as the power of Egypt advanced. The great importance of proportion is at once felt in examining them; for though the columns, as in the Great Hall of Karnak, are so large—the centre avenue of twelve being 69 ft. 5 in. high, with the abacus and plinth, and the lateral ones (once 122 in number) being 45 ft. 8 in. high—they have a pleasing as well as a grand effect. Without that most important feature, proportion (now best understood in Italy), they would be monstrous and disagreeable. The taste for colossal statues is often supposed to be peculiarly Egyptian; but the Greeks had some as large as, and even larger than, any in Egypt, that of Olympian Jove being 60 ft. high, and the Colossus of Rhodes 105 ft. (See Flaxman, Lect. ix. p. 219.) Pausanias (iii. 19) mentions one of Apollo 30 cubits (45 feet) high.—[G. W.]



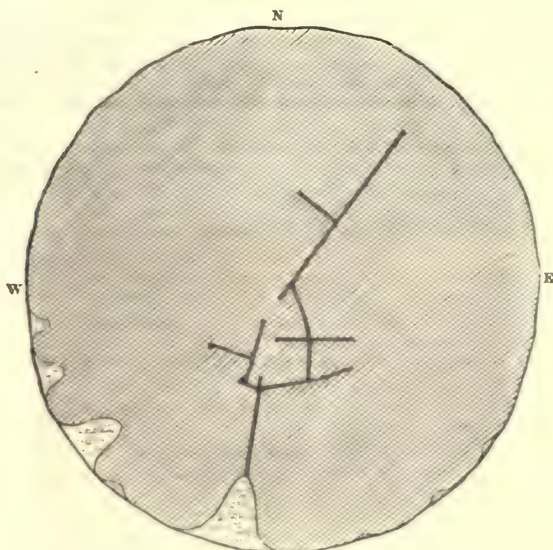
Tomb of Alyattes. Sepulchral Chamber.

[1] The following account of the external appearance of this monument, which still exists on the north bank of the Hermus, near the ruins of the ancient Sardis, is given by Mr. Hamilton (Asia Minor, vol. i. pp. 145–6):—

"One mile south of this spot we reached the principal tumulus, generally designated as the tomb of Halyattes. It took us about ten minutes to ride round its base, which would give it a circumference of nearly half a mile. Towards the north it consists of the natural rock, a white horizontally-stratified earthy limestone, cut away so as to appear as part of the structure. The upper portion is sand and gravel, apparently brought from the bed of the Hermus. Several deep ravines have been worn by time and weather in its sides, particularly on that to the south: we followed one of these as affording a better footing than the smooth grass, as we ascended to the summit. Here we found the remains of a foundation nearly eighteen feet square, on the north of which was a huge circular stone, ten feet in diameter, with a flat bottom and a raised edge or lip, evidently placed there as an ornament on the apex of the tumulus. Herodotus says that phalli were erected

ther of Crœsus, the base of which is formed of immense blocks of stone, the rest being a vast mound of earth. It was raised by the joint labour of the tradesmen, handicraftsmen, and courtesans of Sardis, and had at the top five stone pillars, which re-

upon the summit of some of these tumuli, of which this may be one; but Mr. Strickland supposes that a rude representation of the human face might be traced on its weather-beaten surface. In consequence of the ground sloping to the south, this tumulus appears much higher when viewed from the side of Sardis than from any other. It rises at an angle of about 22°, and is a conspicuous object on all sides."



Tomb of Alyattes. Ground-plan, showing excavations.

Recently the mound has been more exactly measured by M. Spiegenthal, Prussian Consul at Smyrna, who has also carefully explored the interior. His measurements strikingly agree with the rough estimate of Mr. Hamilton. He gives the average diameter of the mound as about 250 *metres*, or 281 yards, which produces a circumference of almost exactly half a mile. In the interior, into which he drove a gallery or tunnel, he was fortunate enough to discover a sepulchral chamber, composed of large blocks of white marble, highly polished, situated almost exactly in the centre of the tumulus. The chamber was somewhat more than 11 feet long, nearly 8 feet broad, and 7 feet high. It was empty, and contained no sign of any inscription or sarcophagus. The mound outside the chamber showed traces of many former excavations. It was pierced with galleries, and contained a great quantity of bones, partly human, partly those of animals; also a quantity of ashes, and abundant fragments of urns. No writing was discovered on any of these, or indeed in the whole mound, nor any fragment of metal with the exception of a nail, a relic of former explorers. Undoubtedly the chamber had been rifled at a remote period, and the mound had been used in post-Lydian times as a place of general sepulture. Hence the remains of urns, and the human bones and ashes. The animal bones are more difficult of explanation. There can be little doubt that the marble chamber

mained to my day, with inscriptions cut on them,[2] showing how much of the work was done by each class of workpeople. It appeared on measurement that the portion of the courtesans was the largest. The daughters of the common people in Lydia, one and all, pursue this traffic, wishing to collect money for their portions. They continue the practice till they marry; and are wont to contract themselves in marriage. The tomb is six stades and two plethra in circumference; its breadth is thirteen plethra. Close to the tomb is a large lake, which the Lydians say is never dry.[2a] They call it the Lake Gygæa.

94. The Lydians have very nearly the same customs as the Greeks, with the exception that these last do not bring up their girls in the same way. So far as we have any knowledge, they were the first nation to introduce the use of gold and silver coin,[3]

was the actual resting-place of the Lydian king. Its dimensions agree nearly with those of the sepulchral chamber of Cyrus. (See note to book i. ch. 214.) The tomb was probably plundered for the sake of the gold which it contained, either by the Greeks, or by some one of the many nations who have at different periods held possession of Asia Minor. It is worthy of remark that the internal construction of the mound was not found by M. Spiegenthal in any way to resemble that of the famous tomb of Tantalus, near Smyrna, explored by M. Texier. (See Texier's Asie Mineure, vol. ii. p. 252, et seq.; and for M. Spiegenthal's account of his excavations, see the Monatsbericht der Königl. Preussisch. Academie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Dec. 1854, pp. 700–702.)

Besides the barrow of Alyattes there are a vast number of ancient tumuli on the shore of the Gygæan lake. Three or four of these are scarcely inferior in size to that of Alyattes (see Chandler's Tour in Asia Minor, ch. 78, p. 302). These may be the tombs of the other Lydian kings.

[The monument in question, with a stone basement, and a mound above, is very similar to the constructed tombs of Etruria, and to some in Greece, as that of Menecrates at Corfu, and others. The tomb of Agamemnon at Mycenæ is also supposed by Canina to have been capped with a mound; and he is quite right in thinking it could not have been a 'treasury' (as it is called of Atreus), being outside the city. Indeed in the same locality are the remains of other similar monuments, not certainly so many treasuries, but tombs. The five οὖροι on that of Alyattes may have been like those on the tomb of Aruns at Albano, miscalled 'of the Horatii.'

The statement about the Lydian women is one of those for which Herodotus cannot escape censure.—G. W.]

[2] This is thought to be a very early mention of writing. Alyattes died B. C. 568; but even the Greeks had letters long before that time.—[G. W.]

[2a] This lake is still a remarkable feature in the scene. (Hamilton's Asia Minor, i. p. 145; Fellows, p. 290.) It is mentioned by Homer (Il. xx. 392).

[3] This statement was made also by Xenophanes of Colophon (Pollux. IX. vi. § 83), and is repeated by Eustathius (ad Dionys. Perieget. v. 840). Other writers ascribed the invention to Pheidon I. king of Argos (Etym. Magn. ad voc. ὀβελίσκος; Pollux, l. s. c.). According to Plutarch, Theseus coined money at Athens some centuries earlier (Thes. c. 25).

It is probable that the Greeks derived their first knowledge of coined money from the Asiatics with whom they came into contact in Asia Minor, either Lydians or Phrygians (a tradition mentioned in Pollux, l. s. c., made the latter people the inventors of coining). Pheidon, who is also said to have introduced the Æginetan standard of weights from Asia, may have been the first to strike coins in European Greece. The assertion of Plutarch cannot possibly be received. See Note B in Appendix to Book i.

and the first who sold goods by retail. They claim also the invention of all the games which are common to them with the Greeks. These they declare that they invented about the time when they colonised Tyrrhenia, an event of which they give the following account. In the days of Atys the son of Manes,[4] there was great scarcity through the whole land of Lydia. For some time the Lydians bore the affliction patiently, but finding that it did not pass away, they set to work to devise remedies for the evil. Various expedients were discovered by various persons; dice, and huckle-bones, and ball,[5] and all such games were invented, except tables, the invention of which they do not claim as theirs. The plan adopted against the famine was to engage in games one day so entirely as not to feel any craving

[4] A name resembling that of the King of Lydia, *Manes*, is found in the early traditions of many people. In Egypt the first king was *Menes*, of whom *Maneros*, the reputed inventor of music, was supposed to have been the son. Crete had its *Minos;* India its *Manu;* Germany its first *Man*, *Mannus;* and traces of the name occur in other early histories. See Plut. de Is. s. 24, who mentions the Phrygian Manis.—[G. W.]

[5] The ball was a very old game, and it was doubtless invented in Egypt, as Plato says. It is mentioned by Homer (Od. viii. 372), and it was known in Egypt long before his time, in the twelfth dynasty, or about 2000 B. C., as were the πεσσοὶ, ψῆφοι, *latrunculi*, *calculi*, or counters, used in a game resembling our draughts, with two sets of men, or "dogs," of different colours. They are also mentioned by Homer (Od. i. 107, and Plut. de Isid. s. 12, "πεττεία"). Athenæus (Deipn. i. 10, p. 19) reproves Herodotus for ascribing the invention of games to the Lydians. The Greek board, ἄβαξ, or abacus, had five lines, sometimes twelve, like that of the Romans, whence *duodecim scripta* was the name they gave to their *alveus*, or board, and the moves were sometimes decided by dice.

Greek dice, κύβοι, *tesseræ*, were like our own, with six numbers—6 and 1, 5 and 2, 4 and 3, being generally on the opposite sides. Instead of two, they threw three dice, whence τρὶς ἕξ, "three sixes," and κύβος was the "ace." They were probably at first only numbered on four sides, whence the name, corrupted from τέσσαρα. This was the case with some *astragali*, the 2 and 5 being omitted (Jul. Poll. Onom. ix. 7), but these were usually without numbers, and were simply the original knuckle-bones of sheep. They were also called "*tali*," and in playing were generally five (whence πενταλιθίζειν), a number, like the five lines on the old Greek abacus, taken from the fingers of the hand. Sometimes *astragali* were made, of the same form as the bone, of stone, metal, ivory, or glass; and I have one of these last from Athens, which is only 0⅝ in. long. The game is represented in a painting found at Herculaneum, and in sculpture; and Pliny (xxxiv. 8) mentions a famous group in bronze by Polycletus, of two naked boys, called the *astragalizontes*, then in the Atrium of Titus, evidently the same subject represented in stone at the British Museum, the loser biting his companion's arm. The games of *tali* and *tesseræ* were chiefly confined to children, women, and old men (Cic. de Senect. 16, ed. Par.). That of odd and even, "*par et impar*," was thought still more puerile, and is compared by Horace to riding on a stick, or "arundine longâ" (Sat. II. iii. 247). Beans, nuts, almonds, or coins were used in playing it; and another game is mentioned by J. Pollux (ix. 7) of throwing coins or bones within a ring, or into a hole, called τρόπα. Odd and even, and the modern Italian *mora*, were very ancient Egyptian games. In the latter the Romans were said "*micare digitis*." Cicero, de Div. ii. says, "quid enim sors est? idem propemodum quod micare, quod talos jacere, quod tesseras;" and in Off. iii., that *one with whom* "*in tenebris mices*," for an honest man, had become a proverb.—[G. W.]

for food, and the next day to eat and abstain from games. In this way they passed eighteen years. Still the affliction continued and even became more grievous. So the king determined to divide the nation in half, and to make the two portions draw lots, the one to stay, the other to leave the land. He would continue to reign over those whose lot it should be to remain behind; the emigrants should have his son Tyrrhênus for their leader. The lot was cast, and they who had to emigrate went down to Smyrna, and built themselves ships,[6] in which, after they had put on board all needful stores, they sailed away in search of new homes and better sustenance. After sailing past many countries they came to Umbria,[7] where they built cities for themselves, and fixed their residence. Their former name of Lydians they laid aside, and called themselves after the name of the king's son, who led the colony, Tyrrhenians.[8]

95. Thus far I have been engaged in showing how the Lydians were brought under the Persian yoke. The course of my history now compels me to inquire who this Cyrus was by whom the Lydian empire was destroyed, and by what means the Persians had become the lords paramount of Asia. And herein I shall follow those Persian authorities whose object it appears to be not to magnify the exploits of Cyrus, but to relate the simple truth. I know besides three ways in which the story of Cyrus is told, all differing from my own narrative.

The Assyrians had held the empire of Upper Asia for the space of five hundred and twenty years,[9] when the Medes set the example of revolt from their authority. They took arms for the recovery of their freedom, and fought a battle with the

[6] Heeren understands this passage to assert that the Lydians obtained vessels from the Greeks of Smyrna, and builds upon it the conclusion that the Lydians were at no time a seafaring people. (Asiat. Nat. Vol. i. p. 106. E. T.) But μηχανᾶσθαι has never the sense of procuring *from another*. Where it means procuring at all, it is always procuring by one's own skill and enterprise. (Cf. Sophocl. Phil. 295. Xen. Cyrop. III. ii. § 15.)

[7] The Umbria of Herodotus, as Niebuhr observes (Hist. of Rome, vol. i. p. 142. E. T.) "is of large and indefinite extent." It appears to include almost the whole of Northern Italy. It is from the region above the Umbrians that the Alpis and the Carpis flow into the Danube (iv. 49). This would seem to assign to them the modern Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, and to place them on the Adriatic. The arrival of the Tyrrhenians on their shores extends them to the opposite coast, and makes Tuscany also a part of their country. Herodotus knows of no Italian nations except the Tyrrhenians, the Umbrians, the Venetians (Heneti), the Œnotrians, and the Messapians.

[8] The whole story of the Lydian colonization of Etruria is considered in the first Essay appended to this book.

[9] The 520 years of Herodotus in this place undoubtedly represent the (more exact) 526 of Berosus. (Fr. 11.) The entire subject of Assyrian Chronology is discussed in the Critical Essays, Essay vii.

Assyrians, in which they behaved with such gallantry as to shake off the yoke of servitude, and to become a free people. Upon their success the other nations also revolted and regained their independence.

96. Thus the nations over that whole extent of country obtained the blessing of self-government, but they fell again under the sway of kings, in the manner which I will now relate. There was a certain Mede named Deïoces, son of Phraortes, a man of much wisdom, who had conceived the desire of obtaining to himself the sovereign power. In furtherance of his ambition, therefore, he formed and carried into execution the following scheme. As the Medes at that time dwelt in scattered villages without any central authority, and lawlessness in consequence prevailed throughout the land, Deïoces, who was already a man of mark in his own village, applied himself with greater zeal and earnestness than ever before to the practice of justice among his fellows. It was his conviction that justice and injustice are engaged in perpetual war with one another. He therefore began this course of conduct, and presently the men of his village, observing his integrity, chose him to be the arbiter of all their disputes. Bent on obtaining the sovereign power, he showed himself an honest and an upright judge, and by these means gained such credit with his fellow-citizens as to attract the attention of those who lived in the surrounding villages. They had long been suffering from unjust and oppressive judgments; so that, when they heard of the singular uprightness of Deïoces, and of the equity of his decisions, they joyfully had recourse to him in the various quarrels and suits that arose, until at last they came to put confidence in no one else.

97. The number of complaints brought before him continually increasing, as people learnt more and more the fairness of his judgments, Deïoces, feeling himself now all important, announced that he did not intend any longer to hear causes, and appeared no more in the seat in which he had been accustomed to sit and administer justice. "It did not square with his interests," he said, "to spend the whole day in regulating other men's affairs to the neglect of his own." Hereupon robbery and lawlessness broke out afresh, and prevailed through the country even more than heretofore; wherefore the Medes assembled from all quarters, and held a consultation on the state of affairs. The speakers, as I think, were chiefly friends of Deïoces. "We cannot possibly," they said, "go on living in this country if things continue as they now are; let us therefore set a king over us, that so the land may be well governed, and we ourselves

may be able to attend to our own affairs, and not be forced to quit our country on account of anarchy." The assembly was persuaded by these arguments, and resolved to appoint a king.

98. It followed to determine who should be chosen to the office. When this debate began the claims of Deïoces and his praises were at once in every mouth; so that presently all agreed that he should be king. Upon this he required a palace to be built for him suitable to his rank, and a guard to be given him for his person. The Medes complied, and built him a strong and large palace,[1] on a spot which he himself pointed out, and likewise gave him liberty to choose himself a body-guard from the whole nation.[2] Thus settled upon the throne, he further required them to build a single great city, and, disregarding the petty towns in which they had formerly dwelt, make the new capital the object of their chief attention. The Medes were again obedient, and built the city now called Agbatana,[3] the

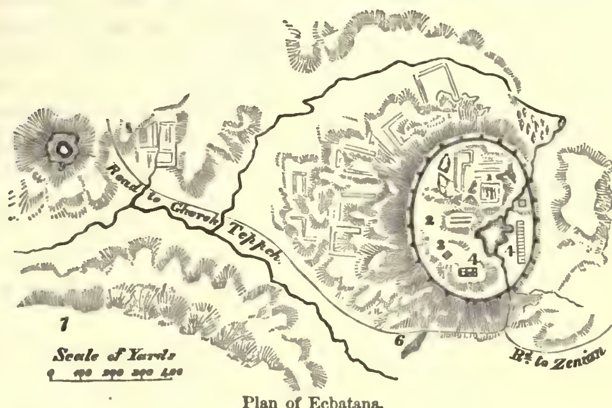
[1] The royal place at Agbatana is said by Polybius to have been 7 stades (more than four-fifths of a mile) in circumference (x. xxvii. 9); but his description refers probably to the capital of *Media Magna*, rather than to the (so-called) city of Deïoces.

[2] I cannot refrain from transcribing the excellent comment of Mr. Grote on this passage. He observes:—"Of the real history of Deïoces we cannot be said to know anything; for the interesting narrative of Herodotus presents to us in all points Grecian society and ideas, not Oriental: it is like the discussion which the historian ascribes to the seven Persian conspirators, previous to the accession of Darius, whether they shall adopt an oligarchical, a democratical, or a monarchical form of government; or it may be compared to the Cyropædia of Xenophon, who beautifully and elaborately works out an ideal which Herodotus exhibits in brief outline. The story of Deïoces describes what may be called the despot's progress, first as candidate, and afterwards as fully established . . Deïoces begins like a clever Greek among other Greeks, equal, free, and disorderly; he is athirst for despotism from the beginning, and is forward in manifesting his rectitude and justice, 'as beseems a candidate for command;' he passes into a despot by the public vote, and receives what to the Greeks was the great symbol and instrument of such transition, a personal body-guard; he ends by organising both the machinery and the etiquette of a despotism in the Oriental fashion, like the Cyrus of Xenophon; only that both these authors maintain the superiority of their Grecian ideal over Oriental reality, by ascribing both to Deïoces and Cyrus a just, systematic, and laborious administration, such as their own experience did not present to them in Asia." (Vol. iii. pp. 307–308. See also Note [2] of the latter page.)

[3] I have retained the form Agbatana, given by Herodotus, in place of the more usual Ecbatana of other authors, as being nearer to the Persian original, which (in the inscriptions) is Hagmatána. (Behistun. Inscrip. Col. II. Par. 13.) It is curious that the Greeks should have caught the orthography so nearly, and yet have been so mistaken as to the accent of the word. There cannot be a doubt that the natives called the city Hagmatán, according to the analogy of the modern Isfahán, Teherán, Hamadán, Behistún, &c. Yet the Greeks said Agbátana, as is evident both from the quantity and the accent of the word. It is written Ἀγβάτανα, not Ἀγβατάνα, and in the poets the last three syllables are short. Cf. Æsch. Pers. 16. Aristoph. Acharn. 64.

[There is every reason to believe that the original form of the name Hellenised as Ἀγβάτανα or Ἐκβάτανα was Hagmatán, and that it was of Arian etymology, having been first used by the Arian Medes. It would signify in the language of the

walls of which are of great size and strength, rising in circles one within the other. The plan of the place is, that each of the walls should out-top the one beyond it by the battlements. The nature of the ground, which is a gentle hill, favours this arrangement in some degree, but it was mainly effected by art.



Plan of Ecbatana.

EXPLANATION.

1. Remains of a Fire-Temple.
2. Ruined Mosque.
3. Ancient Buildings with shafts and capitals.
4. Ruins of the Palace of Abakai Khan.
5. Cemetery.
6. Ridge of Rock called "the Dragon."
7. Hill called "Tawilah," or "the Stable."
8. Ruins of Kalisiah.
9. Rocky hill of Zindani-Soleiman.

country "the place of assemblage," being compounded of *ham* "with," and *gama* "to go." The Chaldæan form of Akhmatha, אַחְמְתָא, which occurs in Ezra (vi. 2), may thus be regarded as a corruption of the Arian name. It may further be of interest to note that there is no trace of such a name among the Median cities enumerated in the inscriptions of Sargon.—H. C. R.]

Two descriptions of the town are worth comparing with that of Herodotus. In the second Fargard of the Vendidad, Jemshid, it is said, "erected a Var or fortress, sufficiently large, and formed of squared blocks of stone; he assembled in the place a vast population, and stocked the surrounding country with cattle for their use. He caused the water of the great fortress to flow forth abundantly. And within the Var, or fortress, he erected a lofty palace, encompassed with walls, and laid it out in many separate divisions, and there was no high place, either in front or rear, to command and overawe the fortress." (Zendavesta. Vendidad. Farg. II.)

The other description is more exact in its details. "Arphaxad," we are told in the book of Judith, "built in Ecbatana walls round about of stones hewn three cubits broad and six cubits long, and made the height of the wall seventy cubits, and the breadth thereof fifty cubits: and set the towers thereof upon the gates of it, an hundred cubits high, and the breadth thereof in the foundation sixty cubits: and he made the gates thereof, even gates that were raised to the height of seventy cubits, and the breadth of them was forty cubits, for the going forth of his armies, and for the setting in array of his footmen." (i. 2–4.)

Col. Rawlinson long since published his opinion that the site of the Agbatana ascribed to Deïoces was at Takhti-Soleïmán, in Media Atropatêné. The nature of the situation, and its geographical position, are far more in accordance with the notices of Agbatana contained in Herodotus, than those of Hamadán, the Agbatana of later times. The country to the north of Agbatana towards the Euxine, Herod-

The number of the circles is seven, the royal palace and the treasuries standing within the last. The circuit of the outer wall is very nearly the same with that of Athens. Of this wall the battlements are white,[4] of the next black, of the third

otus says, is very mountainous and covered with forests (i. 110). This is true and pertinent if said of Takhti-Soleïmán, but either untrue or unmeaning if said of Hamadán, which is far removed from the Euxine, and is in the more level part of the ancient Media. Again, the southern Ecbatana was situated on the declivity of the great mountain of Orontes (the modern Elwend) which could not possibly be called a κολωνὸς, and which does not admit of being fortified in the mode described by Herodotus: whereas the conical hill of Takhti-Soleïmán with its remains of walls and other ruins, very nearly corresponds to the description of our author. (See the subjoined plan.) The whole subject is fully treated in a paper communicated by Colonel Rawlinson to the Geographical Society, and published in their Journal. Vol. x. Part i. Art. i.

[One of the most important arguments in favour of the identification of Takhti-Soleïmán with the ancient Agbatana, is the fact that Moses of Chorené, in speaking of the city which then occupied the site in question, and which was usually named *Ganzac Shahasdan*, calls it specifically "the second Ecbatana, or the seven-walled city." Mos. Chor. ii. 84.—H. C. R.]

[4] "This is manifestly a fable of Sabæan origin, the seven colours mentioned by Herodotus being precisely those employed by the Orientals to denote the seven



Birs Nimrud, Babylon.

scarlet, of the fourth blue, of the fifth orange; all these are coloured with paint. The two last have their battlements coated respectively with silver and gold.[5]

99. All these fortifications Deïoces caused to be raised for himself and his own palace. The people were required to build their dwellings outside the circuit of the walls. When the town was finished, he proceeded to arrange the ceremonial. He al-

great heavenly bodies, or the seven climates in which they revolve. Thus Nizami, in his poem of the Heft Peïher, describes a seven-bodied palace, built by Bahrám Gúr, nearly in the same terms as Herodotus. The palace dedicated to Saturn, he says, was black—that of Jupiter orange, or more strictly sandal-wood colour (Sandalí)—of Mars, scarlet—of the sun, golden—of Venus, white—of Mercury, azure—and of the moon, green—a hue which is applied by the Orientals to silver." (Journal of Geogr. Soc. Vol. x. Part i. p. 127.)

The great temple of Nebuchadnezzar at Borsippa (the modern *Birs-i-Nimrud*) was a building in seven platforms coloured in a similar way. Herodotus has deranged the order of the colours, which ought to be either that dependent on the planetary distances, "black, orange, scarlet, gold, white, blue, silver," as at the Birs, or "black, white, orange, blue, scarlet, silver, gold," if the order of the days dedicated to the planets were taken. It may be suspected that Herodotus had received the numbers in the latter order, and accidentally reversed the places of black and white, and of scarlet and orange.

[There is, however, no evidence to show that the Medes, or even the Babylonians, were acquainted with that order of the planets which regulated the nomenclature of the days of the week. The series in question, indeed must have originated with a people who divided the day and night into 60 hours instead of 24; and, as far as we know at present, this system of horary division was peculiar in ancient times to the Hindoo calendar. The method by which the order is eliminated is simply as follows:—The planets in due succession from the Moon to Saturn were supposed to rule the hours of the day in a recurring series of sevens, and the day was named after the planet who happened to be the regent of the first hour. If we assign then the first hour of the first day to the Moon, we find that the 61st hour, which commenced the second day, belonged to the 5th planet, or Mars; the 121st hour to the 2nd, or Mercury; the 181st to the 6th, or Jupiter; the 241st to the 3rd, or Venus; the 301st to the 7th, or Saturn; and the 361st to the 4th, or the Sun. The popular belief (which first appears in Dion Cassius) that the series in question refers to a horary division of 24 is incorrect; for in that case, although the order is the same, the succession is inverted. One thing indeed seems to be certain, that if the Chaldæans were the inventors of the hebdomadal nomenclature, they must have borrowed their earliest astronomical science from the same source which supplied the Hindoos; for it could not have been by accident that a horary division of 60 was adopted by both races.—H. C. R.]

[5] There is reason to believe that this account, though it may be greatly exaggerated, is not devoid of a foundation. The temple at Borsippa (see the preceding note) appears to have had its fourth and seventh stages actually coated with gold and silver respectively. And it seems certain that there was often in Oriental towns a most lavish display of the two precious metals. The sober Polybius relates that, at the southern Agbatana, the capital of Media Magna, the entire woodwork of the royal palace, including beams, ceilings, and pillars, was covered with plates either of gold or silver, and that the whole building was roofed with silver tiles. The temple of Anaitis was adorned in a similar way. (Polyb. x. xxvii. § 10–12.) Consequently, though Darius, when he retreated before Alexander, carried off from Media gold and silver to the amount of 7000 talents (more than £1,700,000) and though the town was largely plundered by the soldiers of Alexander and of Seleucus Nicator, still there remained tiles and plating enough to produce to Antiochus the Great on his occupation of the place a sum of very nearly 4000 talents, or £975,000 sterling! (See Arrian. Exp. Alex. iii. 19. Polyb. l. s. c.)

lowed no one to have direct access to the person of the king, but made all communication pass through the hands of messengers, and forbade the king to be seen by his subjects. He also made it an offence for any one whatsoever to laugh or spit in the royal presence. This ceremonial, of which he was the first inventor, Deïoces established for his own security, fearing that his compeers, who were brought up together with him, and were of as good family as he, and no whit inferior to him in manly qualities, if they saw him frequently would be pained at the sight, and would therefore be likely to conspire against him; whereas if they did not see him, they would think him quite a different sort of being from themselves.

100. After completing these arrangements, and firmly settling himself upon the throne, Deïoces continued to administer justice with the same strictness as before. Causes were stated in writing, and sent in to the king, who passed his judgment upon the contents, and transmitted his decisions to the parties concerned: besides which he had spies and eavesdroppers in all parts of his dominions, and if he heard of any act of oppression, he sent for the guilty party, and awarded him the punishment meet for his offence.

101. Thus Deïoces collected the Medes into a nation, and ruled over them alone. Now these are the tribes of which they consist: the Busæ, the Parêtacêni, the Struchates, the Arizanti, the Budii, and the Magi.[6]

102. Having reigned three-and-fifty years, Deïoces was at his death succeeded by his son Phraortes. This prince, not satisfied with a dominion which did not extend beyond the single nation of the Medes, began by attacking the Persians; and marching an army into their country, brought them under the Median yoke before any other people. After this success, being now at the head of two nations, both of them powerful, he proceeded to conquer Asia, overrunning province after province. At last he engaged in war with the Assyrians—those Assyrians, I mean, to whom Nineveh belonged,[7] who were formerly the lords of Asia. At present they stood alone by the revolt and desertion of their

[6] Mr. Grote speaks of the Median tribes as *coinciding in number* with the fortified circles *in the town* of Agbatana, and thence concludes that Herodotus conceived the seven circles as intended each for a distinct tribe (Hist. of Greece, vol. iii. p. 306). But the number of the Median tribes is not seven but *six;* and the circles are not *in the town*, but around the palace. Herodotus says expressly that the people dwelt outside the outermost circle.

[7] Herodotus intends here to distinguish the Assyrians of Assyria Proper from the Babylonians, whom he calls also Assyrians (i. 178, 188, &c.). Against the latter he means to say this expedition was not directed.

allies, yet still their internal condition was as flourishing as ever. Phraortes attacked them, but perished in the expedition with the greater part of his army, after having reigned over the Medes two-and-twenty years.

103. On the death of Phraortes[8] his son Cyaxares ascended the throne. Of him it is reported that he was still more warlike than any of his ancestors, and that he was the first who gave organisation to an Asiatic army, dividing the troops into companies, and forming distinct bodies of the spearmen, the archers, and the cavalry, who before his time had been mingled in one mass, and confused together. He it was who fought against the Lydians on the occasion when the day was changed suddenly into night, and who brought under his dominion the whole of Asia beyond the Halys.[9] This prince, collecting together all the nations which owned his sway, marched against Nineveh, resolved to avenge his father, and cherishing a hope that he might succeed in taking the town. A battle was fought, in which the Assyrians suffered a defeat, and Cyaxares had already begun the siege of the place, when a numerous horde of Scyths, under their king Madyes,[1] son of Prôtothyes, burst into Asia in pursuit of the Cimmerians whom they had driven out of Europe, and entered the Median territory.

104. The distance from the Palus Mæôtis to the river Pha-

[8] Phraortes has been thought by some to be the Arphaxad of the Book of Judith. A fanciful resemblance between the names, and the fact that Phraortes is the only Median monarch said by any historian of repute to have been slain in battle with the Assyrians, are the sole grounds for this identification. But the Book of Judith is a pure historical romance, which one is surprised to find critical writers at the present day treating as serious. (See Clinton's F. H., vol. i. p. 275; Bosanquet's Fall of Nineveh, p. 16.) The following are a few of the anomalies which condemn it.

The Jews are recently returned from the captivity (ch. iv. ver. 13, 18-19). Joacim (Joiakim) is the High Priest. He was the son of Jeshuah, and contemporary with Ezra and Nehemiah (Neh. xii. 10-26). The date of the events narrated should therefore be about B. C. 450-30, in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus. Yet, 1. Nineveh is standing, and is the capital of Nabuchodonosor's kingdom (i. 1). 2. Assyria is the great monarchy of the time (i. 7-10). 3. Persia is subject to Assyria (i. 7). 4. Egypt is also subject (i. 9-10). Media, however, is an independent kingdom under Arphaxad, who as the builder of the walls of Ecbatana should be Deïoces or Cyaxares.

The book appears to be the work of a thoroughly Hellenized Jew, and could not therefore have been written before the time of Alexander. It is a mere romance, and has been assigned with much probability to the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (Grotius in the Preface to his Annotations on the Book of Judith; Works, vol. i. p. 578). It has many purely Greek ideas in it, as the mention of the Giants, the sons of the Titans (ch. xvi. ver. 7), and the crowning with a chaplet of olive (ch. xv. ver. 13). Probably also the notion of a demand for earth and water (ii. 7) came to the writer from his acquaintance with Greek history. At least there is no trace of its having been an Assyrian custom.

[9] Vide supra, chapter 74.

[1] According to Strabo, Mayds, or Madyes, was a Cimmerian prince who drove

sis and the Colchians is thirty days' journey for a lightly-equipped traveller.[2] From Colchis to cross into Media does not take long—there is only a single intervening nation, the Saspirians,[3] passing whom you find yourself in Media. This however was not the road followed by the Scythians, who turned out of the straight course, and took the upper route, which is much longer, keeping the Caucasus upon their right.[4] The Scythians, having thus invaded Media, were opposed by the Medes, who gave them battle, but, being defeated, lost their empire. The Scythians became masters of Asia.

105. After this they marched forward with the design of invading Egypt. When they had reached Palestine, however, Psammetichus the Egyptian king[5] met them with gifts and pray-

the Treres out of Asia (i. p. 91). The true nature of the Scythian war of Cyaxares is considered in the Critical Essays, Essay iii. § 9.

[2] From the mouth of the Palus Mæotis, or Sea of Azof, to the river *Rion* (the ancient Phasis) is a distance of about 270 geographical miles, or but little more than the distance (240 geog. miles) from the gulf of Issus to the Euxine, which was called (ch. 72) "a journey of *five* days for a lightly equipped traveller." We may learn from this that Herodotus did not intend the day's journey for a measure of length. He related the reports which had reached him. He was told that a man might cross from Issus to the Black Sea in five days, which perhaps was possible, and that it would take a month to reach the Sea of Azof from Colchis, which, considering the enormous difficulties of the route, is not improbable. It is questionable whether the coast line can ever have been practicable at all. If not, the communication must have been circuitous, and have included the passage of the Caucasus, either by the well-known Pylæ Caucaseæ between Tiflis and Mozdok, or by some unknown pass west of that route, of still greater altitude and difficulty. In either case the journey might well occupy 30 days.

[3] The Saspirians are mentioned again as lying north of Media (ch. 110), and as separating Media from Colchis (iv. 37). They are joined with the Mati̇ĕni and the Alarodii in the satrapies of Darius (iii. 94), with the Alarodii and the Colchians in the army of Xerxes (vii. 79). They appear to have occupied the upper valleys of the *Kur* (Cyrus) and its tributary streams, or nearly the modern Russian province of Georgia. Ritter (Erdkunde von Asien, vol. vi. p. 92) conjectures their identity with the Saparda of the monuments. They are perhaps the same as the later Iberi, with whom their name will connect etymologically, especially if we consider *Sapiri* to be the true form. (Σάπειροι, Σίβειροι, Ἴβηροι.) They probably belonged, ethnically, to the same family as the ancient Armenians. (See the Critical Essays, Essay xi., On the Ethnic Affinities of the Nations of Western Asia.)

[4] Herodotus, clearly, conceives the Cimmerians to have coasted the Black Sea, and appears to have thought that the Scythians entered Asia by the route of Daghestán, along the shores of the Caspian. He does not seem to have been aware of the existence of the Pylæ Caucaseæ. As the eastern shore of the Black Sea is *certainly* impracticable for an army, the Cimmerians, if they entered Asia by a track west of that said to have been followed by the Scythians, can only have gained admittance by the Pylæ.

It is always to be borne in mind that there *are but two* known routes by which the Caucasus can be crossed, that of Mozdok, traversed by Ker Porter in 1817, which is kept open by Russian military posts, and still forms the regular line of communication between Russia and the trans-Caucasian provinces, and that of Daghestán or Derbend along the western shores of the Caspian, which, according to De Hell, is "much more impracticable than that by Mozdok." (Travels, p. 323, note. Eng. Tr.) This latter assertion may, however, be questioned.

[5] According to Herodotus, Psammetichus was engaged for 29 years in the siege

ers, and prevailed on them to advance no further. On their return, passing through Ascalon, a city of Syria,[6] the greater part of them went their way without doing any damage; but some few who lagged behind pillaged the temple of Celestial Venus.[7] I have inquired and find that the temple at Ascalon is the most ancient of all the temples to this goddess; for the one in Cyprus, as the Cyprians themselves admit, was built in imitation of it; and that in Cythêra was erected by the Phœnicians, who belong to this part of Syria. The Scythians who plundered the temple were punished by the goddess with the female sickness,[8] which still attaches to their posterity. They themselves confess that they are afflicted with the disease for this reason, and travellers who visit Scythia can see what sort of a disease it is. Those who suffer from it are called Enarees.[9]

106. The dominion of the Scythians over Asia lasted eight-and-twenty years, during which time their insolence and oppression spread ruin on every side. For besides the regular tribute, they exacted from the several nations additional imposts, which they fixed at pleasure; and further, they scoured the

of Azôtus (Ashdod), ii. 157. This would account for his *meeting* the Scythians in *Syria*.

[Justin (ii. 3) speaks of an Egyptian king, Vexoris, who retired from before the Scythians, when Egypt was only saved by its marshes from invasion. The name Vexoris must be Bocchoris, though the æra assigned to Vexoris does not agree with his.—G. W.]

[6] Ascalon was one of the most ancient cities of the Philistines (Judges i. 18, xiv. 19, &c.). According to Xanthus it was founded by a certain Ascalus, the general of a Lydian king (Fr. 23); but this is very improbable. It lay on the coast between Ashdod and Gaza, and was distant about 40 miles from Jerusalem (cf. Scyl. Peripl. p. 102; Strab. xvi. p. 1079; Plin. H. N., v. 13, &c.). By Strabo's time it had become a place of small consequence. At the era of the Crusades it revived, but is now again little more than a village. It retains its ancient name almost unchanged.

[Ascalon is first mentioned in cuneiform inscriptions of the time of Sennacherib, having been reduced by him in the famous campaign of his third year.—H. C. R.]

[7] Herodotus probably intends the Syrian goddess Atergatis or Dercĕto, who was worshipped at Ascalon and elsewhere in Syria, under the form of a mermaid, or figure half woman half fish (cf. Xanth. Fr. 11, Plin. H. N., v. 23, Strab. xvi. p. 1062, 1113, &c.). Her temple at Ascalon is mentioned by Diod. Sic. (ii. 4). She may be identified with Astarté, and therefore with the Venus of the Greeks (cf. Selden, De Diis Syris, Syntagm. II. ch. iii.)

[8] This malady is thus described by Hippocrates, a younger contemporary of Herodotus, who himself visited Scythia:—"εὐνουχίαι γίνονται, καὶ γυναικεῖα ἐργάζονται, καὶ ὡς αἱ γυναῖκες διαλέγονταί τε ὁμοίως καλεῦνταί τε οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἀνανδριεῖς." (De Aer. Aq. et. Loc. ch. vi. § 108.) This impotency Hippocrates ascribes to venesection, but he mentions that the natives believed it to be a judgment from the gods. It is said that traces of the disease are still found among the inhabitants of Southern Russia. See Potock (Histoire Primitive des Peuples de la Russie, p. 175), and Reineggs (Allgem. topograph. Beschreib. d. Caucas. I. p. 269).

[9] Bähr (in loc.) regards this word as Greek, and connects it with ἐναίρω and ἔναρα, giving it the sense of "virilitate *spoliati*;" but I agree with Larcher and Blakesley that it is in all probability Scythic.

country and plundered every one of whatever they could. At length Cyaxares and the Medes invited the greater part of them to a banquet, and made them drunk with wine, after which they were all massacred. The Medes then recovered their empire, and had the same extent of dominion as before. They took Nineveh—I will relate how in another history[1]—and conquered all Assyria except the district of Babylonia. After this Cyaxares died, having reigned over the Medes, if we include the time of the Scythian rule, forty years.

107. Astyages, the son of Cyaxares, succeeded to the throne. He had a daughter who was named Mandané, concerning whom he had a wonderful dream. He dreamt that from her such a stream of water flowed forth as not only to fill his capital, but to flood the whole of Asia.[2] This vision he laid before such of the Magi as had the gift of interpreting dreams, who expounded its meaning to him in full, whereat he was greatly terrified. On this account, when his daughter was now of ripe age, he would not give her in marriage to any of the Medes who were of suitable rank, lest the dream should be accomplished, but he married her to a Persian of good family indeed,[3] but of a quiet

[1] The question whether the 'Ασσύριοι λόγοι, promised here, and again in chapter 184, were ever written or no, has long engaged the attention of the learned. Isaac Voss, Des Vignoles, Bouhier (Recherches, ch. i. p. 7), and Larcher (in loc.), have maintained the affirmative; Bähr, Fabricius, Gerard Voss, Dahlmann, and Jäger (Disput. Herodot. p. 15) the negative. The passage of Aristotle (Hist. An. VIII. xviii.) which affirms that Herodotus, in his account of the siege of Nineveh, represented an eagle as drinking, would be decisive of the question if the reading were certain. But some MSS. have "'Ησίοδος ἠγνόει τοῦτο." There are, however, several objections to this reading. For, 1. Hesiod, according to the best authorities, died before the siege of Nineveh. 2. Neither he, nor any writer of his age, composed poems on historical subjects. 3. There is no known work of Hesiod in which such a subject as the siege of Nineveh could well have been mentioned. On the other hand, the siege of that city is exactly one of the events of which Herodotus had promised to make mention in his Assyrian annals. These are strong grounds for preferring the reading of 'Ηρόδοτος to that of 'Ησίοδος in the disputed passage. It is certainly remarkable that no other distinct citation from the work is to be found among the remains of antiquity, and Larcher appears right in concluding from this that the work perished early, probably, however, not before the time of Cephalion (B. C. 120), who is said by Syncellus (i. p. 315, ed. Dindorf.) to have followed Hellanicus, Ctesias, *and Herodotus* in his Assyrian history. From Cephalion may have come those curious notices in John of Malala (ed. Dind. p. 26) concerning the Scythic character of the dress, language, and laws of the Parthians, which are expressly ascribed by him to Herodotus, but do not appear in the work of Herodotus which has come down to us.

[2] Nicolas of Damascus assigns this dream to Argosté, who, according to him, was the mother of Cyrus. (Fragm. Hist. Gr. III. p. 399, Fr. 66.)

[3] Cambyses, the father of Cyrus, appears to have been not only a man of good family, but of royal race—the hereditary monarch of his nation, which, when it became subject to the Medes, still retained its line of native kings, the descendants of Achæmenes (Hakhámanish). In the Behistun Inscription (col. 1, par. 4) Darius carries up his genealogy to Achæmenes, and asserts that "eight of his race had

temper, whom he looked on as much inferior to a Mede of even middle condition.

108. Thus Cambyses (for so was the Persian called) wedded Mandané,[4] and took her to his home, after which, in the very first year, Astyages saw another vision. He fancied that a vine grew from the womb of his daughter, and overshadowed the whole of Asia. After this dream, which he submitted also to the interpreters, he sent to Persia and fetched away Mandané, who was now with child and was not far from her time. On her arrival he set a watch over her, intending to destroy the child to which she should give birth; for the Magian interpreters had expounded the vision to foreshow that the offspring of his daughter would reign over Asia in his stead. To guard against this, Astyages, as soon as Cyrus was born, sent for Harpagus, a man of his own house and the most faithful of the Medes, to whom he was wont to entrust all his affairs, and addressed him thus—"Harpagus, I beseech thee neglect not the business with which I am about to charge thee; neither betray thou the interests of thy lord for others' sake, lest thou bring destruction on thine own head at some future time. Take the child born

been kings before himself—he was the ninth." Cambyses, the father of Cyrus, Cyrus himself, and Cambyses the son of Cyrus, are probably included in the eight. Thus Xenophon (Cyrop. I. ii. 1) is right, for once, when he says, "Πατρὸς λέγεται ὁ Κῦρος γενέσθαι Καμβύσου, Περσῶν βασιλέως."

[An inscription has been recently found upon a brick at *Senkereh* in lower Chaldæa, in which Cyrus the Great calls himself "the son of Cambyses, the powerful king." This then is decisive as to the royalty of the line of Cyrus the Great, and is confirmatory of the impression, derived from other evidence, that when Darius speaks of eight Achæmenian kings having preceded him, he alludes to the ancestry of Cyrus the Great, and not to his own immediate paternal line. See note to the word "Achæmenidæ" in ch. 125.—H. C. R.]

When Æschylus (Pers. 765–785) makes Darius the sixth of his line, he counts from Cyaxares, the founder of the great monarchy *co-extensive with Asia* (ἕν' ἄνδρ' ἁπάσης 'Ασίδος μηλοτρόφου ταγεῖν), to which Darius had succeeded. The first king (Μῆδος—ὁ πρῶτος ἡγεμὼν στρατοῦ) is Cyaxares, the next (ἐκείνου παῖς) Astyages, the third Cyrus, the fourth (Κυροῦ παῖς), Cambyses, the fifth Smerdis the Mage (Μάρδος—αἰσχύνη πάτρᾳ). There is no discrepancy at all (as Mr. Grote appears to imagine, vol. iv. p. 248) between the accounts of Æschylus and Herodotus.

[4] Whether there was really any connexion of blood between Cyrus and Astyages, or whether (as Ctesias asserted, Persic. Excerpt. § 2) they were no way related to one another, will perhaps never be determined. That Astyages should marry his daughter to the tributary Persian king is in itself probable enough; but the Medes would be likely to invent such a tale, even without any foundation for it, just as the Egyptians did with respect to Cambyses their conqueror, who was, according to them, the son of Cyrus by Nitêtis, a daughter of Apries (vid. infr. iii. 2); or as both the Egyptians and the later Persians did with regard to Alexander, who was called by the former the son of Nectanebus (Mos. Chor. ii. 12); and who is boldly claimed by the latter, in the Shah-Nameh, as the son of Dârab, king of Persia, by a daughter of Failakus (Φίλιππος, Φίλικκος, Failakus) king of Macedon. The vanity of the conquered race is soothed by the belief that the conqueror is not altogether a foreigner.

of Mandané my daughter; carry him with thee to thy home and slay him there. Then bury him as thou wilt." "Oh! king," replied the other, "never in time past did Harpagus disoblige thee in anything, and be sure that through all future time he will be careful in nothing to offend. If therefore it be thy will that this thing be done, it is for me to serve thee with all diligence."

109. When Harpagus had thus answered, the child was given into his hands, clothed in the garb of death, and he hastened weeping to his home. There on his arrival he found his wife, to whom he told all that Astyages had said. "What then," said she, "is it now in thy heart to do?" "Not what Astyages requires," he answered; "no, he may be madder and more frantic still than he is now, but I will not be the man to work his will, or lend a helping hand to such a murder as this. Many things forbid my slaying him. In the first place the boy is my own kith and kin; and next Astyages is old, and has no son.[5] If then when he dies the crown should go to his daughter—that daughter whose child he now wishes to slay by my hand—what remains for me but danger of the fearfullest kind? For my own safety, indeed, the child must die; but some one belonging to Astyages must take his life, not I or mine."

110. So saying he sent off a messenger to fetch a certain Mitradates,[6] one of the herdsmen of Astyages, whose pasturages he knew to be the fittest for his purpose, lying as they did among mountains infested with wild beasts. This man was married to one of the king's female slaves, whose Median name was Spaco, which is in Greek Cyno, since in the Median tongue the word "Spaca" means a bitch.[7] The mountains, on the

[5] Xenophon (Cyrop. I. iv. § 20) gives Astyages a son, whom he calls Cyaxares. The inscriptions tend to confirm Herodotus; for when *Frawartish* (Phraortes) claims the crown in right of his descent, it is not as son of Astyages, but as "descended from Cyaxares." He goes back to the founder of the monarchy, as if the line of Astyages had become extinct. (See Behist. Ins. col. 2, par. 5.)

[6] Ctesias seems to have called this person Atradates. There can be little doubt that the long narrative in Nicolas of Damascus (Fragm. Hist. Græc., vol. iii. p. 397–406) came from him. According to this, Cyrus was the son of a certain Atradates, a Mardian, whom poverty had driven to become a robber, and of Argosté (qy. Artosté?), a woman who kept goats. He took service under some of the menials employed about the palace of Astyages, and rose to be the king's cupbearer. By degrees he grew into such favour that Astyages made his father satrap of Persia, and entrusted all matters of importance to himself.

[Atradates may fairly be considered to be a mere Median synonym for the Persian Mitradates—the name signifying "given to the sun," and *Atra* or *Adar* (whence Atropatênê) being equivalent in Median, as a title of that luminary (or of fire, which was the usual emblem of his worship) to the Persian *Mitra* or *Mihr*.—H. C. R.]

[7] A root "spak" or "svak" is common for "dog" in the Indo-European lan-

skirts of which his cattle grazed lay to the north of Agbatana, towards the Euxine. That part of Media which borders on the Saspirians is an elevated tract, very mountainous, and covered with forests, while the rest of the Median territory is entirely level ground. On the arrival of the herdsman, who came at the hasty summons, Harpagus said to him—"Astyages requires thee to take this child and lay him in the wildest part of the hills, where he will be sure to die speedily. And he bade me tell thee that if thou dost not kill the boy, but anyhow allowest him to escape, he will put thee to the most painful of deaths. I myself am appointed to see the child exposed."

111. The herdsman on hearing this took the child in his arms, and went back the way he had come, till he reached the folds. There, providentially, his wife, who had been expecting daily to be put to bed, had just, during the absence of her husband, been delivered of a child. Both the herdsman and his wife were uneasy on each other's account, the former fearful because his wife was so near her time, the woman alarmed because it was a new thing for her husband to be sent for by Harpagus. When therefore he came into the house upon his return, his wife, seeing him arrive so unexpectedly, was the first to speak, and begged to know why Harpagus had sent for him in such a hurry. "Wife," said he, "when I got to the town I saw and heard such things as I would to heaven I had never seen—such things as I would to heaven had never happened to our masters. Every one was weeping in Harpagus's house. It quite frightened me, but I went in. The moment I stepped inside, what should I see but a baby lying on the floor, panting and whimpering, and all covered with gold, and wrapped in clothes of such beautiful colours? Harpagus observed me, and directly ordered me to take the child in my arms and carry him off, and what was I to do with him, think you? Why, to lay him in the mountains, where the wild beasts are most plentiful. And he told me it was the king himself that ordered it to be done, and he threatened me with dreadful things if I failed. So I took the child up in my arms, and carried him along. I thought it might be the son of one of the household slaves. I did wonder certainly to see the gold and the beautiful baby-clothes, and I could not think why there was such a weeping in Harpagus's house. Well, very soon, as I came along, I got at the truth. They sent a servant with me to show me the way out

guages. It occurs in Sanscrit and Zend, in Russian under the form of "sabac," and in some parts of modern Persia as "aspaka." The word seems to be an instance of onomatopœia. (Compare the English "bow-wow" and "bark.")

of the town, and to leave the baby in my hands; and he told me that the child's mother is the king's daughter Mandané, and his father Cambyses, the son of Cyrus; and that the king orders him to be killed; and look, here the child is."

112. With this the herdsman uncovered the infant, and showed him to his wife, who, when she saw him, and observed how fine a child and how beautiful he was, burst into tears, and clinging to the knees of her husband, besought him on no account to expose the babe; to which he answered, that it was not possible for him to do otherwise, as Harpagus would be sure to send persons to see and report to him, and he was to suffer a most cruel death if he disobeyed. Failing thus in her first attempt to persuade her husband, the woman spoke a second time, saying, "If then there is no persuading thee, and a child must needs be seen exposed upon the mountains, at least do thus. The child of which I have just been delivered is still-born; take it and lay it on the hills, and let us bring up as our own the child of the daughter of Astyages. So shalt thou not be charged with unfaithfulness to thy lord, nor shall we have managed badly for ourselves. Our dead babe will have a royal funeral, and this living child will not be deprived of life."

113. It seemed to the herdsman that this advice was the best under the circumstances. He therefore followed it without loss of time. The child which he had intended to put to death he gave over to his wife, and his own dead child he put in the cradle wherein he had carried the other, clothing it first in all the other's costly attire, and taking it in his arms he laid it in the wildest place of all the mountain-range. When the child had been three days exposed, leaving one of his helpers to watch the body, he started off for the city, and going straight to Harpagus's house, declared himself ready to show the corpse of the boy. Harpagus sent certain of his body-guard, on whom he had the firmest reliance, to view the body for him, and, satisfied with their seeing it, gave orders for the funeral. Thus was the herdsman's child buried, and the other child, who was afterwards known by the name of Cyrus, was taken by the herdsman's wife, and brought up under a different name.[8]

114. When the boy was in his tenth year, an accident which I will now relate, caused it to be discovered who he was. He was at play one day in the village where the folds of the cattle were, along with the boys of his own age, in the street. The

[8] Strabo (xv. p. 1034) says that the original name of Cyrus was Agradates, but this would seem to be merely a corruption of Atradates, his *father's* name according to Nic. Damasc. (See the last note but one.)

other boys who were playing with him chose the cowherd's son, as he was called, to be their king. He then proceeded to order them about—some he set to build him houses, others he made his guards, one of them was to be the king's eye, another had the office of carrying his messages, all had some task or other. Among the boys there was one, the son of Artembares, a Mede of distinction, who refused to do what Cyrus had set him. Cyrus told the other boys to take him into custody, and when his orders were obeyed, he chastised him most severely with the whip. The son of Artembares, as soon as he was let go, full of rage at treatment so little befitting his rank, hastened to the city and complained bitterly to his father of what had been done to him by Cyrus. He did not, of course, say "Cyrus," by which name the boy was not yet known, but called him the son of the king's cowherd. Artembares, in the heat of his passion, went to Astyages, accompanied by his son, and made complaint of the gross injury which had been done him. Pointing to the boy's shoulders, he exclaimed, "Thus, oh! king, has thy slave, the son of a cowherd, heaped insult upon us."

115. At this sight and these words Astyages, wishing to avenge the son of Artembares for his father's sake, sent for the cowherd and his boy. When they came together into his presence, fixing his eyes on Cyrus, Astyages said, "Hast thou then, the son of so mean a fellow as that, dared to behave thus rudely to the son of yonder noble, one of the first in my court?" "My lord," replied the boy, "I only treated him as he deserved. I was chosen king in play by the boys of our village, because they thought me the best for it. He himself was one of the boys who chose me. All the others did according to my orders; but he refused, and made light of them, until at last he got his due reward. If for this I deserve to suffer punishment, here I am ready to submit to it."

116. While the boy was yet speaking Astyages was struck with a suspicion who he was. He thought he saw something in the character of his face like his own, and there was a nobleness about the answer he had made; besides which his age seemed to tally with the time when his grandchild was exposed. Astonished at all this, Astyages could not speak for a while. At last, recovering himself with difficulty, and wishing to be quit of Artembares, that he might examine the herdsman alone, he said to the former, "I promise thee, Artembares, so to settle this business that neither thou nor thy son shall have any cause to complain." Artembares retired from his presence, and the attendants, at the bidding of the king, led Cyrus into an inner

apartment. Astyages then being left alone with the herdsman, inquired of him where he had got the boy, and who had given him to him; to which he made answer that the lad was his own child, begotten by himself, and that the mother who bore him was still alive, and lived with him in his house. Astyages remarked that he was very ill-advised to bring himself into such great trouble, and at the same time signed to his body-guard to lay hold of him. Then the herdsman, as they were dragging him to the rack, began at the beginning and told the whole story exactly as it happened, without concealing anything, ending with entreaties and prayers to the king to grant him forgiveness.

117. Astyages, having got the truth of the matter from the herdsman, was very little further concerned about him, but with Harpagus he was exceedingly enraged. The guards were bidden to summon him into the presence, and on his appearance Astyages asked him, "By what death was it, Harpagus, that thou slewest the child of my daughter whom I gave into thy hands?" Harpagus, seeing the cowherd in the room, did not betake himself to lies, lest he should be confuted and proved false, but replied as follows:—"Sire, when thou gavest the child into my hands I instantly considered with myself how I could contrive to execute thy wishes, and yet, while guiltless of any unfaithfulness towards thee, avoid imbruing my hands in blood which was in truth thy daughter's and thine own. And this was how I contrived it. I sent for this cowherd, and gave the child over to him, telling him that by the king's orders it was to be put to death. And in this I told no lie, for thou hadst so commanded. Moreover, when I gave him the child, I enjoined him to lay it somewhere in the wilds of the mountains, and to stay near and watch till it was dead; and I threatened him with all manner of punishment if he failed. Afterwards, when he had done according to all that I commanded him, and the child had died, I sent some of the most trustworthy of my eunuchs, who viewed the body for me, and then I had the child buried. This, sire, is the simple truth, and this is the death by which the child died."

118. Thus Harpagus related the whole story in a plain, straightforward way; upon which Astyages, letting no sign escape him of the anger that he felt, began by repeating to him all that he had just heard from the cowherd, and then concluded with saying, "So the boy is alive, and it is best as it is. For the child's fate was a great sorrow to me, and the reproaches of my daughter went to my heart. Truly fortune has played us a

good turn in this. Go thou home then, and send thy son to be with the new comer, and to-night, as I mean to sacrifice thank-offerings for the child's safety to the gods to whom such honour is due, I look to have thee a guest at the banquet."

119. Harpagus, on hearing this, made obeisance, and went home rejoicing to find that his disobedience had turned out so fortunately, and that, instead of being punished, he was invited to a banquet given in honour of the happy occasion. The moment he reached home he called for his son, a youth of about thirteen, the only child of his parents, and bade him go to the palace, and do whatever Astyages should direct. Then, in the gladness of his heart, he went to his wife and told her all that had happened. Astyages, meanwhile, took the son of Harpagus, and slew him, after which he cut him in pieces, and roasted some portions before the fire, and boiled others; and when all were duly prepared, he kept them ready for use. The hour for the banquet came, and Harpagus appeared, and with him the other guests, and all sat down to the feast. Astyages and the rest of the guests had joints of meat served up to them; but on the table of Harpagus, nothing was placed except the flesh of his own son. This was all put before him, except the hands and feet and head, which were laid by themselves in a covered basket. When Harpagus seemed to have eaten his fill, Astyages called out to him to know how he had enjoyed the repast. On his reply that he had enjoyed it excessively, they whose business it was brought him the basket, in which were the hands and feet and head of his son, and bade him open it, and take out what he pleased. Harpagus accordingly uncovered the basket, and saw within it the remains of his son. The sight, however, did not scare him, or rob him of his self-possession. Being asked by Astyages if he knew what beast's flesh it was that he had been eating, he answered that he knew very well, and that whatever the king did was agreeable. After this reply, he took with him such morsels of the flesh as were uneaten, and went home, intending, as I conceive, to collect the remains and bury them.

120. Such was the mode in which Astyages punished Harpagus: afterwards, proceeding to consider what he should do with Cyrus, his grandchild, he sent for the Magi, who formerly interpreted his dream in the way which alarmed him so much, and asked them how they had expounded it. They answered, without varying from what they had said before, that "the boy must needs be a king if he grew up, and did not die too soon." Then Astyages addressed them thus: "The boy has escaped, and lives; he has been brought up in the country, and the

lads of the village where he lives have made him their king. All that kings commonly do he has done. He has had his guards, and his doorkeepers, and his messengers, and all the other usual officers. Tell me, then, to what, think you, does all this tend ?" The Magi answered, "If the boy survives, and has ruled as a king without any craft or contrivance, in that case we bid thee cheer up, and feel no more alarm on his account. He will not reign a second time. For we have found even oracles sometimes fulfilled in an unimportant way; and dreams, still oftener, have wondrously mean accomplishments." "It is what I myself most incline to think," Astyages rejoined ; "the boy having been already king, the dream is out, and I have nothing more to fear from him. Nevertheless, take good heed and counsel me the best you can for the safety of my house and your own interests." "Truly," said the Magi in reply, "it very much concerns our interests that thy kingdom be firmly established; for if it went to this boy it would pass into foreign hands, since he is a Persian : and then we Medes should lose our freedom, and be quite despised by the Persians, as being foreigners. But so long as thou, our fellow-countryman, art on the throne, all manner of honours are ours, and we are even not without some share in the government. Much reason therefore have we to forecast well for thee and for thy sovereignty. If then we saw any cause for present fear, be sure we would not keep it back from thee. But truly we are persuaded that the dream has had its accomplishment in this harmless way ; and so our own fears being at rest, we recommend thee to banish thine. As for the boy, our advice is, that thou send him away to Persia, to his father and mother."

121. Astyages heard their answer with pleasure, and calling Cyrus into his presence, said to him, "My child, I was led to do thee a wrong by a dream which has come to nothing ; from that wrong thou wert saved by thy own good fortune. Go now with a light heart to Persia ; I will provide thy escort. Go, and when thou gettest to thy journey's end, thou wilt behold thy father and thy mother, quite other people from Mitradates the cowherd and his wife."

122. With these words Astyages dismissed his grandchild. On his arrival at the house of Cambyses, he was received by his parents, who, when they learnt who he was, embraced him heartily, having always been convinced that he died almost as soon as he was born. So they asked him by what means he had chanced to escape ; and he told them how that till lately he had known nothing at all about the matter, but had been mis-

taken—oh! so widely!—and how that he had learnt his history by the way, as he came from Media. He had been quite sure that he was the son of the king's cowherd, but on the road the king's escort had told him all the truth; and then he spoke of the cowherd's wife who had brought him up, and filled his whole talk with her praises; in all that he had to tell them about himself, it was always Cyno—Cyno was everything. So it happened that his parents, catching the name at his mouth, and wishing to persuade the Persians that there was a special providence in his preservation, spread the report that Cyrus, when he was exposed, was suckled by a bitch. This was the sole origin of the rumour.[9]

123. Afterwards, when Cyrus grew to manhood, and became known as the bravest and most popular of all his compeers, Harpagus, who was bent on revenging himself upon Astyages, began to pay him court by gifts and messages. His own rank was too humble for him to hope to obtain vengeance without some foreign help. When therefore he saw Cyrus, whose wrongs were so similar to his own, growing up expressly (as it were) to be the avenger whom he needed, he set to work to procure his support and aid in the matter. He had already paved the way for his designs, by persuading, severally, the great Median nobles, whom the harsh rule of their monarch had offended, that the best plan would be to put Cyrus at their head, and dethrone Astyages. These preparations made, Harpagus being now ready for revolt, was anxious to make known his wishes to Cyrus, who still lived in Persia; but as the roads between Media and Persia were guarded, he had to contrive a means of sending word secretly, which he did in the following way. He took a hare, and cutting open its belly without hurting the fur, he slipped in a letter containing what he wanted to say, and then carefully sewing up the paunch, he gave the hare to one of his most faithful slaves, disguising him as a hunter with nets, and sent him off to Persia to take the game as a present to Cyrus, bidding him tell Cyrus, by word of mouth, to paunch the animal himself, and let no one be present at the time.

[9] Mr. Grote observes with reason that "the miraculous story is the older of the two," and that the common-place version of it preferred by Herodotus is due to certain "rationalising Greeks or Persians" at a subsequent period. In the same spirit he remarks, "the ram which carried Phryxus and Hellé across the Hellespont is represented to us as having been in *reality* a man *named Krius*, who aided their flight—the winged horse which carried Bellerophon was a ship *named* Pegasus" (vol. iv. p. 246, note). A somewhat different mode was found of rationalising the myth of Romulus and Remus, suckled, according to the old tradition, by a she-wolf, which may be seen in Livy (i. 4):—"Sunt, qui Larentiam, vulgato corpore, lupam inter pastores vocatam putent; inde locum fabulæ et miraculo datum."

124. All was done as he wished, and Cyrus, on cutting the hare open, found the letter inside, and read as follows:—"Son of Cambyses, the gods assuredly watch over thee, or never wouldst thou have passed through thy many wonderful adventures—now is the time when thou mayest avenge thyself upon Astyages, thy murderer. He willed thy death, remember; to the gods and to me thou owest that thou art still alive. I think thou art not ignorant of what he did to thee, nor of what I suffered at his hands because I committed thee to the cowherd, and did not put thee to death. Listen now to me, and obey my words, and all the empire of Astyages shall be thine. Raise the standard of revolt in Persia, and then march straight on Media. Whether Astyages appoint me to command his forces against thee, or whether he appoint any other of the princes of the Medes, all will go as thou couldst wish. They will be the first to fall away from him, and joining thy side, exert themselves to overturn his power. Be sure that on our part all is ready; wherefore do thou thy part, and that speedily."

125. Cyrus, on receiving the tidings contained in this letter, set himself to consider how he might best persuade the Persians to revolt. After much thought, he hit on the following as the most expedient course: he wrote what he thought proper upon a roll, and then calling an assembly of the Persians, he unfolded the roll, and read out of it that Astyages appointed him their general. "And now," said he, "since it is so, I command you to go and bring each man his reaping-hook." With these words he dismissed the assembly.

Now the Persian nation is made up of many tribes.[1] Those which Cyrus assembled and persuaded to revolt from the Medes, were the principal ones on which all the others are dependent.[2]

[1] According to Xenophon the number of the Persian tribes was *twelve* (Cyrop. I. ii. § 5), according to Herodotus, ten. The authority of the former, always weak except with respect to his own times, is here rendered still more doubtful by the frequency with which this same number twelve occurs in his narrative. Not only are the tribes twelve, and the superintendents of the education twelve, but the whole number of the nation is twelve myriads (I. ii. § 15), Cyrus is subject to the Persian discipline for twelve years (I. iii. § 1), &c. &c.

[2] The distinction of superior and inferior tribes is common among nomadic and semi-nomadic nations. The Golden Horde of the Calmucks is well known. Many Arab tribes are looked down upon with contempt by the Bedoweens. Among the Mongols the dominion of superior over inferior tribes is said to be carried to the extent of a very cruel tyranny (Pallas. Mongol. Völker, vol. i. p. 185). The Scythians in the time of Herodotus were divided, very nearly as the Persians, into three grades, Royal Scythians, Husbandmen, and Nomads. (Vid. inf. iv. 17–20.)

These are the Pasargadæ,[3] the Maraphians,[4] and the Maspians, of whom the Pasargadæ are the noblest. The Achæmenidæ,[5] from which spring all the Perseid kings, is one of their clans.

[3] Pasargadæ was not only the name of the principal Persian tribe, but also of the ancient capital of the country. (Strab. xv. p. 1035.) Stephen of Byzantium (in voc. Πασσαργάδαι) translates the word "the encampment of the Persians." If we accept this meaning, we must regard Pasargadæ as a corruption of *Parsa*gadæ, a form which is preserved in Quintus Curtius (V. vi. § 10, X. i. § 22).

According to Anaximenes (ap. Steph. Byz. l. s. c.) Cyrus founded Pasargadæ, but Ctesias appears to have represented it as already a place of importance at the time when Cyrus revolted. (See the newly-discovered fragment of Nic. Damasc. in the Fragm. Hist. Græc. vol. iii. pp. 405–6, ed. Didot.) There seems to be no doubt that it was the Persian capital of both Cyrus and Cambyses, Persepolis being founded by Darius. Cyrus was himself buried there, as we learn from Ctesias (Pers. Exc. § 9), Arrian (vi. 29), and Strabo (xv. p. 1035). It was afterwards the place where the kings were inaugurated (Plutarch, Artax. c. 3), and was placed under the special protection of the Magi. Hence Pliny spoke of it as a castle occupied by the Magi ("inde ad orientem Magi obtinent Pasargadas castellum," vi. 26).

It seems tolerably certain that the modern *Murg-aub* is the site of the ancient Pasargadæ. Its position with respect to Persepolis, its strong situation among the mountains, its remains bearing the marks of high antiquity, and, above all, the name and tomb of Cyrus, which have been discovered among the ruins, mark it for the capital of that monarch beyond all reasonable doubt. The best account of the present condition of the ruins will be found in Ker Porter's Travels (vol. i. pp. 485–510). Murg-aub is the *only* place in Persia at which inscriptions of the age of Cyrus have been discovered. The ruined buildings bear the following legend:—"Adam Kurush, khsháyathiya, Hakhámanishiya"—"I [am] Cyrus the king, the Achæmenian." For an account of the tomb of Cyrus, vide infra, note on ch. 214.

[4] Only one instance is found of a Maraphian holding an important office. Amasis, the commander whom Aryandes sent to the relief of Pheretima, was ἀνὴρ Μαράφιος (iv. 167). In general the commanders are Achæmenians, now and then they are called simply Pasargadæ.

[5] The Achæmenidæ were the royal family of Persia, the descendants of Achæmenes (Hakhámanish), who was probably the leader under whom the Persians first settled in the country which has ever since borne their name. This Achæmenes is mentioned by Herodotus as the founder of the kingdom (iii. 75; vii. 11). His name appears in the Behistun inscription twice (col. 1, par. 2, and Detached Inscript. A.) In each case it is asserted that the name Achæmenian attached to the dynasty on account of the descent from Achæmenes. "Awahya rádiya wayam Hakhámanishiya thátyamahya"—"Eâ ratione nos Achæmenenses appellamur." In all the inscriptions the kings of Persia glory in the title.

[The commencement of the Behistun inscription, rightly understood, is of great importance for the illustration of the history of the Achæmenians. Darius in the first paragraph styles himself an Achæmenian: in the second, he shows his right to this title by tracing his paternal ancestry to Achæmenes: in the third, he goes on to glorify the Achæmenian family by describing the antiquity of their descent, and the fact of their having for a long time past furnished kings to the Persian nation: and in the fourth paragraph he further explains that eight of the Achæmenian family have thus already filled the throne of Persia, and that he is the ninth of the line who is called to rule over his countrymen. In this statement, however, Darius seems to put forward no claim whatever to include his immediate ancestry among the Persian kings; they are merely enumerated in order to establish his claim to Achæmenian descent, and are in no case distinguished by the title of *khsháyathiya*, or "king." So clear indeed and fixed was the tradition of the royal family in this respect, that both Artaxerxes Mnemon and Artaxerxes Ochus (see Journal of the Asiat. Soc., vol. x. p. 342, and vol. xv. p. 159) may be observed, in tracing their pedigree, to qualify each ancestor by the title of king *up to Darius*, but from that time to drop the royal title, and to speak of Hystaspes and Arsames as mere private

The rest of the Persian tribes are the following:[6] the Panthialæans, the Derusiæans, the Germanians, who are engaged in husbandry; the Daans, the Mardians, the Dropicans, and the Sagartians, who are Nomads.[7]

126. When, in obedience to the orders which they had received, the Persians came with their reaping-hooks, Cyrus led them to a tract of ground, about eighteen or twenty furlongs each way, covered with thorns, and ordered them to clear it before the day was out. They accomplished their task, upon which he issued a second order to them, to take the bath the day following, and again come to him. Meanwhile he collected together all his father's flocks, both sheep and goats, and all his oxen, and slaughtered them, and made ready to give an entertainment to the entire Persian army. Wine, too, and bread of the choicest kinds were prepared for the occasion. When the morrow came, and the Persians appeared, he bade them recline upon the grass, and enjoy themselves. After the feast was over, he requested them to tell him "which they liked best, to-day's work, or yesterday's?" They answered that "the con-

individuals. It will be impossible, at the same time, to make up from Grecian history the list of nine kings, extending, according to the inscription, from Achæmenes to Darius, without including Bardius or the true Smerdis, and he appears to have been slain before his brother left for Egypt. The other names will undoubtedly be Cambyses, Cyrus the Great, Cambyses his father, Cyrus (Herod. i. 111), Cambyses (whose sister Atossa married Pharnaces of Cappadocia, Phot. Bibl. p. 1158), Teïspes (Herod. vii. 11), and Achæmenes. In preference, perhaps, to inserting Bardius at the commencement of this list, I would suggest that the ninth king among the predecessors of Darius may have been the father of Achæmenes, named by the Greeks Ægeus, or Perses, or sometimes Perseus, being thus confounded with the eponymous hero of the Persian race. The name Achæmenes, although occupying so prominent a position in authentic Persian history, is unknown either in the antique traditions of the Vendidad, or in the romantic legends of the so-called Kaianian dynasty, probably because Achæmenes lived after the compilation of the Vendidad, but so long before the invention of the romances that his name was forgotten. The name signifies "friendly" or "possessing friends," being formed of a Persian word, *hakhá*, corresponding to the Sanscrit *sakhá*, and an attributive affix equivalent to the Sanscrit *mat*, which forms the nominative in *man*. M. Oppert thinks that we have another trace of the Persian word *hakhá* in the Ἀρταχαίης of Herodotus (vii. 63). See the Journal Asiatique, 4^me^ série, tom. xvii. p. 268.—H. C. R.]

Achæmenes continued to be used as a family name in after times. It was borne by one of the sons of Darius Hystaspes (infra, vii. 7).

[6] See Essay iv., "On the Ten Tribes of the Persians."

[7] Nomadic hordes must always be an important element in the population of Persia. Large portions of the country are only habitable at certain seasons of the year. Recently the wandering tribes (Ilyâts) have been calculated at one-half (Kinneir, Persian Empire, p. 44), or at the least one-fourth (Morier, Journal of Geograph. Soc., vol. vii. p. 230) of the entire population. They are of great importance in a military point of view. Of the four nomadic tribes mentioned by Herodotus the Sagartians appear to have been the most powerful. They were contained in the 14th Satrapy (iii. 93), and furnished 8000 horsemen to the army of Xerxes (vii. 85), who were armed with daggers and *lassoes*.

trast was indeed strong: yesterday brought them nothing but what was bad, to-day everything that was good." Cyrus instantly seized on their reply, and laid bare his purpose in these words: "Ye men of Persia, thus do matters stand with you. If you choose to hearken to my words, you may enjoy these and ten thousand similar delights, and never condescend to any slavish toil; but if you will not hearken, prepare yourselves for unnumbered toils as hard as yesterday's. Now therefore follow my bidding, and be free. For myself I feel that I am destined by Providence to undertake your liberation; and you, I am sure, are no whit inferior to the Medes in anything, least of all in bravery. Revolt, therefore, from Astyages, without a moment's delay."

127. The Persians, who had long been impatient of the Median dominion, now that they had found a leader, were delighted to shake off the yoke. Meanwhile Astyages, informed of the doings of Cyrus, sent a messenger to summon him to his presence. Cyrus replied, "Tell Astyages that I shall appear in his presence sooner than he will like." Astyages, when he received this message, instantly armed all his subjects, and, as if God had deprived him of his senses, appointed Harpagus to be their general, forgetting how greatly he had injured him. So when the two armies met and engaged, only a few of the Medes, who were not in the secret, fought; others deserted openly to the Persians; while the greater number counterfeited fear, and fled.

128. Astyages, on learning the shameful flight and dispersion of his army, broke out into threats against Cyrus, saying, "Cyrus shall nevertheless have no reason to rejoice;" and directly he seized the Magian interpreters, who had persuaded him to allow Cyrus to escape, and impaled them; after which, he armed all the Medes who had remained in the city, both young and old; and leading them against the Persians, fought a battle, in which he was utterly defeated, his army being destroyed, and he himself falling into the enemy's hands.[8]

[8] According to the fragment of Nicolas of Damascus to which reference has repeatedly been made, as in all probability containing the account which Ctesias gave of the conquest of Astyages by Cyrus, not fewer than five great battles were fought, all in Persia. In the first and second of these Astyages was victorious. In the third, which took place near Pasargadæ, the national stronghold, where all the women and children of the Persians had been sent, they succeeded in repulsing their assailants. In the fourth, which was fought on the day following the third, and on the same battle-ground, they gained a great victory, killing 60,000 of the enemy. Still Astyages did not desist from his attempt to reconquer them. The fifth battle is not contained in the fragment. It evidently, however, took place in the same neighbourhood (cf. Strab. xv. p. 1036), for the spoils were taken to Pasargadæ.

129. Harpagus then, seeing him a prisoner, came near, and exulted over him with many gibes and jeers. Among other cutting speeches which he made, he alluded to the supper where the flesh of his son was given him to eat, and asked Astyages to answer *him* now, how he enjoyed being a slave instead of a king? Astyages looked in his face, and asked him in return, why he claimed as his own the achievements of Cyrus? "Because," said Harpagus, "it was my letter which made him revolt, and so I am entitled to all the credit of the enterprise." Then Astyages declared, that "in that case he was at once the silliest and the most unjust of men: the silliest, if when it was in his power to put the crown on his own head, as it must assuredly have been, if the revolt was entirely his doing, he had placed it on the head of another; the most unjust, if on account of that supper he had brought slavery on the Medes. For, supposing that he was obliged to invest another with the kingly power, and not retain it himself, yet justice required that a Mede, rather than a Persian, should receive the dignity. Now, however, the Medes, who had been no parties to the wrong of which he complained, were made slaves instead of lords, and slaves moreover of those who till recently had been their subjects."

130. Thus after a reign of thirty-five years, Astyages lost his crown, and the Medes, in consequence of his cruelty, were brought under the rule of the Persians. Their empire over the parts of Asia beyond the Halys had lasted one hundred and twenty-eight years, except during the time when the Scythians had the dominion.[9] Afterwards the Medes repented of their

Astyages fled. The provinces fell off, and acknowledged the sovereignty of Persia. Finally Cyrus went in pursuit of Astyages, who had still a small body of adherents, defeated him, and took him prisoner. This last would seem to be the second battle of Herodotus. The last but one is called by Strabo the final struggle, as indeed in one sense it was. It is this which he says took place near Pasargadæ.

The narrative of Plutarch (De Virtut. Mulier. p. 246, A.) belongs to the fourth battle, and doubtless came from Ctesias.

As there is less improbability, and far less poetry, in the narrative of Nicolaüs Damascenus than in that of Herodotus, it is perhaps to be preferred, notwithstanding the untrustworthiness of Ctesias, probably his sole authority.

[9] This is a passage of extreme difficulty. The clause παρὲξ ἢ ὅσον οἱ Σκύθαι ἦρχον, has been generally understood to mean, "*besides* the time that the Scythians had the dominion;" so that the entire number of years has been supposed to be (128 + 28 =) 156, and Herodotus has thus been considered to place the commencement of the Median hegemony six years before the accession of Deïoces. (See the synopsis of the opinions on the passage in Clinton, F. H. vol. i. pp. 257–9; and infra, Essay iii. § 13). But παρὲξ ἢ seems rightly explained by Valckenaer and Clinton as, not "*besides*," but "*except*." "The Medes ruled over Upper Asia 128 years, except during the time that Scythians had the dominion;" *i. e.* they ruled (128 – 28 =) 100 years. (See on this point the 'Rerum Assyriarum tempora emendata' of

submission, and revolted from Darius, but were defeated in battle, and again reduced to subjection.[1] Now, however, in the time of Astyages, it was the Persians who under Cyrus revolted from the Medes, and became thenceforth the rulers of Asia. Cyrus kept Astyages at his court during the remainder of his life, without doing him any further injury. Such then were the circumstances of the birth and bringing up of Cyrus, and such were the steps by which he mounted the throne. It was at a later date that he was attacked by Crœsus, and overthrew him, as I have related in an earlier portion of this history. The overthrow of Crœsus made him master of the whole of Asia.

131. The customs which I know the Persians to observe are the following. They have no images of the gods, no temples nor altars, and consider the use of them a sign of folly.[2]

Dr. Brandis, pp. 6–8.) This would make their rule begin in the twenty-third year of Deïoces.

Niebuhr (Denkschrift d. Berl. Ac. d. Wissenschaft, 1820–1, pp. 49–50) suspected that the passage was corrupt, and proposed the following reading—*ἄρξαντες τῆς ἄνω Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ Ἀσίης ἐπ' ἔτεα πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν, παρὲξ ἢ ὅσον οἱ Σκύθαι ἦρχον, τριήκοντα δυῶν δέοντα.* This would remove some, but not all, of the difficulties. It is moreover too extensive an alteration to be received against the authority of all the MSS.

[1] It has been usual to regard this outbreak as identical with the revolt recorded by Xenophon (Hell. I. ii. ad fin.) in almost the same words. Bähr (in loc.) and Dahlmann (Life of Herod. p. 33, Engl. Tr.) have argued from the passage that Herodotus was still employed upon his history as late as B. C. 407. Clinton is of the same opinion, except that he places the revolt one year earlier (F. H. vol. ii. p. 87. Ol. 92, 4). Mr. Grote, with his usual sagacity, perceived that Herodotus could not intend a revolt 150 years after the subjection, or mean by Darius "without any adjective designation," any other Darius than the son of Hystaspes. He saw, therefore, that there must have been a revolt of the Medes from Darius Hystaspes, of which this passage was possibly the only record (Hist. of Greece, vol. iv. p. 304, note). Apparently he was not aware of the great inscription of Darius at Behistun, which had been published by Col. Rawlinson the year before his fourth volume appeared, wherein a long and elaborate account is given of a Median revolt which occurred in the third year of the reign of Darius, and was put down with difficulty. Col. Rawlinson gives the general outline of the struggle as follows:—

"A civil war of a far more formidable character broke out to the northward. Media, Assyria, and Armenia, appear to have been confederated in a bold attempt to recover their independence. They elevated to the throne a descendant, real or supposed, of the ancient line of [Median] kings; and after six actions had been fought between the partisans of this powerful chief and the troops which were employed by Darius, under the command of three of his most distinguished generals, unfavourably it must be presumed to the latter, or at any rate with a very partial and equivocal success, the monarch found himself compelled to repair in person to the scene of conflict. Darius accordingly, in the third year of his reign, re-ascended from Babylon to Media. He brought his enemy to action without delay, defeated and pursued him, and taking him prisoner at Rhages, he slew him in the citadel of Ecbatana" (Behist. Inscrip. vol. i. pp. 188–9).

Col. Mure, I observe, though aware of this discovery, maintains the view of Bähr and Dahlmann (Literature of Greece, vol. iv. App. G.), but not, I think, successfully.

[2] On the general subject of the religion of the Persians, see the Essays appended to this volume, Essay v.

This comes, I think, from their not believing the gods to have the same nature with men, as the Greeks imagine. Their wont, however, is to ascend the summits of the loftiest mountains, and there to offer sacrifice to Jupiter, which is the name they give to the whole circuit of the firmament. They likewise offer to the sun and moon, to the earth, to fire, to water, and to the winds. These are the only gods whose worship has come down to them from ancient times. At a later period they began the worship of Urania, which they borrowed[3] from the Arabians and Assyrians. Mylitta is the name by which the Assyrians

[3] The readiness of the Persians to adopt foreign customs, even in religion, is very remarkable. Perhaps the most striking instance is the adoption from the Assyrians of the well-known emblem figured below (Figs. 1, 2, 3), consisting of a winged circle, with or without a human figure rising from the circular space. This emblem is of Assyrian origin, appearing in the earliest sculptures of that country (Layard's Nineveh, vol. i. ch. v.). Its exact meaning is uncertain, but the conjecture is probable, that while in the human head we have the symbol of intelligence, the wings signify omnipresence, and the circle eternity. Thus the Persians were able, without the sacrifice of any principle, to admit it as a religious emblem, which we find them to have done, as early as the time of Darius, *universally* (see the sculptures at Persepolis, Nakhsh-i-Rustam, Behistun, &c.). It is quite a mistake to conclude from this, as Mr. Layard does (Nineveh, vol. ii. ch. vii.), that they adopted the Assyrian religion generally. The monuments prove the very contrary; for, with three exceptions, that of the symbol in question, that of the four-winged genius, and that of the colossal winged bulls, the Assyrian religious emblems do not re-appear in the early Persian sculptures.


Fig. 1.

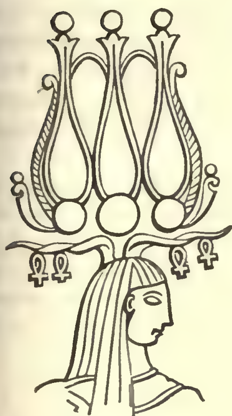

Fig. 2.


Fig. 3.

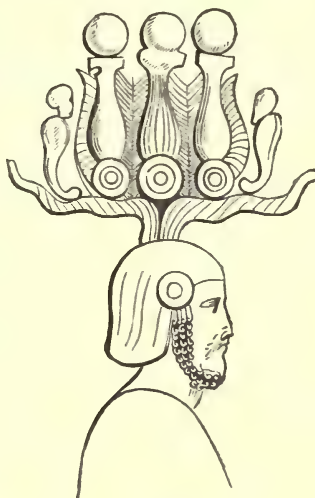

Fig. 4.

A triple figure is sometimes found issuing from the circle (Fig. 4), which has been supposed to represent a triune god, but this mode of representation does not occur in the Persian sculptures. Some religious emblems seem to have been adopted by the Persians from the Egyptians; as, for instance, the curious head-dress of the four-winged genius at *Murg-aub* (Pasargadæ), which closely resembles a well-known Egyptian form. The Persian sculpture is of the time of Cyrus.

know this goddess,[4] whom the Arabians call Alitta,[5] and the Persians Mitra.[6]



1. Egyptian.



2. Persian.

[4] For a full notice of this goddess, see below, Essay x. 'On the Religion of the Assyrians and Babylonians.' The true explanation of the Herodotean nomenclature, which has been so much discussed, seems to be, that Molis (as Nic. Damasc. gives the name, Fragm. Hist. Gr., vol. iii. p. 361, note 16) is for *Volis*, and that Volis is identical with the Chaldæan *Gula*, the *g* and *v* being (as is well known) perpetually liable to confusion in the Greek orthography of Oriental names. In Mylitta we probably have the same name with a feminine ending. *Gula* in the primitive language of Babylonia, which is now ascertained to be of the Hamitic, and not of the Semitic family, signified "great," being either identical with *Gal* (the more ordinary term for "great"—compare Ner-gal, Θαδγαλ, Gallus, &c.), or a feminine form of that word,—answering in fact to the *Guda* of the Galla dialect of Africa. *Gula* is the standard name for the *Great* Goddess throughout the Inscriptions. *Bilat*, or Beltis, simply meaning "a lady or mistress," was probably an Assyrian epithet for the same goddess; but if the name were translated by the Assyrians, as was usually the case with the old Hamitic denominations, the equivalent would have been *Rabbat*, as in Syriac it was *Gadlat*, and in Persian *Maha Bag*, which latter compound was contracted to *Mabog*, as the name of the seat of the Great Goddess's worship at Hierapolis. *Gula*, or the Great Goddess, is quite distinct from *Ishtar* or Astarté.—[H. C. R.]



Mylitta, the "Great Goddess" of the Assyrians. (From Layard.)

[5] Alitta, or Alilat (iii. 8), is the Semitic root אֵל, "God," with the feminine suffix, ת or תָא, added.

[6] This identification is altogether a mistake. The Persians, like their Vedic

132. To these gods the Persians offer sacrifice in the following manner: they raise no altar, light no fire, pour no libations, there is no sound of the flute, no putting on of chaplets, no consecrated barley-cake; but the man who wishes to sacrifice brings his victim to a spot of ground which is pure from pollution, and there calls upon the name of the god to whom he intends to offer. It is usual to have the turban encircled with a wreath, most commonly of myrtle. The sacrificer is not allowed to pray for blessings on himself alone, but he prays for the welfare of the king, and of the whole Persian people, among whom he is of necessity included. He cuts the victim in pieces, and having boiled the flesh, he lays it out upon the tenderest herbage that he can find, trefoil especially. When all is ready, one of the Magi comes forward and chants a hymn, which they say recounts the origin of the gods. It is not lawful to offer sacrifice unless there is a Magus present. After waiting a short time the sacrificer carries the flesh of the victim away with him, and makes whatever use of it he may please.[7]

brethren, worshipped the sun under the name of Mithra. This was a portion of the religion which they brought with them from the Indus, and was not adopted from any foreign nation. The name of Mithra does not indeed occur in the Achæmenian inscriptions until the time of Artaxerxes Mnemon (Journal of Asiatic Society, vol. xv. part. i. p. 160), but there is no reason to question the antiquity of his worship in Persia. Xenophon is right in making it a part of the religion of Cyrus (Cyrop. VIII. iii. § 12, and vii. § 3).

The mistake of Herodotus does not appear to have been discovered by the Greeks before the time of Alexander. Xenophon, indeed, mentions Mithras (Cyrop. VII. v. § 53; Œcon. iv. 24), and also the Persian sun-worship (Cyrop. VIII. iii. § 12), but he does not in any way connect the two. Strabo is the first classical writer who distinctly lays it down that the Persian Mithras is the Sun-god (xv. p. 1039). After him Plutarch shows acquaintance with the fact (Vit. Alex. c. 30), which thenceforth becomes generally recognised. (See the inscriptions on altars, DEO SOLI INVICTO MITHRÆ, &c., and cf. Suidas, Hesychius, &c.)

The real representative of Venus in the later Pantheon of Persia was Tanata or Anaitis (see Hyde, De Religione Vet. Pers. p. 98). Her worship by the Persians had, no doubt, commenced in the time of Herodotus, but it was not till the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon (B. C. 405 at the earliest) that her statue was set up publicly in the temples of the chief cities of the empire (Plut. Artaxerx. c. 27). The inscription of Mnemon recently discovered at Susa records this event (Journal of Asiatic Soc., l. s. c.), which seems to have been wrongly ascribed by Berosus to Artaxerxes Ochus (Beros. ap. Clem. Alex. Protr. i. 5).

[7] At the secret meetings of the Ali Allahis of Persia, which in popular belief have attained an infamous notoriety, but which are in reality altogether innocent, are practised many ceremonies that bear a striking resemblance to the old Magian sacrifice.

The *Peer* or holy man who presides carries about him sprigs both of myrtle and of the musk willow; he seats his disciples in a circle upon the grass usually in one of those sacred groves with which the Kurdish mountains abound; he chaunts mystical lays regarding the nature, the attributes, and the manifestations of the Godhead. A sheep is slaughtered as an expiatory sacrifice, and the carcase is boiled upon the spot; the bones are carefully extracted, and the peer then distributes the flesh among his disciples, who creep up upon their knees from their respective

133. Of all the days in the year, the one which they celebrate most is their birthday. It is customary to have the board furnished on that day with an ampler supply than common. The richer Persians cause an ox, a horse, a camel, and an ass to be baked whole[8] and so served up to them: the poorer classes use instead the smaller kinds of cattle. They eat little solid food but abundance of dessert, which is set on table a few dishes at a time; this it is which makes them say that "the Greeks, when they eat, leave off hungry, having nothing worth mention served up to them after the meats; whereas, if they had more put before them, they would not stop eating." They are very fond of wine, and drink it in large quantities.[9] To vomit or obey natural calls in the presence of another, is forbidden among them. Such are their customs in these matters.

It is al[illegible] heir general practice to deliberate upon affairs of weight when they are drunk; and then on the morrow, when they are sob[illegible] hé decision to which they came the night before is put befo[illegible] ,nem by the master of the house in which it was made; and if it is then approved of, they act on it; if not, they set it aside. Sometimes, however, they are sober at their first deliberation, but in this case they always reconsider the matter under the influence of wine.[1]

places in the circle to receive the share allotted to them, which is further accompanied by a blessing and a prayer. It is only the initiated who are admitted to these meetings, and care is taken to guard against the intrusion of strangers and Mohammedans. It is probably, indeed, owing to the precaution which the Ali Allahis take to extinguish their lights on the approach of strangers that they have acquired the name of *Cheragh kushan*, or "lamp-extinguishers," and that orgies have been assigned to them which were only suited to darkness. A disciple, I may add, upon entering the brotherhood, breaks a nutmeg with the spiritual teacher to whom he attaches himself, and wears perpetually about him in token of his dependence, the half of the nut which remains with him; he is called *sir supurdeh*, or "he who has given over his head," and is bound during his noviciate implicitly to follow the behests of his leader. After a probationary discipline of several years, never less than three, he is admitted to a meeting, resigns his nutmeg, partakes of the sacrifice, and henceforward assumes a place among the initiated.—[H. C. R.]

[8] It is a common custom in the East, at the present day, to roast sheep whole, even for an ordinary repast; and on fête days it is done in Dalmatia and in other parts of Europe.—[G. W.]

[9] At the present day, among the "bons vivants" of Persia, it is usual to sit for hours before dinner drinking wine and eating dried fruits, such as filberts, almonds, pistachio-nuts, melon-seeds, &c. A party, indeed, often sits down at seven o'clock, and the dinner is not brought in till eleven. The dessert dishes, intermingled as they are with highly-seasoned delicacies, are supposed to have the effect of stimulating the appetite, but, in reality, the solid dishes, which are served up at the end of the feast, are rarely tasted. The passion, too, for wine-drinking is as marked among the Persians of the present day, notwithstanding the prohibitions of the Prophet, as it was in the time of Herodotus. It is quite appalling, indeed, to see the quantity of liquor which some of these topers habitually consume, and they usually prefer spirits to wine.—[H. C. R.]

[1] Tacitus asserts that the Germans were in the habit of deliberating on peace

134. When they meet each other in the streets, you may know if the persons meeting are of equal rank by the following token; if they are, instead of speaking, they kiss each other on the lips. In the case where one is a little inferior to the other, the kiss is given on the cheek; where the difference of rank is great, the inferior prostrates himself upon the ground.[2] Of nations, they honour most their nearest neighbours whom they esteem next to themselves; those who live beyond these they honour in the second degree; and so with the remainder, the further they are removed, the less the esteem in which they hold them. The reason is, that they look upon themselves as very greatly superior in all respects to the rest of mankind, regarding others as approaching to excellence in proportion as they dwell nearer to them;[3] whence it comes to pass that those who are the farthest off must be the most degraded of mankind.[4] Under the dominion of the Medes, the several nations of the empire exer-

and war under the influence of wine, reserving their determination for the morrow. He gives the reasons for the practice, of which he manifestly approves:—"De pace denique et bello plerumque in conviviis consultant, tanquam nullo magis tempore ad magnas cogitationes incalescat animus. Gens non astuta, nec callida, aperit adhuc secreta pectoris, licentiâ joci. Ergò detecta et nuda omnium mens, posterâ die retractatur; et salva utriusque temporis ratio est. Deliberant, dum fingere nesciunt: constituunt, dum errare non possunt."—(Germ. 22.) It does not appear that the Germans reversed the process.

Plato, in his Laws, mentions the use made of drunkenness by the Persians. He says, the same practice obtained among the Thracians, the Scythians, the Celts, the Iberians, and the Carthaginians (Book I. p. 637, E). Duris of Samos declared that once a year, at the feast of Mithras, the king of Persia was bound to be drunk. (Fr. 13.)

[2] The Persians are still notorious for their rigid attention to ceremonial and etiquette. In all the ordinary pursuits of life, paying visits, entering a room, seating oneself in company, in epistolary address, and even in conversational idiom, gradations of rank are defined with equal strictness and nicety. With regard to the method of salutation, the extreme limits are, as Herodotus observes, the mutual embrace (the kiss is now invariably given on the cheek), and prostration on the ground; but there are also several intermediate forms, which he has not thought it worth while to notice, of obeisance, kissing hands, &c., by which an experienced observer learns the exact relation of the parties.—[H. C. R.]

[3] Of late years, since the nations of Europe have been brought by their commercial and political relations into closer connection with Persia, the excessive vanity and self-admiration of these Frenchmen of the East has been somewhat abated. Their monarch, however, still retains the title of "the Centre of the Universe," and it is not easy to persuade a native of Isfahan that any European capital can be superior to his native city.—[H. C. R.]

[4] In an early stage of geographical knowledge each nation regards itself as occupying the centre of the earth. Herodotus tacitly assumes that Greece is the centre by his theory of ἐσχατίαι or "extremities" (iii. 115). Such was the view commonly entertained among the Greeks, and Delphi, as the centre of Greece, was called "the navel of the world" (γᾶς ὀμφαλός, Soph. Œd. T. 898; Pind. Pyth. vi. 3, &c.). Even Aristotle expresses himself to the same effect, and regards the happy temperament of the Greeks as the result of their *intermediate* position (Polit. vii. 6). Our own use of the terms "*the* East," "*the* West," is a trace of the former existence of similar views among ourselves.

cised authority over each other in this order. The Medes were lords over all, and governed the nations upon their borders, who in their turn governed the States beyond, who likewise bore rule over the nations which adjoined on them.[5] And this is the order which the Persians also follow in their distribution of honour; for that people, like the Medes, has a progressive scale of administration and government.

135. There is no nation which so readily adopts foreign customs as the Persians. Thus, they have taken the dress of the Medes,[6] considering it superior to their own; and in war they

[5] It is quite inconceivable that there should have been any such system of government, either in Media or Persia, as Herodotus here indicates. With respect to Persia, we know that the most distant satrapies were held as directly of the crown as the nearest. Compare the stories of Orœtes (iii. 126–8) and Aryandes (iv. 166). The utmost that can be said with truth is, that in the Persian and Median, as in the Roman empire, there were *three* grades; first, the ruling nation; secondly, the conquered provinces; thirdly, the nations on the frontier, governed by their own laws and princes, but owning the supremacy of the imperial power, and reckoned among its tributaries. This was the position in which the Ethiopians, Colchians, and Arabians, stood to Persia (Herod. iii. 97).

[6] It appears from ch. 71 that the old national dress of the Persians was a close-fitting tunic and trousers of leather. The Median costume, according to Xenophon (Cyrop. VIII. i. § 40) was of a nature to conceal the form, and give it an appearance of grandeur and elegance. It would seem therefore to have been a flowing robe. At Persepolis and Behistun the representations of the monarch and his chief attend-



A. (Median.)



B. (Persian.)

wear the Egyptian breastplate.[7] As soon as they hear of any luxury, they instantly make it their own: and hence, among other novelties, they have learnt unnatural lust from the Greeks. Each of them has several wives, and a still larger number of concubines.

136. Next to prowess in arms, it is regarded as the greatest proof of manly excellence, to be the father of many sons.[8] Every year the king sends rich gifts to the man who can show the largest number: for they hold that number is strength. Their sons are carefully instructed from their fifth to their twentieth year,[9] in three things alone,—to ride, to draw the bow, and to speak the truth.[10] Until their fifth year they are not allowed to come into the sight of their father, but pass their lives with the women. This is done that, if the child die young, the father may not be afflicted by its loss.

ants have invariably a long flowing robe (A), while soldiers and persons of minor importance wear a close-fitting dress, fastened by a belt, and trousers meeting at the ancles a high shoe (B). It seems probable that the costume (A) is that which Herodotus and Xenophon call the Median, while the close-fitting dress (B) is the old Persian garb.

[7] The Egyptian corslets are noticed again (ii. 182, and vii. 89). For a description of them, see Sir G. Wilkinson's note to Book ii. ch. 182.

[8] Sheikh Ali Mirza, a son of the well-known Futteh Ali Shah, was accounted the proudest and happiest man in the empire, because, when he rode out on state occasions, he was attended by a body-guard of sixty of his own sons. At the time of Futteh Ali Shah's death his direct descendants amounted to nearly three thousand, some of them being in the fifth degree, and every Persian in consequence felt a pride in being the subject of such a king. The greatest misfortune, indeed, that can befall a man in Persia is to be childless. When a chief's "*hearthstone*," as it was said, "*was dark*," he lost all respect, and hence arose the now universal practice of adoption.—[H. C. R.]

[9] Xenophon, in his romance (Cyrop. I. ii. § 8), makes the first period of education end with the sixteenth or seventeenth year, after which he says there followed a second period of ten years. It was not till the completion of this second period that the Persian became a full citizen (τέλειος). In all this, it is evident, we have only the philosophic notions of the Greeks. Perhaps even in Herodotus we have Greek speculations rather than history. He does not appear to have travelled in Persia Proper.

[10] The Persian regard for truth has been questioned by Larcher on the strength of the speech of Darius in Book iii. (ch. 72). This speech, however, is entirely unhistoric. The special estimation in which truth was held among the Persians is evidenced in a remarkable manner by the inscriptions of Darius, where *lying* is taken as the representative of all evil. It is the great calamity of the usurpation of the pseudo-Smerdis, that "then the *lie* became abounding in the land" (Behist. Ins. Col. I. Par. 10). "The Evil One (?) invented *lies* that they should deceive the state" (Col. iv. Par. 4). Darius is favoured by Ormazd, "because he was not a heretic, nor a *liar*, nor a tyrant" (Col. iv. Par. 13). His successors are exhorted not to cherish, but to cast into utter perdition, "the man who may be a *liar*, or who may be an evil doer" (ib. Par. 14). His great fear is lest it may be thought that any part of the record which he has set up has been "*falsely* related," and he even abstains from narrating certain events of his reign "lest to him who may hereafter peruse the tablet, the many deeds that have been done by him may seem to be *falsely* recorded" (ib. Par. 6 and 8).

137. To my mind it is a wise rule, as also is the following—that the king shall not put any one to death for a single fault, and that none of the Persians shall visit a single fault in a slave with any extreme penalty ; but in every case the services of the offender shall be set against his misdoings ; and, if the latter be found to outweigh the former, the aggrieved party shall then proceed to punishment.[1]

138. The Persians maintain that never yet did any one kill his own father or mother ; but in all such cases they are quite sure that, if matters were sifted to the bottom, it would be found that the child was either a changeling or else the fruit of adultery ; for it is not likely they say that the real father should perish by the hands of his child.

139. They hold it unlawful to talk of any thing which it is unlawful to do. The most disgraceful thing in the world, they think, is to tell a lie ; the next worse, to owe a debt : because, among other reasons, the debtor is obliged to tell lies. If a Persian has the leprosy[2] he is not allowed to enter into a city, or to have any dealings with the other Persians ; he must, they say, have sinned against the sun. Foreigners attacked by this disorder, are forced to leave the country : even white pigeons are often driven away, as guilty of the same offence. They never defile a river with the secretions of their bodies, nor even wash their hands in one ; nor will they allow others to do so, as they have a great reverence for rivers. There is another peculiarity, which the Persians themselves have never noticed, but which has not escaped my observation. Their names, which are expressive of some bodily or mental excellence,[3] all end with the same letter—the letter which is called San by the Dorians, and Sigma

[1] Vide infra, vii. 194.

[2] In the original, two kinds of leprosy are mentioned, the λέπρα and the λεύκη. There does not appear by the description which Aristotle gives of the latter (Hist. Animal. iii. 11) to have been any essential difference between them. The λεύκη was merely a mild form of leprosy. With the Persian isolation of the leper, compare the Jewish practice (Lev. xiii. 46. 2 Kings vii. 3. xv. 5. Luke xvii. 12).

[3] It is apparent from this passage that Herodotus had not any very exact acquaintance with the Persian language; for though it is true enough the Persian names have all a meaning (as the Greek names also have), yet it is rarely that the etymology can be traced to denote physical or mental qualities. They more usually indicate a glorious or elevated station, or dependance on the gods, or worldly possessions. See the list of Persian names occurring in Herodotus and other writers in the notes appended to Book vi.—[H. C. R.]

[4] The Phœnician alphabet, from which the Greeks adopted theirs (infrà, v. 58), possessed both *san* (Heb. *shin*) and *sigma* (Heb. *samech*). The Greeks, not having the sound of *sh*, did not need the two sibilants, and therefore soon merged them in one, retaining however both in their system of numeration, till they replaced *sigma* by *xi*. The Dorians called the sibilant which was kept *san*, the Ionians *sigma*, but the latter use prevailed. The letter came to be generally known as *sigma*, but at

by the Ionians.[4] Any one who examines will find that the Persian names, one and all without exception, end with this letter.[5]

140. Thus much I can declare of the Persians with entire certainty, from my own actual knowledge. There is another custom which is spoken of with reserve, and not openly, concerning their dead. It is said that the body of a male Persian is never buried, until it has been torn either by a dog or a bird of prey.[6] That the Magi have this custom is beyond a doubt, for they practise it without any concealment. The dead bodies are covered with wax, and then buried in the ground.

The Magi are a very peculiar race, differing entirely from the Egyptian priests, and indeed from all other men whatsoever. The Egyptian priests make it a point of religion not to kill any live animals except those which they offer in sacrifice. The Magi, on the contrary, kill animals of all kinds with their own hands, excepting dogs[7] and men. They even seem to take a delight in the employment, and kill, as readily as they do other animals, ants and snakes, and such like flying or creeping things. However, since this has always been their custom, let them keep to it. I return to my former narrative.

141. Immediately after the conquest of Lydia by the Persians, the Ionian and Æolian Greeks sent ambassadors to Cyrus at Sardis, and prayed to become his lieges on the footing which

the same time it held the place of *san* in the alphabet. (See Bunsen's Philosophy of Univ. Hist. vol. i. p. 258.)

[5] Here Herodotus was again mistaken. The Persian names of men which terminate with a consonant end indeed invariably with the letter *s*, or rather *sh*, as *Kurúsh* (Cyrus), *Dáryavush* (Darius), *Chishpáish* (Teispes), *Hakhámanish*, &c. (Achæmenes). [The *sh* in such cases is the mere nominatival ending of the 2nd and 3rd declensions; *i. e.* of themes ending in *i* and *u*.—H. C. R.] But a large number of Persian names of men were pronounced with a vowel termination, not expressed in writing, and in these the last consonant might be almost any letter. We find on the monuments *Vashtásp*(*a*) Hystaspes—*Arshám*(*a*) Arsames—*Ariyáráman*(*a*) Ariaramnes—*Bardiy*(*a*) Bardius or Smerdis—*Gaumat*(*a*) Gomates—*Gaubruw*(*a*) Gobryas—&c. &c. The *sigma* in these cases is a mere conventional addition of the Greeks.

[6] Agathias (ii. p. 60) and Strabo (xv. p. 1042) also mention this strange custom, which still prevails among the Parsees wherever they are found, whether in Persia or in India. Chardin relates that there was in his time a cemetery, half a league from Isfahán, consisting of a round tower 35 feet high, without any doorway or other entrance. Here the Guebres deposited their dead by means of a ladder, and left them to be devoured by the crows, which were to be seen in large numbers about the place. (Voyage en Perse, tom. ii. p. 186.) Such towers exist throughout India, wherever the Parsees are numerous. The bodies are laid on iron bars sloping inwards. When the flesh is gone, the bones slip through between the bars, or sliding down them fall in at the centre, where there is an open space left for the purpose.

[7] The dog is represented in the Zendavesta as the special animal of Ormazd, and is still regarded with peculiar reverence by the Parsees. On one of the magnificent tombs at the Chehl-Minâr, of which Chardin has given an accurate drawing (plate 68), a row of dogs is the ornament of the entablature.

they had occupied under Crœsus. Cyrus listened attentively to their proposals, and answered them by a fable. "There was a certain piper," he said, "who was walking one day by the sea-side, when he espied some fish; so he began to pipe to them, imagining they would come out to him upon the land. But as he found at last that his hope was vain, he took a net, and enclosing a great draught of fishes, drew them ashore. The fish then began to leap and dance; but the piper said, 'Cease your dancing now, as you did not choose to come and dance when I piped to you.'" Cyrus gave this answer to the Ionians and Æolians, because, when he urged them by his messengers to revolt from Crœsus, they refused; but now, when his work was done, they came to offer their allegiance. It was in anger, therefore, that he made them this reply. The Ionians, on hearing it, set to work to fortify their towns, and held meetings at the Panionium,[7a] which were attended by all excepting the Milesians, with whom Cyrus had concluded a separate treaty, by which he allowed them the terms they had formerly obtained from Crœsus. The other Ionians resolved, with one accord, to send ambassadors to Sparta to implore assistance.

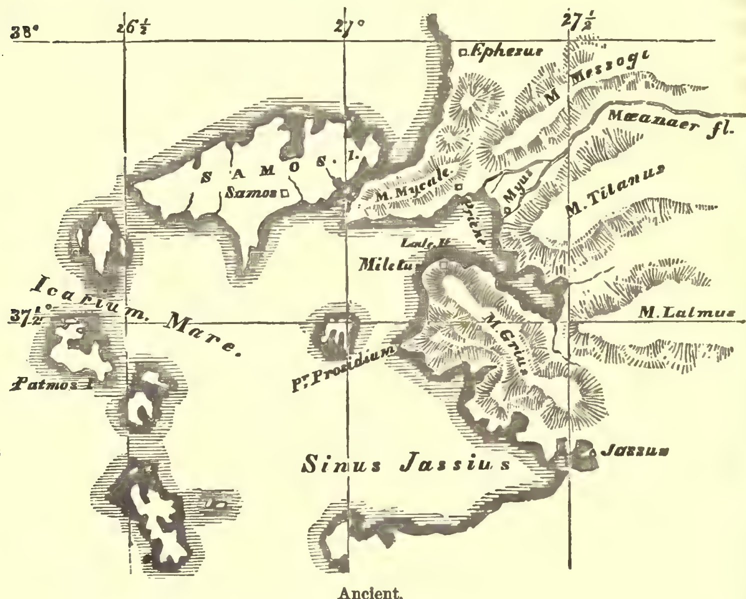
142. Now the Ionians of Asia, who meet at the Panionium, have built their cities in a region where the air and climate are the most beautiful in the whole world; for no other region is equally blessed with Ionia, neither above it nor below it, nor east nor west of it. For in other countries either the climate is over cold and damp, or else the heat and drought are sorely oppressive. The Ionians do not all speak the same language, but use in different places four different dialects. Towards the south their first city is Miletus, next to which lie Myus and Priênê;[8]

[7a] Infra, ch. 148, note [8].

[8] Miletus, Myus, and Priênê all lay near the mouth of the Mæander (the modern *Mendere*). At their original colonisation they were all maritime cities. Miletus stood at the northern extremity of a promontory formed by the mountain-range called Grius, commanding the entrance of an extensive bay which washed the base of the four mountains, Grius, Latmus, and Titanus, south of the Mæander, and Mycalê, a continuation of the great range of Messogis, north of that stream. This bay, called the bay of Latmus, was about 25 miles in its greatest length, from near Latmus to Priênê. Its depth, from Miletus to Myus, was above 5 miles. Myus stood nearly in the centre of the bay, at the foot of Titanus; Priênê, at its northern extremity, under the hill of Mycalê. Into this bay the Mæander poured its waters, and the consequence was the perpetual formation of fresh land. (Vide infrà, ii. 10, where Herodotus notes the fact.) Priênê, by the time of Strabo, was 40 stadia (4½ miles) from the sea (xii. p. 827). Myus had been rendered uninhabitable by the growth of the alluvium, forming hollows in its vicinity, where the stagnant water generated swarms of musquitoes (Strab. xiv. p. 912; Pausan. VII. ii. § 7). Since the time of these geographers the changes have been even more astonishing. The soil brought down by the Mæander has filled up the whole of the northern portion of the gulf, so that Miletus, Myus, and Priênê now stand on the outskirts of a great

all these three are in Caria and have the same dialect. Their cities in Lydia are the following: Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Clazomenæ, and Phocæa.[9] The inhabitants of these towns have none of the peculiarities of speech which belong to the three first-named cities, but use a dialect of their own. There remain three other Ionian towns, two situate in isles, namely, Samos and Chios; one upon the mainland, which is Erythræ. Of these Chios and Erythræ have the same dialect, while Samos possesses a language peculiar to itself.[1] Such are the four varieties of which I spoke.

143. Of the Ionians at this period, one people, the Milesians, were in no danger of attack, as Cyrus had received them into



Ancient.

alluvial plain, which extends even beyond Miletus, 4 or 5 miles seawards. Ladé, and the other islands which lay off the Milesian shore, are become part of the continent, rising, like the rock of Dumbarton, from the marshy soil. The southern portion of the gulf of Latmus is become a lake, the lake of Bafi, which is now 7 or 8 miles from the sea at the nearest point. The difference between the ancient and modern geography will be best seen by comparing the charts.

[9] These cities are enumerated in the order in which they stood, from south to north. Erythræ lay on the coast opposite Chios, between Teos and Clazomenæ.

[1] According to Suidas, Herodotus emigrated to Samos from Halicarnassus on account of the tyranny of Lygdamis, grandson of Artemisia, and there exchanged his native Doric for the Ionic dialect in which he composed his history. If this account be true, we must consider that we have in the writings of Herodotus the *Samian* variety of the Ionic dialect. But little dependance can be placed on Suidas.

alliance. The islanders also had as yet nothing to fear, since Phœnicia was still independent of Persia, and the Persians themselves were not a seafaring people. The Milesians had separated from the common cause solely on account of the extreme weakness of the Ionians: for, feeble as the power of the entire Hellenic race was at that time, of all its tribes the Ionic was by far the feeblest and least esteemed, not possessing a single State of any mark excepting Athens. The Athenians and most of the other Ionic States over the world, went so far in their dislike of the name as actually to lay it aside; and even at the present day the greater number of them seem to me to be ashamed of it.[2] But the twelve cities in Asia have always gloried in the appellation; they gave the temple which they built for themselves the name of the Panionium, and decreed that it should not be open to any of the other Ionic States; no State, however, except Smyrna, has craved admission to it.

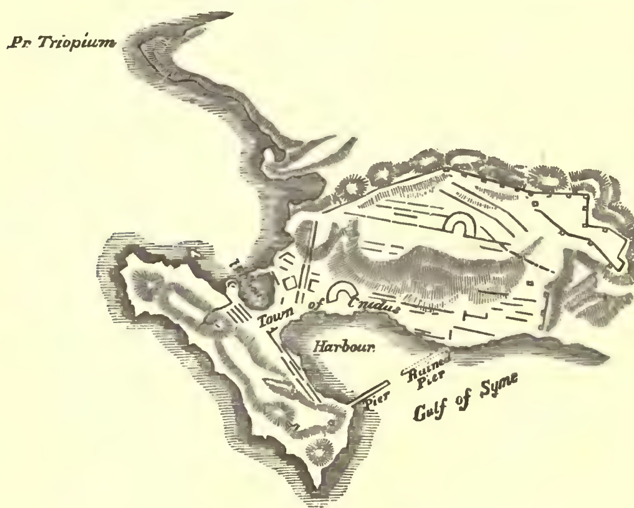
144. In the same way the Dorians of the region which is

Modern.

[2] The old Pelasgic tribes, when once Hellenised, were apt to despise their proper ethnic appellations. As with the Ionians, so it was with the Dryopians, who generally contemned their name, as Pausanias tells us (IV. xxxiv. § 6). Here again, however, there was an exception, the Asinæans, unlike other Dryopians, glorying in the title (ib.).

now called the Pentapolis, but which was formerly known as the Doric Hexapolis, exclude all their Dorian neighbours from their temple, the Triopium:[3] nay, they have even gone so far as to shut out from it certain of their own body who were guilty of an offence against the customs of the place. In the games which were anciently celebrated in honour of the Triopian Apollo,[4] the prizes given to the victors were tripods of brass; and the rule was that these tripods should not be carried away from the temple, but should then and there be dedicated to the god. Now a man of Halicarnassus, whose name was Agasicles, being declared victor in the games, in open contempt of the law, took the tripod home to his own house and there hung it against the wall. As a punishment for this fault, the five other cities, Lin-

[3] The Triopium was built on a promontory of the same name within the territory of the Cnidians. It has been usual to identify the promontory with the small peninsula (now Cape *Krio*) which, according to Strabo (xiv. p. 938), was once an



island, and was afterwards joined by a causeway to the city of Cnidus. (See Ionian Antiq. vol. iii. p. 2. Beaufort's Karamania, Map, app. p. 81. Texier, Asie Mineure, vol. iii. plate 159.) But from the notice contained in Scylax (Peripl. p. 91), and from the narrative in Thucydides (viii. 35), it is evident that the Triopian cape was not Cape *Krio*, on which stood a part of the town of Cnidus (Strab. l. s. c.), but a promontory further to the north, probably that immediately above Cape *Krio*. No remains of the ancient temple have yet been found, but perhaps the coast has not been sufficiently explored above Cnidus.

[4] An inscription found at Cnidus mentions a *γυμνικὸς ἀγὼν* as occurring every fifth year. (See Hamilton's Asia Minor, vol. ii. p. 460.) The games are said to have been celebrated in honour of Neptune and the Nymphs, as well as of Apollo. (Schol. ad. Theocr. Id. xvii. 69.)

dus, Ialyssus, Cameirus, Cos, and Cnidus, deprived the sixth city, Halicarnassus, of the right of entering the temple.[5]

145. The Ionians founded twelve cities in Asia, and refused to enlarge the number, on account (as I imagine) of their having been divided into twelve States when they lived in the Peloponnese;[6] just as the Achæans, who drove them out, are at the present day. The first city of the Achæans after Sicyon, is Pellênê, next to which are Ægeira, Ægæ upon the Crathis, a stream which is never dry, and from which the Italian Crathis[6a] received its name,—Bura, Helicé—where the Ionians took refuge on their defeat by the Achæan invaders,—Ægium, Rhypes, Patreis, Phareis, Olenus on the Peirus, which is a large river,—Dymé and Tritæeis, all sea-port towns except the last two, which lie up the country.

146. These are the twelve divisions of what is now Achæa, and was formerly Ionia; and it was owing to their coming from a country so divided that the Ionians, on reaching Asia, founded their twelve States:[7] for it is the height of folly to maintain that these Ionians are more Ionian than the rest, or in any respect better born, since the truth is that no small portion of them were Abantians from Eubœa, who are not even Ionians in name; and, besides, there were mixed up with the emigration, Minyæ from Orchomenus, Cadmeians, Dryopians, Phocians from the several cities of Phocis, Molossians, Arcadian Pelasgi,

[5] Lindus, Ialysus, and Cameirus were in Rhodes, Cos was on the island of the same name, at the mouth of the Ceramic Gulf. Cnidus and Halicarnassus were on the mainland, the former near to the Triopium, the latter on the north shore of the Ceramic Gulf, on the site now occupied by *Boodroom*. These six cities formed an Amphictyony, which held its meetings at the temple of Apollo, called the Triopium, near Cnidus, the most central of the cities. (Schol. ad Theocrit. l. s. c.)

There were, as Herodotus indicates, many other Doric settlements on these coasts. The principal appear to have been Myndus and Iassus to the north, and Phasêlis to the east, upon the continent, Carpathus and Symé, on their respective islands. Concerning the site of Phasêlis, vide infrà, ii. 178, note [9].

[6] According to the common tradition, the Achæans, expelled by the Dorians from Argolis, Laconia, and Messenia, at the time of the return of the Heracleids (B. C. 1104 in the ordinary chronology), retired northwards, and expelled the Ionians from their country, which became the Achæa of history. (Vide infrà, vii. 94.)

[6a] The Italian Crathis ran close by our author's adopted city, Thurium (infra, v. 45, Strab. vi. p. 378).

[7] It may be perfectly true, as has been argued by Raoul-Rochette (tom. iii. p. 83) and Mr. Grote (vol. iii. part ii. ch. xiii.), that the Ionic colonisation of Asia Minor, instead of being the result of a single great impulse, was the consequence of a long series of distinct and isolated efforts on the part of many different states; and yet there may be the connexion which Herodotus indicates between the twelve cities of Achæa and the twelve states of Asiatic Ionians. The sacred number of the Ionians may have been twelve, and no other number may have been thought to constitute a perfect Amphictyony. In the same way the Etruscans in Italy (whether they moved northwards or southwards) formed their later confederacy of the same number of cities as their earlier (Livy, v. 33).

Dorians from Epidaurus, and many other distinct tribes.[8] Even those who came from the Prytanêum of Athens,[9] and reckon themselves the purest Ionians of all, brought no wives with them to the new country, but married Carian girls, whose fathers they had slain. Hence these women made a law, which they bound themselves by an oath to observe, and which they handed down to their daughters after them, "That none should ever sit at meat with her husband, or call him by his name;" because the invaders slew their fathers, their husbands, and their sons, and then forced them to become their wives. It was at Miletus that these events took place.

147. The kings, too, whom they set over them, were either Lycians, of the blood of Glaucus,[10] son of Hippolochus, or Pylian Caucons[1] of the blood of Codrus, son of Melanthus; or else from both those families. But since these Ionians set more store by the name than any of the others, let them pass for the pure bred Ionians; though truly all are Ionians who have their origin from Athens, and keep the Apaturia.[2] This is a festival

[8] The Orchomenian Minyæ founded Teos (Pausan. vii. iii. § 7), the Phocians Phocæa (ibid.). Abantians from Eubœa were mingled with Ionians in Chios (Ion. ap. Pausan. vii. iv. § 6). Cadmeians formed a large proportion of the settlers at Priênê, which was sometimes called Cadmé (Strab. xiv. p. 912). Attica had served as a refuge to fugitives from all quarters (see Thucyd. i. 2).

[9] This expression alludes to the solemnities which accompanied the sending out of a colony. In the Prytanêum, or Government-house, of each state was preserved the sacred fire, which was never allowed to go out, whereon the life of the State was supposed to depend. When a colony took its departure, the leaders went in solemn procession to the Prytanêum of the mother city, and took fresh fire from the sacred hearth, which was conveyed to the Prytanêum of the new settlement.

[10] See Hom. Il. ii. 876.

[1] The Caucons are reckoned by Strabo among the earliest inhabitants of Greece, and associated with the Pelasgi, Leleges, and Dryopes (vii. p. 465). Like their kindred tribes, they were very widely spread. Their chief settlements, however, appear to have been on the north coast of Asia Minor, between the Mariandynians and the river Parthenius (Strab. xii. p. 785), and on the west coast of the Peloponnese in Messenia, Elis, and Triphylia. (Strab. viii. pp. 496–7; Arist. Fr. 135.) In this last position they are mentioned by Homer (Od. iii. 366) and by Herodotus, both here, and in Book iv. ch. 148. Homer probably alludes to the eastern Caucons in Il. x. 429, and xx. 329. They continued to exist under the name of Cauconitæ, or Cauconiatæ, in Strabo's time, on the Parthenius (comp. viii. p. 501, and xii. p. 786), and are even mentioned by Ptolemy (v. 1) as still inhabiting the same region. From the Peloponnese the race had entirely disappeared when Strabo wrote, but had left their name to the river Caucon, a small stream in the north-western corner of the peninsula. (Strab. viii. 496.)

[2] The Apaturia (ἀ (=ἅμα) πατύρια) was the solemn annual meeting of the phratries, for the purpose of registering the children of the preceding year whose birth entitled them to citizenship. It took place in the month Pyanepsion (November), and lasted three days. On the first day, called Δορπία, the members of each phratry either dined together at the Phratrium, or were feasted at the house of some wealthy citizen. On the second day (ἀνάῤῥυσις), solemn sacrifice was offered to Jupiter Phratrius. After these preliminaries, on the third day (κουρεῶτις) the business of the festival took place. Claims were made, objections were heard, and the registration

which all the Ionians celebrate, except the Ephesians and the Colophonians, whom a certain act of bloodshed excludes from it.

148. The Panionium[3] is a place in Mycalé, facing the north, which was chosen by the common voice of the Ionians and made sacred to Heliconian Neptune.[4] Mycalé itself is a promontory of the mainland, stretching out westward towards Samos, in which the Ionians assemble from all their States to keep the feast of the Panionia.[5] The names of festivals, not only among the Ionians but among all the Greeks, end, like the Persian proper names, in one and the same letter.

149. The above-mentioned, then, are the twelve towns of the Ionians. The Æolic cities are the following :—Cymé, called also Phricônis, Larissa, Neonteichus, Temnus, Cilla, Notium, Ægiroëssa, Pitané, Ægææ, Myrina, and Gryneia.[6] These are

was effected. (See Larcher's note, vol. i. pp. 420–2, and Smith's Dict. of Antiquities, in voc. Ἀπατούρια.)

[3] Under the name of Panionium are included both a tract of ground and a temple. It is the former of which Herodotus here speaks particularly, as the place in which the great Pan-Ionic festival was held. The spot was on the north side of the promontory of Mycalé, at the foot of the hill, three stadia (about a third of a mile) from the shore (Strab. xiv. p. 916). The modern village of *Tchanglí* is supposed, with reason, to occupy the site. It is the only place on that steep and mountainous coast where an opening for a temple occurs ; and here in a church on the sea-shore Sir W. Gell found an inscription in which the word "Panionium" occurred twice. (Leake's Asia Minor, p. 260.) The Panionium was in the territory of Priênê, and consequently under the guardianship of that state.

[4] Heliconian Neptune was so called from Helicé, which is mentioned above among the ancient Ionian cities in the Peloponnese (ch. 145). This had been the central point of the old confederacy, and the temple there had been in old times their place of meeting. Pausanias calls it ἁγιώτατον (VII. xxiv. § 4). The temple at Mycalé in the new Amphictyony occupied the place of that at Helicé in the old. (Comp. Clitophon. Fr. 5.)

[5] It is remarkable that Thucydides, writing so shortly after Herodotus, should speak of the Pan-Ionic festival at Mycalé as no longer of any importance, and regard it as practically superseded by the festival of the Ephesia, held near Ephesus (iii. 104). Still the old feast continued, and was celebrated as late as the time of Augustus (Strabo, xiv. p. 916).

[6] In this enumeration Herodotus does not observe any regular order. Proceeding from south to north, the Æolic cities (so far as they can be located with any certainty) occur in following sequence :—Smyrna, Temnus, Neonteichus, Larissa, Cymé, Ægæ, Myrina, Gryneium, Pitané. Five of these, Pitané, Gryneium, Myrina, Cymé, and Smyrna, were upon the coast. The others lay inland.

Ægiroëssa is not mentioned by any author but Herodotus, and Stephen, quoting him. Herodotus, on the other hand, omits Elæa, near the mouth of the Caicus, which Strabo and Stephen mention as one of the principal Æolian cities. Possibly therefore Ægiroëssa is another name for Elæa.

Æolis, according to this view, reached from the mouth of the Evenus (the modern *Kosak*) to the interior recess of the bay of Smyrna. There was an interruption, however, in the coast line, as the Ionic colony of Phocæa intervened between Smyrna and Cymé. Still in all probability the territory was continuous inland, reaching across the plain of the Hermus; Larissa to the north and Temnus to the south of the Hermus forming the links which connected Smyrna with the rest of the Amphictyony. (See Kiepert's Supplementary Maps, Berlin, 1851.)

The territory was a narrow strip along the shores of the Elæitic Gulf, but ex-

the eleven ancient cities of the Æolians. Originally, indeed, they had twelve cities upon the mainland, like the Ionians, but the Ionians deprived them of Smyrna, one of the number. The soil of Æolis is better than that of Ionia, but the climate is less agreeable.

150. The following is the way in which the loss of Smyrna happened. Certain men of Colophon had been engaged in a sedition there, and being the weaker party, were driven by the others into banishment. The Smyrnæans received the fugitives, who, after a time, watching their opportunity, while the inhabitants were celebrating a feast to Bacchus outside the walls, shut to the gates, and so got possession of the town.[7] The Æolians of the other States came to their aid, and terms were agreed on between the parties, the Ionians consenting to give up all the moveables, and the Æolians making a surrender of the place. The expelled Smyrnæans were distributed among the other States of the Æolians, and were everywhere admitted to citizenship.

151. These, then, were all the Æolic cities upon the mainland, with the exception of those about Mount Ida, which made no part of this confederacy.[8] As for the islands, Lesbos contains five cities.[9] Arisba, the sixth, was taken by the Methymnæans, their kinsmen, and the inhabitants reduced to slavery. Tenedos contains one city, and there is another which is built on what are called the Hundred Isles.[10] The Æolians of Lesbos and Tenedos, like the Ionian islanders, had at this time nothing to fear. The other Æolians decided in their common assembly to follow the Ionians, whatever course they should pursue.

152. When the deputies of the Ionians and Æolians, who had journeyed with all speed to Sparta, reached the city, they

tended inland considerably up the rich valleys of the Hermus and Caicus; Pergamus in the one valley, and Magnesia (under Sipylus) in the other, being included within the limits of Æolis.

[7] Such treachery was not without a parallel in ancient times. Herodotus relates a similar instance in the conduct of the Samians, who, when invited by the Zanclæans to join them in colonising Calé Acté, finding Zanclé undefended, seized it, and took it for their own (infra, vi. 23).

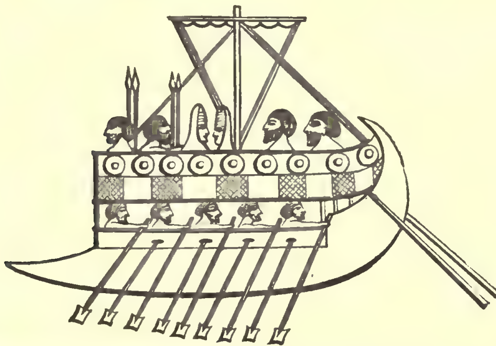
[8] The district here indicated, and commonly called the Troad, extended from Adramyttium on the south to Priapus on the north, a city lying on the Propontis, nearly due north of Adramyttium. It was much larger than the proper Æolis, and contained a vast number of cities, of which Assus and Antandrus were the chief. This district was mainly colonised from Lesbos. (Pausan. vi. iv. § 5; Strabo, xiii. pp. 885, 892.)

[9] The five Lesbian cities were, Mytilêné, Methymna, Antissa, Eresus, and Pyrrha. (Scylax. Peripl. p. 87; Strabo, xiii. pp. 885–7).

[10] These islands lay off the promontory which separated the bay of Atarneus from that of Adramyttium, opposite to the northern part of the island of Lesbos. They are said to be nearly forty in number. (Bähr in loc.)

chose one of their number, Pythermus, a Phocæan, to be their spokesman. In order to draw together as large an audience as possible, he clothed himself in a purple garment, and so attired stood forth to speak. In a long discourse he besought the Spartans to come to the assistance of his countrymen, but they were not to be persuaded, and voted against sending any succour. The deputies accordingly went their way, while the Lacedæmonians, notwithstanding the refusal which they had given to the prayer of the deputation, despatched a penteconter[1] to the Asiatic coast with certain Spartans on board, for the purpose, as I think, of watching Cyrus and Ionia. These men, on their arrival at Phocæa, sent to Sardis Lacrines, the most distinguished of their number, to prohibit Cyrus, in the name of the Lacedæmonians, from offering molestation to any city of Greece, since they would not allow it.

153. Cyrus is said, on hearing the speech of the herald, to have asked some Greeks who were standing by, "Who these Lacedæmonians were, and what was their number, that they dared to send him such a notice?"[2] When he had received their reply, he turned to the Spartan herald and said, "I have never yet been afraid of any men, who have a set place in the middle of their city, where they come together to cheat each other and forswear themselves. If I live, the Spartans shall



[1] Penteconters were ships with fifty rowers, twenty-five of a side, who sat on a level, as is customary in row-boats at the present day. Biremes (διήρεις), triremes (τριήρεις), &c., were ships in which the rowers sat in ranks, some above the others. Biremes were probably a Phœnician invention. They were certainly known to the Assyrians in the time of Sennacherib, probably through that people. The subjoined representation is from the palace of that monarch at Kouyunjik. Triremes are said to have been invented about a century and a half before Cyrus by the Corinthians (Thucyd. i. 13), but were for a long time very little used. The navy of Polycrates consisted of Penteconters. (Vide infra, iii. 59.)

[2] Compare v. 73 and 105.

have troubles enough of their own to talk of, without concerning themselves about the Ionians." Cyrus intended these words as a reproach against all the Greeks, because of their having market-places where they buy and sell, which is a custom unknown to the Persians, who never make purchases in open marts, and indeed have not in their whole country a single market-place.[3]

After this interview Cyrus quitted Sardis, leaving the city under the charge of Tabalus, a Persian, but appointing Pactyas, a native, to collect the treasure belonging to Crœsus and the other Lydians, and bring it after him.[4] Cyrus himself proceeded towards Agbatana, carrying Crœsus along with him, not regarding the Ionians as important enough to be his immediate object. Larger designs were in his mind. He wished to war in person against Babylon, the Bactrians, the Sacæ,[5] and Egypt; he therefore determined to assign to one of his generals the task of conquering the Ionians.

154. No sooner, however, was Cyrus gone from Sardis than Pactyas induced his countrymen to rise in open revolt against him and his deputy Tabalus. With the vast treasures at his disposal he then went down to the sea, and employed them in hiring mercenary troops, while at the same time he engaged

[3] Markets in the strict sense of the word are still unknown in the East, where the bazaars, which are collections of shops, take their place. The Persians of the nobler class would neither buy nor sell at all, since they would be supplied by their dependents and through presents with all that they required for the common purposes of life. (Cf. Strab. xv. p. 1042, ἀγορᾶς οὐχ ἅπτονται· οὔτε γὰρ πωλοῦσιν οὔτ' ὠνοῦνται.) Those of lower rank would buy at the shops, which were not allowed in the Forum, or public place of meeting (Xen. Cyrop. I. ii. § 3.)

[4] Heeren (As. Nat. i. p. 338, E. T.) regards this as the appointment of a native satrap, and dates the division of offices, which obtained in later times, from the very beginning of the conquests of Cyrus. But it does not appear that Pactyas had any permanent office. He was to collect the treasures of the conquered people, and bring them (κομίζειν) with him to Ecbatana. Tabalus appears to have been left the sole governor of Sardis.

[5] Ctesias placed the conquest of the Bactrians and the Sacæ before the capture of Crœsus (Persic. Excerpt. § 2–4.) Herodotus appears to have regarded their subjection as taking place between the Lydian and the Babylonian wars. (Vide infra, ch. 177.) Bactria may be regarded as fairly represented by the modern Balkh. The Sacæ (Scyths) are more difficult to locate; it only appears that their country bordered upon and lay beyond Bactria. Probably the sixteen years which intervened between the capture of Sardis (B. C. 554) and the taking of Babylon (B. C. 538) were occupied with those extensive conquests to the north and north-east, by which the Hyrcanians, Parthians, Sogdians, Arians of Herat, Sarangians, Chorasmians, Gandarians, &c. (as well as the Bactrians and the Sacæ), were brought under the Persian yoke. At least there is no reason to believe these tribes to have formed any part either of the ancient Persian kingdom (suprà, ch. 125) or of the Median empire.

[Pliny (lib. vi. c. 23) has preserved a tradition of the destruction of Capissa, in Capissene, at the foot of the Median Caucasus (*Kafshán*, in the district of *Kohistán*, north of Cabúl), by Cyrus in one of his expeditions to the eastward.—H. C. R.]

the people of the coast to enrol themselves in his army. He then marched upon Sardis, where he besieged Tabalus, who shut himself up in the citadel.

155. When Cyrus, on his way to Agbatana, received these tidings, he turned to Crœsus and said, "Where will all this end, Crœsus, thinkest thou? It seemeth that these Lydians will not cease to cause trouble both to themselves and others. I doubt me if it were not best to sell them all for slaves. Methinks what I have now done is as if a man were to 'kill the father and then spare the child.'[58] Thou, who wert something more than a father to thy people, I have seized and carried off, and to that people I have entrusted their city. Can I then feel surprise at their rebellion?" Thus did Cyrus open to Crœsus his thoughts; whereat the latter, full of alarm lest Cyrus should lay Sardis in ruins, replied as follows: "Oh! my king, thy words are reasonable; but do not, I beseech thee, give full vent to thy anger, nor doom to destruction an ancient city, guiltless alike of the past and of the present trouble. I caused the one, and in my own person now pay the forfeit. Pactyas has caused the other, he to whom thou gavest Sardis in charge; let him bear the punishment. Grant, then, forgiveness to the Lydians, and to make sure of their never rebelling against thee, or alarming thee more, send and forbid them to keep any weapons of war, command them to wear tunics under their cloaks, and to put buskins upon their legs, and make them bring up their sons to cithern-playing, harping, and shop-keeping. So wilt thou soon see them become women instead of men, and there will be no more fear of their revolting from thee."

156. Crœsus thought the Lydians would even so be better off than if they were sold for slaves, and therefore gave the above advice to Cyrus, knowing that, unless he brought forward some notable suggestion, he would not be able to persuade him to alter his mind. He was likewise afraid lest, after escaping the danger which now pressed, the Lydians at some future time might revolt from the Persians and so bring themselves to ruin. The advice pleased Cyrus, who consented to forego his anger and do as Crœsus had said. Thereupon he summoned to his presence a certain Mede, Mazares by name, and charged him to issue orders to the Lydians in accordance with the terms of Crœsus' discourse. Further, he commanded him to sell for slaves all who had joined the Lydians in their attack upon Sardis, and

[58] The licence by which Cyrus is made to quote the Greek poet Stasinus is scarcely defensible. (For the line referred to, see Aristot. Rhet. ii. 21, and Clem. Al. Strom. vi. p. 747.)

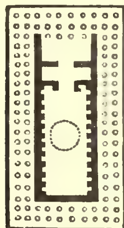
above aught else to be sure that he brought Pactyas with him alive on his return. Having given these orders Cyrus continued his journey towards the Persian territory.

157. Pactyas, when news came of the near approach of the army sent against him, fled in terror to Cymé. Mazares, therefore, the Median general, who had marched on Sardis with a detachment of the army of Cyrus, finding on his arrival that Pactyas and his troops were gone, immediately entered the town. And first of all he forced the Lydians to obey the orders of his master, and change (as they did from that time) their entire manner of living.[6] Next, he despatched messengers to Cymé, and required to have Pactyas delivered up to him. On this the Cymæans resolved to send to Branchidæ and ask the advice of the god. Branchidæ[7] is situated in the territory of Miletus, above the port of Panormus. There was an oracle there, established in very ancient times, which both the Ionians and Æolians were wont often to consult.

158. Hither therefore the Cymæans sent their deputies to

[6] Mr. Grote (vol. iv. p. 268) observes with reason, that "the conversation here reported, and the deliberate plan for enervating the Lydian character supposed to be pursued by Cyrus, is evidently an hypothesis to explain the contrast between the Lydians whom the Greeks saw before them, after two or three generations of slavery, and the old irresistible horsemen of whom they had heard in fame." This is far better than, with Heeren (As. Nat. vol. i. p. 341), to regard such treatment of a conquered people as part of the regular system of the Persian despotism.

[7] The temple of Apollo at Branchidæ and the port Panormus still remain. The former is twelve miles from Miletus, nearly due south. It lies near the shore, about two miles inland from Cape *Monodendri*. It is a magnificent ruin of Ionic architecture. Dr. Chandler says of it: "The memory of the pleasure which this spot afforded me will not be soon or easily erased. The columns yet entire are so exquisitely fine, the marble mass so vast and noble, that it is impossible perhaps to conceive greater beauty and majesty of ruin." (Travels, vol. i. ch. xliii. p. 174.) A fine view of the ruins is given by M. Texier (Asie Mineure, vol. ii. opp. p. 326), and a tolerable one in the Ionian Antiquities published by the Dilettanti Society (vol. i. plate 2). The temple appears to have been, next to that of Diana at Ephesus, the largest of the Asiatic fanes. (See Leake's Asia Minor, Notes, p. 348.) Only three of the pillars are now standing. (Texier, vol. i. p. 45.)



Plan of the Temple.
Length, 304 feet; breadth, 165 feet.

The port of Panormus was discovered by Dr. Chandler in the vicinity of the temple. "In descending from the mountain toward the gulf," he says, "I had remarked in the sea something white,—and going afterwards to examine it, found the remains of a circular pier belonging to the port, which was called Panormus. The stones, which are marble, and *about six feet in diameter*, extend from near the shore, where are traces of buildings." (ib. p. 173.)

make inquiry at the shrine, "What the gods would like them to do with the Lydian, Pactyas?" The oracle told them, in reply, to give him up to the Persians. With this answer the messengers returned, and the people of Cymé were ready to surrender him accordingly; but as they were preparing to do so, Aristodicus, son of Heraclides, a citizen of distinction, hindered them. He declared that he distrusted the response, and believed that the messengers had reported it falsely; until at last another embassy, of which Aristodicus himself made part, was despatched, to repeat the former inquiry concerning Pactyas.

159. On their arrival at the shrine of the god, Aristodicus, speaking on behalf of the whole body, thus addressed the oracle: "Oh! king, Pactyas the Lydian, threatened by the Persians with a violent death, has come to us for sanctuary, and lo, they ask him at our hands, calling upon our nation to deliver him up. Now, though we greatly dread the Persian power, yet have we not been bold to give up our suppliant, till we have certain knowledge of thy mind, what thou wouldst have us to do." The oracle thus questioned gave the same answer as before, bidding them surrender Pactyas to the Persians; whereupon Aristodicus, who had come prepared for such an answer, proceeded to make the circuit of the temple, and to take all the nests of young sparrows and other birds that he could find about the building. As he was thus employed, a voice, it is said, came forth from the inner sanctuary, addressing Aristodicus in these words: "Most impious of men, what is this thou hast the face to do? Dost thou tear my suppliants from my temple?" Aristodicus, at no loss for a reply, rejoined: "Oh, king, art thou so ready to protect thy suppliants, and dost thou command the Cymæans to give up a suppliant?" "Yes," returned the god, "I do command it, that so for the impiety you may the sooner perish, and not come here again to consult my oracle about the surrender of suppliants."

160. On the receipt of this answer the Cymæans, unwilling to bring the threatened destruction on themselves by giving up the man, and afraid of having to endure a siege if they continued to harbour him, sent Pactyas away to Mytilêné. On this Mazares despatched envoys to the Mytilenæans to demand the fugitive of them, and they were preparing to give him up for a reward (I cannot say with certainty how large, as the bargain was not completed), when the Cymæans, hearing what the Mytilenæans were about, sent a vessel to Lesbos, and conveyed away Pactyas to Chios. From hence it was that he was surrendered. The

Chians dragged him from the temple of Minerva Poliuchus[8] and gave him up to the Persians, on condition of receiving the district of Atarneus, a tract of Mysia opposite to Lesbos,[9] as the price of the surrender.[1] Thus did Pactyas fall into the hands of his pursuers, who kept a strict watch upon him, that they might be able to produce him before Cyrus. For a long time afterwards none of the Chians would use the barley of Atarneus to place on the heads of victims, or make sacrificial cakes of the corn grown there, but the whole produce of the land was excluded from all their temples.

161. Meanwhile Mazares, after he had recovered Pactyas from the Chians, made war upon those who had taken part in the attack on Tabalus, and in the first place took Priênê and sold the inhabitants for slaves, after which he overran the whole plain of the Mæander and the district of Magnesia,[2] both of which he gave up for pillage to the soldiery. He then suddenly sickened and died.

162. Upon his death Harpagus was sent down to the coast to succeed to his command. He also was of the race of the Medes, being the man whom the Median king, Astyages, feasted at the unholy banquet, and who lent his aid to place Cyrus upon the throne. Appointed by Cyrus to conduct the war in these parts, he entered Ionia, and took the cities by means of mounds. Forcing the enemy to shut themselves up within their defences, he heaped mounds of earth against their walls,[3] and thus carried the

[8] That is, "Minerva, Guardian of the citadel," which was the πόλις (κατ' ἐξοχὴν) of each city. Not only at Athens, but among the Ionian cities generally, there was a temple of Minerva (Αθήνη) within the precincts of the Acropolis. Homer even puts one in the citadel of Ilium. (Iliad. vi. 297.)

[9] Atarneus lay to the north of the Æolis of Herodotus, almost exactly opposite to Mytilênê. There was a town of the same name within the territory. Its vicinity to the river Caicus is indicated below (vi. 28). It continued in later times to be Chian territory. (See the story of Hermotimus, viii. 106, and cf. Scylax. Peripl. p. 88).

[1] The Pseudo-Plutarch ascribes the whole of this narrative to the 'malignity' of Herodotus (De Malign. Herod. p. 859), and quotes Charon of Lampsacus as conclusive against its truth. But the silence of Charon proves nothing, and the passage quoted is quite consistent with the statements made by Herodotus. There is no need, with Bähr (in loc.), to dispute the veracity of Charon. Charon wrote—"Pactyas, when he heard of the approach of the Persian army, fled first to Mytilênê, afterwards to Chios. Cyrus however obtained possession of him." A man might write so, believing all that Herodotus relates. See Mr. Grote's note (vol. iv. p. 270).

[2] *Not* Magnesia *under Sipylus*, but Magnesia *on the Mæander*, one of the few ancient Greek settlements situated far inland. Its site is the modern Inekbazar (not Guzel-hissar, as Chandler supposed, which is Tralles) on the north side of the Mæander, about one mile and a half from it, and *thirty miles* from the sea. (Leake, pp. 243–245.)

[3] This plan seems not to have been known to the Lydians. The Persians had learnt it, in all probability, from the Assyrians, by whom it had long been practised.

towns. Phocæa was the city against which he directed his first attack.

163. Now the Phocæans were the first of the Greeks who performed long voyages, and it was they who made the Greeks acquainted with the Adriatic and with Tyrrhenia, with Iberia, and the city of Tartessus.[4] The vessel which they used in their voyages was not the round-built merchant-ship, but the long penteconter. On their arrival at Tartessus, the king of the country, whose name was Arganthônius, took a liking to them. This monarch reigned over the Tartessians for eighty years,[5] and lived to be a hundred and twenty years old. He regarded the Phocæans with so much favour as, at first, to beg them to quit Ionia and settle in whatever part of his country they liked. Afterwards, finding that he could not prevail upon them to agree to this, and hearing that the Mede was growing great in their neighbourhood, he gave them money to build a wall about their town, and certainly he must have given it with a bountiful hand, for the town is many furlongs in circuit, and the wall is built entirely of great blocks of stone skilfully fitted together.[6] The wall, then, was built by his aid.

164. Harpagus, having advanced against the Phocæans with his army, laid siege to their city, first, however, offering them terms. "It would content him," he said, "if the Phocæans would agree to throw down one of their battlements, and dedicate one dwelling-house to the king." The Phocæans, sorely vexed at the thought of becoming slaves, asked a single day to delib-

(2 Kings xix. 32, Isaiah xxxvii. 33. Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, pp. 73, 149, &c.) A detailed account of this mode of attack and the way of meeting it, is given by Thucyd. (ii. 75–6.)

[4] The Iberia of Herodotus is the Spanish Peninsula. Tartessus was a colony founded there very early by the Phœnicians. It was situated beyond the Straits, at the mouth of the Bætis (*Guadalquivir*) near the site of the modern Cadiz. (Strabo, iii. p. 199.) Tarsus, Tartessus, Tarshish, are variants of the same word. [Tarshish in the Hamitic tongue, which probably prevailed on the coast of Phœnicia when the first colonists sailed for Spain, meant "the younger brother"—a very suitable name for a colony.—H. C. R.]

[5] Pliny (vii. 48) says Anacreon gave him a life of 150 years, and mentions other reigns of 160 and 200, which he thinks fabulous; but he considers the 80 years of Arganthônius certain. He calls him king of Tartessus, and of Gades, as Cicero does (de Senect. 19). In point of age Arganthônius was moderate compared to the Illyrian Dando, who (Plin. ib.) lived 500 years.—[G. W.] Phlegon of Tralles also mentioned the 150 years of Arganthônius in his tract concerning long-lived persons (Περὶ μακροβίων). Except the Erythræan Sibyl, who had lived a thousand years (!), it was, he said, the extremest case of longevity upon record. See his fragments in Müller's Fragm. Hist. Gr. vol. iii. p. 610. Fr. 29.

[6] It is evident from this that, despite the two destructions by Harpagus, and the generals of Darius (infra, vi. 32), the old Phocæa continued to exist in the time of Herodotus. It does not seem certain when the new city *within* the Smyrnean Gulf (*New Fogæa*) superseded the old city in the bay of Cymé, of which some traces still remain at *Palæa-Fogæa.* (Chandler, i. p. 88.)

erate on the answer they should return, and besought Harpagus during that day to draw off his forces from the walls. Harpagus replied, "that he understood well enough what they were about to do, but nevertheless he would grant their request." Accordingly the troops were withdrawn, and the Phocæans forthwith took advantage of their absence to launch their penteconters, and put on board their wives and children, their household goods, and even the images of their gods, with all the votive offerings from the fanes, except the paintings and the works in stone or brass, which were left behind. With the rest they embarked, and putting to sea, set sail for Chios. The Persians, on their return, took possession of an empty town.

165. Arrived at Chios, the Phocæans made offers for the purchase of the islands called the Œnussæ,[7] but the Chians refused to part with them, fearing lest the Phocæans should establish a factory there, and exclude their merchants from the commerce of those seas. On their refusal, the Phocæans, as Arganthônius was now dead, made up their minds to sail to Cyrnus (Corsica), where, twenty years before, following the direction of an oracle,[8] they had founded a city, which was called Alalia. Before they set out, however, on this voyage they sailed once more to Phocæa, and surprising the Persian troops appointed by Harpagus to garrison the town, put them all to the sword. After this they laid the heaviest curses on the man who should draw back and forsake the armament; and having dropped a heavy mass of iron into the sea, swore never to return to Phocæa till that mass reappeared upon the surface. Nevertheless, as they were preparing to depart for Cyrnus, more than half of their number were seized with such sadness and so great a longing to see once more their city and their ancient homes, that they broke the oath by which they had bound themselves and sailed back to Phocæa.

166. The rest of the Phocæans, who kept their oath, pro-

[7] The Œnussæ lay between Chios and the mainland, opposite the northern extremity of that island (Lat. 38° 30′). They are the modern *Spalmadori*, five in number. One is of much larger size than the rest, which explains the statements of Pliny and Stephen of Byzantium, that Œnussæ was *an island.* There is an excellent harbour.

[8] A most important influence was exercised by the Greek oracles, especially that of Delphi, over the course of Hellenic colonisation. Further instances occur, iv. 155, 157, 159; v. 42. In connexion with this last passage, Herodotus lets fall a remark which shows that it was almost the invariable practice to consult the oracle as to the place to be colonised. Dorieus, he says, on first leading out his colony from Sparta, "neither took counsel of the oracle at Delphi, as to the place whereto he should go, nor observed any of the customary usages." (οὔτε τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίῳ χρησάμενος, ἐς ἥντινα γῆν κτίσων ἴῃ, οὔτε ποιήσας οὐδὲν τῶν νομιζομένων.)

ceeded without stopping upon their voyage, and when they came to Cyrnus established themselves along with the earlier settlers at Alalia and built temples in the place. For five years they annoyed their neighbours by plundering and pillaging on all sides, until at length the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians[9] leagued against them, and sent each a fleet of sixty ships to attack the town. The Phocæans, on their part, manned all their vessels, sixty in number, and met their enemy on the Sardinian sea. In the engagement which followed the Phocæans were victorious, but their success was only a sort of Cadmeian victory.[10] They lost forty ships in the battle, and the twenty which remained came out of the engagement with beaks so bent and blunted as to be no longer serviceable. The Phocæans therefore sailed back again to Alalia, and taking their wives and children on board, with such portion of their goods and chattels as the vessels could bear, bade adieu to Cyrnus and sailed to Rhegium.

167. The Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians, who had got into their hands many more than the Phocæans from among the crews of the forty vessels that were destroyed, landed their captives upon the coast after the fight, and stoned them all to death. Afterwards, when sheep, or oxen, or even men of the district of

[9] The naval power of the Tyrrhenians was about this time at its height. Populonia and Cæré (or Agylla) were the most important of their maritime towns. Like the Greeks at a somewhat earlier period (Thucyd. i. 5), the Tyrrhenians at this time and for some centuries afterwards were pirates (Strabo, v. p. 310 and vi. p. 385. Diod. Sic. xv. 14; Ephorus 52, ed. Didot; Aristid. Rhod. ii. p. 798). Corsica probably was under their dominion before the Phocæans made their settlement at Alalia. Its foundation would be a declaration of hostilities. The after-coming of a fresh body of emigrants, with a powerful navy, would still further exasperate the Tyrrhenians. Hitherto they had shared the commerce of the Western half of the Mediterranean with the Carthaginians. The Phocæan voyages to Tartessus, which had for security's sake to be performed in ships of war instead of merchantmen (supra, ch. 163), cannot have interfered much with their mercantile operations. It was different when Phocæa attempted to set itself up as a third power in the seas, which the Tyrrhenians regarded as their own, or at least as theirs conjointly with the Carthaginians. The insignificant settlement at Massilia, which maintained itself with difficulty (Liv. v. 34), had been perhaps beneath their jealousy. It was founded as early as B. C. 600 (Scymnus Chius, 215–8). Alalia, founded about B. C. 572, exactly opposite their coast, and on an island which they claimed as theirs, and now raised by the fresh colonisation to great importance, was a most dangerous rival. Hence the attack of the two great maritime powers upon the interloper. The Phocæans were swept away, and the Tyrrhenians resumed their former position and conduct, till Hiero of Syracuse, provoked by their piracies and pillage of Greek cities, broke their power in the great battle of which Pindar sings (Pyth. i. 137–41). This was B. C. 474. (Clinton, F. H. vol. ii. p. 36.)

[10] A Cadmeian victory was one from which the victor received more hurt than profit (Suidas in voc. Καδμεία νίκη). Plutarch derives the proverb from the combat between Polynices and Eteocles (De Amor. Frat. p. 488, A.); Eustathius from the victory of the Thebans over the Seven Chiefs, which only produced their after defeat by the Epigoni (ad Hom. Il. iv. 407). Arrian used the phrase in an entirely different sense. (Fr. 66.)

Agylla passed by the spot where the murdered Phocæans lay, their bodies became distorted, or they were seized with palsy, or they lost the use of some of their limbs. On this the people of Agylla sent to Delphi to ask the oracle how they might expiate their sin.[1] The answer of the Pythoness required them to institute the custom, which they still observe, of honouring the dead Phocæans with magnificent funeral rites, and solemn games, both gymnic and equestrian. Such, then, was the fate that befell the Phocæan prisoners. The other Phocæans, who had fled to Rhegium, became after a while the founders of the city called Vela,[2] in the district of Œnotria. This city they colonised, upon the showing of a man of Posidonia,[3] who suggested that the oracle had not meant to bid them set up a town in Cyrnus the island, but set up the worship of Cyrnus the hero.[4]

168. Thus fared it with the men of the city of Phocæa in Ionia. They of Teos[5] did and suffered almost the same; for they too, when Harpagus had raised his mound to the height of their defences, took ship, one and all, and sailing across the sea to Thrace, founded there the city of Abdêra.[6] The site was one which Timêsius of Clazomenæ had previously tried to colonise, but without any lasting success, for he was expelled by the

[1] Niebuhr draws two conclusions of some importance from this narrative—first, that Agylla had not yet been conquered by the Etruscans, but was purely Tyrrhenian, *i. e.* (according to his notion) Pelasgic. Otherwise, he says, they would have been content with their own *haruspicy*, and would not have sent to Delphi. Secondly, that in this war the Agyllæans were not assisted by any of their neighbours, since the divine judgment fell on them alone (Rom. Hist. vol. i. p. 124. E. T.). But if the massacre took place on their territory, as it evidently did, the judgment, being attached to the scene of the slaughter, could only affect to any extent the inhabitants of the district.

[2] This is the town more commonly called Velia or Elea, where soon afterwards the great Eleatic school of philosophy arose. It is conjectured that the Phocæans were "joined by other exiles from Ionia, in particular by the Colophonian philosopher and poet Xenophanes." (Grote's History of Greece, vol. iv. p. 276.) There seems to be no doubt that Xenophanes was one of the founders of the school (Plat. Sophist. ad init. Clem. Alex. Strom. i. p. 301), but the time at which he lived is very uncertain. (Cf. Clinton's F. H. vol. ii. pp. 15, 35.)

[3] This is the place now known as *Pæstum*, so famous for its beautiful ruins. (See Strab. v. p. 361.)

[4] Cyrnus was a son of Hercules (Servius ad Virg. Eclog. ix. 30).

[5] Teos was situated on the south side of the isthmus which joined the peninsula of Erythræ to the mainland, very nearly opposite Clazomenæ (Strab. xiv. p. 922.) It was the birthplace of Anacreon, and according to Strabo (ibid.) of Hecatæus the chronicler. Considerable remains of it, especially a temple of Bacchus and a theatre, still exist near *Sighajik*. (Chandler's Travels, ch. xxvii. p. 111; Leake's Asia Minor, p. 350.)

A certain number of the Teians returned to their native city (Strab. l. s. c.), which rose from its ruins and became once more an important place. In the Ionian revolt the Teians furnished seventeen ships to the combined fleet (infra, vi. 8), when the Phocæans could only furnish three.

[6] For the site of Abdêra, vide infra, vii. 109.

Thracians. Still the Teians of Abdêra worship him to this day as a hero.

169. Of all the Ionians these two states alone, rather than submit to slavery, forsook their fatherland. The others (I except Miletus) resisted Harpagus no less bravely than those who fled their country, and performed many feats of arms, each fighting in their own defence, but one after another they suffered defeat; the cities were taken, and the inhabitants submitted, remaining in their respective countries, and obeying the behests of their new lords. Miletus, as I have already mentioned, had made terms with Cyrus, and so continued at peace. Thus was continental Ionia once more reduced to servitude; and when the Ionians of the islands saw their brethren upon the mainland subjugated, they also, dreading the like, gave themselves up to Cyrus.[7]

170. It was while the Ionians were in this distress, but still, amid it all, held their meetings, as of old, at the Panionium, that Bias of Priênê, who was present at the festival, recommended (as I am informed) a project of the very highest wisdom, which would, had it been embraced, have enabled the Ionians to become the happiest and most flourishing of the Greeks. He exhorted them "to join in one body, set sail for Sardinia, and there found a single Pan-Ionic city; so they would escape from slavery and rise to great fortune, being masters of the largest island in the world,[8] and exercising dominion even beyond its bounds; whereas if they stayed in Ionia, he saw no prospect of their ever recovering their lost freedom." Such was the counsel which Bias gave the Ionians in their affliction. Before their misfortunes began, Thales, a man of Miletus, of Phœnician descent, had recommended a different plan. He counselled

[7] This statement appears to be too general. Samos certainly maintained her independence till the reign of Darius (vide infra, iii. 120). The efforts of the Cnidians to turn their peninsula into an island (infra, ch. 174) would show that an insular position was still regarded as a security. Probably Rhodes and Cos continued free. The ground which Herodotus had for his statement appears to have been the fact that Lesbos and Chios came to terms, acknowledging the Persian hegemony. They did so to preserve their possessions upon the main-land. (Supra, ch. 160; infra, v. 94.)

[8] Herodotus appears to have been entirely convinced that there was no island in the world so large as Sardinia. He puts the assertion into the mouth of Histiæus (v. 106), and again (vi. 2) repeats the statement, without expressing any doubt of the fact. We need not be surprised that he was not aware of the size of the British Islands (the Cassiterides, with which the Carthaginians traded, iii. 115), since the south coast was probably all that the Carthaginians themselves had visited; but it does seem extraordinary that he should have lived so long in Italy, and been ignorant that Sicily was a larger island than Sardinia. Dahlmann (Life of Herod. ch. iv. § 1) judges more soundly than Bähr (Note to Herod. i. 170) on this matter. Concerning the continuance of this mistake in later times, see note on book v. ch. 106.

them to establish a single seat of government, and pointed out Teos as the fittest place for it, "for that," he said, "was the centre of Ionia. Their other cities might still continue to enjoy their own laws, just as if they were independent states." This also was good advice.

171. After conquering the Ionians, Harpagus proceeded to attack the Carians, the Caunians, and the Lycians. The Ionians and Æolians were forced to serve in his army. Now, of the above nations the Carians are a race who came into the mainland from the islands.[9] In ancient times they were subjects of king Minos, and went by the name of Leleges,[1] dwelling among the isles, and, so far as I have been able to push my inquiries, never liable to give tribute to any man. They served on board the ships of king Minos whenever he required; and thus, as he was a great conqueror and prospered in his wars, the Carians were in his day the most famous by far of all the nations of the earth. They likewise were the inventors of three things, the use of which was borrowed from them by the Greeks; they were the first to fasten crests on helmets[2] and to put devices on shields, and they also invented handles for shields.[3] In the earlier times shields were without handles, and their wearers managed them by the aid of a leathern thong, by which they were slung round the neck and left shoulder.[4] Long after the

[9] The early occupation of the Cyclades by the Carians is asserted by Thucydides (i. 8), who adduces as proof the fact that when the Athenians purified Delos by the removal of all corpses buried in the island, above half the bodies disinterred were found to be Carian. This was apparent by the manner of their sepulture.

[1] Most ancient writers distinguished the Carians from the Leleges (Hom. Il. x. 428–9; Pherecyd. Fr. 111; Philipp. Theang. Fr. 1; Strab. vii. p. 465). The latter appear to have been one of the chief of those kindred races, generally called Pelasgian, which first peopled Greece. They are not, however, so much a tribe of the Pelasgians, as a sister people. Tradition extends them in early times from Lycia to Acarnania. Besides these two countries, where they are placed by Aristotle (Frag. 127) and Philip of Theangela (Fr. 3), we find them in Caria (ib. Fr. 1; Strab. xiv. p. 945), in Mount Ida (Nymph. Fr. 10), in Samos (Menodot. Fr. 1), in Chios (Pherecyd. l. s. c.), in Thessaly (Suid. ap. Steph. Byz. ad voc. Ἄμυρος), in Megara (Pausan. IV. xxxvi. § 1), in Bœotia (Arist. Fr. 103), in Locris (ib. and Fr. 127), in Ætolia (Fr. 127), in Laconia (Pausan. III. i. § 1), and in Leucas (Arist. Fr. 127). That they formed a portion of the ancient inhabitants of Crete is also not improbable. (See, besides this passage of Herodotus, Strab. xiv. p. 945.) They seem to have approached far more nearly to the Pelasgic character than the Carians, who belonged rather to the Asiatic type. When the Carians, driven from the islands of the Ægean by the Greeks, fell back upon the continent, they found Leleges still occupying the coast, whom they conquered and reduced to the condition of serfs. (Strab. l. s. c.; Philip. Theang. Fr. 1.)

[2] See note to Book iv. ch. 180.

[3] Alcæus spoke of the λόφος Καρικός, and Anacreon of the ὄχανον Καρικοεργές (Strab. xiv. p. 945).

[4] Homer generally represents his heroes as managing their shields in this way

time of Minos, the Carians were driven from the islands by the Ionians and Dorians, and so settled upon the mainland. The above is the account which the Cretans give of the Carians: the Carians themselves say very differently. They maintain that they are the aboriginal inhabitants of the part of the mainland where they now dwell,[5] and never had any other name than that which they still bear: and in proof of this they show an ancient temple of Carian Jove[6] in the country of the Mylasians,[7] in which the Mysians and Lydians have the right of worshipping, as brother races to the Carians: for Lydus and Mysus, they say, were brothers of Car. These nations, therefore, have the aforesaid right; but such as are of a different race, even though they have come to use the Carian tongue, are excluded from this temple.

172. The Caunians,[8] in my judgment, are aboriginals; but

(Il. ii. 388; iv. 796; xi. 38; xii. 401, &c.). Sometimes, however, he speaks of shields with handles to them (viii. 193). This may be an anachronism.

The ὄχανον must be distinguished from the πόρπαξ. The former was a bar across the middle of the shield, through which the arm was put. The latter was a leathern thong near the rim of the shield, which was grasped by the hand. The annexed illustration shows clearly the difference.



[5] It seems probable that the Carians, who were a kindred nation to the Lydians and the Mysians (see the Essay, "On the Ethnic Affinities of the Nations of Western Asia"), belonged originally to the Asiatic continent, and thence spread to the islands. When the Greek colonisation of the islands began, the native Carian population would naturally fall back upon the main mass of the nation which had continued in Asia. Thus both the Carian and the Greek accounts would have truth in them.

[6] Xanthus seems to have spoken of this god under the name of Carius, and to have distinguished him from Jupiter. Carius, he said, was the son of Jupiter and Torrhebia; he was taught music by the Nymphs, and communicated the knowledge to the Lydians (Fr. 2.) The worship of Carius in the district of Lydia called Torrhebia, is mentioned by Stephen (ad voc. Τόῤῥηβος).

[7] Mylasa was an inland town of Caria, about 20 miles from the sea. It was the capital of the later Carian kingdom (B. C. 385–334). The name still continues in the modern *Melasso* (Chandler, vol. i. p. 234; Leake, p. 230), where there are extensive remains (Fellows's Lycia, pp. 66–75).

[8] The Caunians occupied a small district on the coast, which is usually said to intervene between Caria and Lycia (Scyl. Peripl. p. 92; Strab. xiv. p. 932). Their coins and architecture show them to have been really Lycians (Fellows's Lycian Coins, pp. 5–6). Caunus, their capital, which has been identified by an inscription (Geograph. Journal, vol. xii. p. 158), was situated on the right bank of a small stream (now the *Koi-gez*), which carries off the waters of a large lake distant about

by their own account they came from Crete. In their language, either they have approximated to the Carians, or the Carians to them—on this point I cannot speak with certainty. In their customs, however, they differ greatly from the Carians, and not only so, but from all other men. They think it a most honourable practice for friends or persons of the same age, whether they be men, women, or children, to meet together in large companies, for the purpose of drinking wine. Again, on one occasion they determined that they would no longer make use of the foreign temples which had been long established among them, but would worship their own old ancestral gods alone. Then their whole youth took arms, and striking the air with their spears, marched to the Calyndic frontier,[9] declaring that they were driving out the foreign gods.

173. The Lycians are in good truth anciently from Crete; which island, in former days, was wholly peopled with barbarians. A quarrel arising there between the two sons of Europa, Sarpedon and Minos, as to which of them should be king, Minos, whose party prevailed, drove Sarpedon and his followers into banishment. The exiles sailed to Asia,[1] and landed on the

10 miles inland. There are considerable remains, including some walls of Cyclopian masonry. The general localities are correctly given in Kiepert's Supplementary Maps (Berlin, 1851).

[9] Calynda was on the borders of Caria and Lycia. It is sometimes reckoned in the one, sometimes in the other (Strab. xiv. l. s. c.; Plin. H. N. v. 27; Ptol. v. 3; Steph. Byz. ad voc.). Strabo says it was 60 stadia (7 miles) from the sea. Kiepert, in his Supplementary Maps, places it on the *Dollomon Chai*, the Indus or Calbis. But no traces of ruins have been found on that stream (see the Geograph. Journ. xii. p. 162). Sir C. Fellows believed that he had discovered the true site 20 miles east of the Calbis, in a mountainous tract near the gulf of *Makri* (Account of Discoveries, pp. 103–4). These ruins had a decidedly Lycian character, but they seem to lie too near the coast.

[1] It is doubtful whether there is any truth at all in this tale, which would connect the Greeks with Lycia. One thing is clear, namely, that the real Lycian people of history were an entirely distinct race from the Greeks. The Lycian art indeed, with which most persons are familiar from the specimens in the British Museum, bears undoubtedly in its general character a considerable resemblance to the Greek. But the sculptures which belong to the early or purely Lycian period have the least resemblance, being in many respects more like the Persepolitan (Fellows's Lycia, p. 173). And it is not impossible that Greek art may have received an impress from Lycia, for Lycian artists would naturally flock to Athens during the government of Pericles. Certainly the language of the Lycians, from which their ethnic type can best be judged, is utterly unlike the Greek. It is considerably different in its alphabet, nearly half the letters being peculiar. In its general cast it is yet more unlike, its leading characteristic being the number and variety of the vowels, and their marked preponderance over the consonants. Its roots, where they have been satisfactorily made out, are, with scarcely a single exception, alien from the Greek. While undoubtedly Indo-European in type, the language must be pronounced as remote from that of the Greeks as any two branches that can be named of the common stock. The Indo-European tongue to which Lycian approaches most nearly is Zend, but it stands to Zend in the relation of a

Milyan territory. Milyas was the ancient name of the country now inhabited by the Lycians:[2] the Milyæ of the present day were, in those times, called Solymi.[3] So long as Sarpedon reigned, his followers kept the name which they brought with them from Crete, and were called Termilæ, as the Lycians still are by those who live in their neighbourhood.[4] But after Lycus, the

sister and not a daughter. If then there was any early Greek colonisation of Lycia, it must have been insignificant, or at any rate the Greek element must have been soon sunk and merged in the Asiatic. (See Mr. D. Sharpe's Letter in Sir C. Fellows's Lycia, pp. 427 et seqq.; and compare Forbes and Spratt, vol. ii. App. i.)

[2] Milyas continued to be a *district* of Lycia in the age of Augustus (Strabo, xiii. pp. 904–5). It was then the high plain (inclosed by Taurus on the north, Climax and Solyma on the east, Massicytus on the south-west, and two lower ranges, one joining Taurus and Massicytus on the north-west, and the other Massicytus and Solyma on the south-east) in which stands the modern Almalí, the largest town in Lycia, and almost the largest in Asia Minor. It is a table-land about 4000 feet above the sea-level, and has no exit for its waters, which form the lake of Avelan (Fellows's Lycia, pp. 227–9). Sir C. Fellows found in this district a curious monument (figured p. 233), on which the word *Μιλυὰς* occurred. The remainder of the inscription was unfortunately illegible.

The Milyans were undoubtedly an entirely distinct people from the Lycians. There are no Lycian remains in their country. (See Fellows's Lycian Coins, Map.) Bochart derives their name from מולאי, which is used by the Talmudical writers for "mountainous places." (Geograph. Sac. p. 364, l. 4.) They were probably of Semitic origin. (See the next note.)

[3] The Solymi were mentioned by Chærilus, who was contemporary with Herodotus and wrote a poem on the Persian War, as forming a part of the army of Xerxes (ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. ix. 9). He placed them among hills of the same name along the shores of a broad lake, which Col. Leake conjectures to have been that of Egerdir (Geograph. Journ. xii. p. 165). Their language, according to him, was Phœnician. Strabo regards both the Milyans (xiv. p. 952) and Cabalians (xiii. p. 904) as Solymi, and considers that a people of this name had once held the heights of Taurus from Lycia to Pisidia (i. p. 32). That the Pisidians were Solymi is asserted by Pliny (v. 27) and Stephen (ad voc. *Πισιδία*). The same people left their name in Lycia to Mount Solyma. Here we seem to have a trace of a Semitic occupation of these countries preceding the Indo-European. (Comp. Hom. Il. vi. 184.) For additional particulars of the Solymi see Bochart's Geogr. Sacr. part II. book i. ch. 6.

[4] It would seem by the Lycian inscriptions that Termilæ (written Tramelê, **ΤΡΧΜΕΛΛ**; compare the *Τρεμίλαι* of Hecatæus, Fr. 364, and the *Τρεμιλεῖς* of Stephen) was not only the name by which the Lycians were known to their neighbours, but the only name by which they (or rather their principal tribe) called themselves. Lycia and Lycians (written *Λικία* and *Λίκιοι*) are found in the *Greek* portions of the inscriptions, but in the Lycian there is no word at all resembling these. Tramelê, on the other hand, is a name of frequent occurrence, and even lingers in the country at the present day. There is a village called Tremilí in the mountains at the extreme north of the ancient Lycia, not far from the lake of Ghieul Hissar. (See Geograph. Journ. vol. xii. p. 156; Spratt and Forbes's Lycia, vol. i. p. 266.)

Sir C. Fellows thinks that the Lycians, whose real ethnic title is unknown to us, were divided into three tribes, the Tramelæ, the Troës, and the Tekkefæ (?), whom he identifies with the Caunians of Herodotus. The Tramelæ were the most important tribe occupying all southern Lycia from the gulf of Adalia to the valley of the Xanthus. Above them on the east were the districts called Milyas and Cibyratis, inhabited by tribes not Lycian; while the upper part of the valley of the Xanthus, and the mountain-tract to the westward as far as the range which bounds on the east the valley of the Calbis, was inhabited by the Troës; and the region west of that to the borders of Caria by the Tekkefæ. (See the Essay on the Coins of Lycia, London 1855.)

son of Pandion, banished from Athens by his brother Ægeus, had found a refuge with Sarpedon in the country of these Termilæ, they came, in course of time, to be called from him Lycians.[5] Their customs are partly Cretan, partly Carian. They have, however, one singular custom in which they differ from every other nation in the world. They take the mother's and not the father's name. Ask a Lycian who he is, and he answers by giving his own name, that of his mother, and so on in the female line. Moreover, if a free woman marry a man who is a slave, their children are full citizens; but if a free man marry a foreign woman, or live with a concubine, even though he be the first person in the State, the children forfeit all the rights of citizenship.

174. Of these nations, the Carians submitted to Harpagus without performing any brilliant exploits. Nor did the Greeks who dwelt in Caria behave with any greater gallantry. Among them were the Cnidians, colonists from Lacedæmon, who occupy a district facing the sea, which is called Triopium. This region adjoins upon the Bybassian Chersonese; and, except a very small space, is surrounded by the sea, being bounded on the north by the Ceramic Gulf, and on the south by the channel towards the islands of Symé and Rhodes.[6] While Harpagus was engaged in the conquest of Ionia, the Cnidians, wishing to make their country an island, attempted to cut through this narrow neck of land, which was no more than five furlongs across from sea to sea. Their whole territory lay inside the isthmus; for where Cnidia ends towards the mainland, the isthmus begins which they were now seeking to cut through. The work had been commenced, and many hands were employed upon it, when it was observed that there seemed to be something unusual and unnatural in the number of wounds that the workmen received, especially about their eyes, from the splintering of the rock. The Cnidians, therefore, sent to Delphi, to inquire what it was

[5] This may possibly be so far true that the Greek fancy to call the Termilæ Lycians may have originated in the emigration of a certain Lycus, at the head of a band of malcontents, into these regions.

[6] Herodotus is singular in giving the name of Triopium to the whole of that long and narrow peninsula which lies between the gulfs of Cos and Symé, projecting westward from the tract called by Herodotus "the Bybassian Chersonese," which is also a peninsula, joined to the mainland by an isthmus not more than 10 miles across from the Gulf of Cos to that of Marmoricé. The isthmus which unites the Triopian peninsula to the continent was found by Captain Graves to be as narrow as stated by Herodotus, and traces are even said to have been discovered of the attempted canal. (Hamilton's Asia Minor, vol. ii. p. 78.) Most writers make the Triopium a mere cape or promontory (*ἀκρωτήριον*) in this tract. (Scylax. p. 91; Schol. Theocr. xvii. 69; Thuc. viii. 35.) The rendering of the passage (*ἀργμένης ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς Βυβασσίης*) proposed by Larcher and adopted by Bähr, is quite inadmissible.

that hindered their efforts; and received, according to their own account, the following answer from the oracle:—

"Fence not the isthmus off, nor dig it through—
Jove would have made an island, had he wished."

So the Cnidians ceased digging, and when Harpagus advanced with his army, they gave themselves up to him without striking a blow.

175. Above Halicarnassus, and further from the coast, were the Pedasians.[7] With this people, when any evil is about to befal either themselves or their neighbours, the priestess of Minerva grows an ample beard. Three times has this marvel happened. They alone, of all the dwellers in Caria, resisted Harpagus for awhile, and gave him much trouble, maintaining themselves in a certain mountain called Lida, which they had fortified; but in course of time they also were forced to submit.

176. When Harpagus, after these successes, led his forces into the Xanthian plain,[8] the Lycians of Xanthus[9] went out to meet him in the field: though but a small band against a numerous host, they engaged in battle, and performed many glori-

[7] Pedasus was reckoned in Caria (infra, v. 121). Its exact site is uncertain. Sir C. Fellows suggests *Moolah*, near the source of the *Cheena* or Marsyas (Discoveries, p. 260, note). But this seems too far from Halicarnassus. Kiepert is probably right in placing Pedasus within the Ceramic peninsula (Map xx.) Lida is the coast range along the northern shore of the Ceramic gulf. Aristotle in his History of Animals (iii. 11) notices the fact (!) that the Carian priestesses grew a beard occasionally (infra, viii. 104.)

[8] The Xanthian plain is to the south of the city, being in fact the alluvial deposit of the river Xanthus. It is about 7 miles across from Uzlan to Patara, and from four to five miles deep, from the coast to the foot of the mountains. The city stands near its upper extremity, on the left bank of the river.

[9] The real name of the city which the Greeks called Xanthus seems to have been Arna or Arïna. This is asserted by Stephen (ad voc. Ἄρνα), and confirmed by the monuments of the country. Arina (ΑΡΙΝΑ) appears upon some of the Lycian coins, which show no word resembling Xanthus till the purely Greek or post-Alexandrine period, and the same name occurs more than once on the great inscribed obelisk from Xanthus, now in the British Museum (north side l. 13, 20). Xanthus is properly the name of the river. It is a Greek translation of the original appellation given to the stream probably by the Solymi, which was Sirbé or Sirbes (Strab. xiv. p. 951; Panyasis ap. Steph. Byz. ad voc. Τρεμίλη; Eustath. ad Hom. Il. xii. p. 907. 30), a Semitic word signifying "yellow" (Bochart, Geog. Sacr. Part II. i. 6). Naming a river from its colour is very common in the East. Hence the number of Kara-Sus, or "Black waters;" the Kizil-Irmak, "Red River;" Kiuk-Su, "Blue River," &c.

Sir C. Fellows conjectures that the name Arina was not given to the city till a little before the time of Alexander, and that previously it was called Koprlle (Coins of Lycia, p. 12), a word which appears far oftener than any other on the Lycian coins. But he seems to forget that Arina is on the obelisk, which is of the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus. Perhaps Koprlle (ΚΟΠΡΛΛΕ) was the name of the *district* whose chief city was Arina. (See Coin 7, Plate xii. in his series, which bears on one side the inscription ΑΡΙ, and on the reverse ΚΟΠΡΛΛ.)

ous exploits. Overpowered at last, and forced within their walls, they collected into the citadel their wives and children, all their treasures, and their slaves; and having so done, fired the building, and burnt it to the ground. After this, they bound themselves together by dreadful oaths, and sallying forth against the enemy, died sword in hand, not one escaping. Those Lycians who now claim to be Xanthians, are foreign immigrants, except eighty families, who happened to be absent from the country, and so survived the others. Thus was Xanthus taken[1] by Harpagus,[2] and Caunus fell in like manner into his hands; for the Caunians in the main followed the example of the Lycians.

[1] Xanthus defended itself on two subsequent occasions with equal gallantry: first, against Alexander; and secondly, against the Romans (Vide Appian. de Bello Civil., iv. 80, p. 633).

[2] There is reason to believe that the government of Lycia remained in the family of Harpagus. The Xanthian obelisk in the British Museum, which seems to have been erected soon after the battle of the Eurymedon (B. C. 466), contains a record of Caias (or Caiïcas) *the son of Harpagus* (Greek Inscr., lines 5 and 12; Lycian Inscr. S. W. side, line 25), who appears to have been the ruler of the country in the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus. The deeds of the same prince are represented upon the trophy-monument in the Museum, where he appears as an Oriental chief, aided by Greek mercenaries. It has been thought that the curious symbol, known as the *triquetra*, occurring upon the Lycian coins, is emblematic of the name of the conqueror in whose family the government was settled (Stewart, in Fellows's Lycian Coins, p. 14.) The essential element of the emblem is a crook or grappling hook, the Latin *harpago*, the Greek ἅρπη, or ἁρπάγη. Such a play upon words is not uncommon in a rude age. The crook itself appears on the coins of Arpi in Apulia, in manifest allusion to the name of the town. And our more ancient armorial bearings have constantly the same character.


Triquetra.

The obelisk prince, "Caias, son of Harpagus," must not be regarded as the actual son, but as a descendant of the conqueror. Eighty-seven years intervene between the conquest and the battle of the Eurymedon, to which the obelisk is posterior. This would allow two generations between the founder of the family and the builder of the obelisk, which may be filled up thus:—

	B. C. B. C.	
Harpagus (the conqueror) .	553 to 543 . .	10 years.
Caias (?), his son	543 to 510 . .	33 years.
Harpagus, his son	510 to 477 . .	33 years.
Caias, his son, ...	477 to 444 . .	33 years.

There is one objection to this view. The commander of the Lycian ships in the navy of Xerxes is not Harpagus, the son of Caias, but Cyberniscus, the son of Sicas (infra, vii. 98). Cyberniscus should certainly represent the chief ruler of Lycia, as Syennesis does of Cilicia, and Gorgus of great part of Cyprus. Possibly the words "son of Harpagus" on the monument mean only "descendant of Harpagus," and the true succession may have been—Harpagus, Sicas, Cyberniscus, Caias. Or there may have been an interruption in the line, consequent upon the Caunian rebellion, which may have brought Harpagus II. into disgrace (v. 103), since Caunus was included in Lycia (suprà, ch. 173, note [8]), and if the *triquetra* may be taken for a sign was under the government of the Harpagi.

177. While the lower parts of Asia were in this way brought under by Harpagus, Cyrus in person subjected the upper regions, conquering every nation, and not suffering one to escape. Of these conquests I shall pass by the greater portion, and give an account of those only which gave him the most trouble, and are the worthiest of mention. When he had brought all the rest of the continent under his sway, he made war on the Assyrians.[3]

178. Assyria possesses a vast number of great cities,[4] whereof the most renowned and strongest at this time was Babylon, whither, after the fall of Nineveh, the seat of government had been removed. The following is a description of the place:— The city stands on a broad plain, and is an exact square, a hundred and twenty furlongs in length each way, so that the entire circuit is four hundred and eighty furlongs.[5] While such is its size,

[3] Herodotus includes Babylonia in Assyria (vide supra, ch. 106). He seems to have conceived the Median conquest of Nineveh quite differently from either Ctesias or Berosus. He regards Cyaxares as conquering a portion only of Assyria, and supposes a transfer of the seat of government, without (apparently) any change of dynasty, to Babylon. This is evident from the next chapter. There can be no doubt that he was mistaken, and that the native historian gave a truer account. See the Essays appended to this Book, Essays iii. and vii.

[4] The large number of important cities in Assyria, especially if we include in it Babylonia, is one of the most remarkable features of Assyrian greatness.

[Grouped around Nineveh were Calah (*Nimrúd*), Dur Sargina (*Khorsabád*), Tarbisa (*Sherifkhán*), Arbel, (*Arbil*), Khazeh (*Shamámek*), and Asshur (*Shirgát*). Lower down, the banks of the Tigris exhibit an almost unbroken line of ruins from Tekrit to Baghdad, while Babylonia and Chaldæa are throughout studded with mounds from north to south, the remains of those great capitals of which we read in the inscriptions. The principal sites are Sittacé (a doubtful position), Opis (*Khafáji*), Chilmad (*Kalwádha*), Duraba (*Akkerkúf*), Cutha (*Ibrahim*), Sippara (*Mosaib*), Babylon and Borsippa (the modern *Babel* and *Birs*), Calneh (*Niffer*), Erech (*Warka*), Larancha (*Senkereh*), Ur of the Chaldees (*Mugheir*), and many other cities of which the ancient names have not been yet identified.—H. C. R.] Again, in Upper Mesopotamia, between the Tigris and the Khabour, an affluent of the Euphrates, Mr. Layard found the whole country covered with artificial mounds, the remnants of cities belonging to the early Assyrian period (Nineveh and Babylon, pp. 241, 243, 245, &c.). "As the evening crept on," he says, "I watched from the highest mound the sun as it gradually sunk in unclouded splendour below the sea-like expanse before me. On all sides, as far as the eye could reach, rose the grass-covered heaps, marking the site of ancient habitations. The great tide of civilisation had long since ebbed, leaving these scattered wrecks on the solitary shore. Are those waters to flow again, bearing back the seeds of knowledge and of wealth that they have wafted to the West? We wanderers were seeking what they had left behind, as children gather up the coloured shells on the deserted sands. At my feet there was a busy scene, making more lonely the unbroken solitude which reigned in the vast plain around, where the only things having life or motion were the shadows of the lofty mounds, as they lengthened before the declining sun. Above three years before, when watching the approach of night from the old castle of Tel Afer, I had counted nearly one hundred ruins; now, when in the midst of them, no less than double that number were seen from Tel Jemal."

[5] According to Ctesias (ap. Diod. Sic. ii. 7) the circuit was but 360 furlongs (stadia). The historians of Alexander agreed nearly with this (Diod. Sic. l. s. c.; Quint. Curt. V. i. § 26). Clitarchus reported 365 stadia; Q. Curtius, 368; while Strabo,

in magnificence there is no other city that approaches to it. It is surrounded, in the first place, by a broad and deep moat, full of water, behind which rises a wall fifty royal cubits in width, and two hundred in height.[6] (The royal cubit[6a] is longer by three fingers' breadth than the common cubit.)[7]

who had access to Aristobulus, gave 385. The vast space enclosed within the walls of Babylon is noticed by Aristotle. (Polit. iii. 1, sub fin.)

[No traces are to be recognised at the present day of the ancient enceinte of Babylon, nor has any verification as yet been discovered, in the native and contemporary records, of the (apparently) exaggerated measurements of the Greeks. The measure of Nebuchadnezzar's new or inner city is given in the India House Tablet as 4000 *ammas* (or cubits; comp. the Jewish אַמָּה) each side, which would yield a circumference of about 44 stades, or no more than 5 English miles. But the extent of the old Babylon is nowhere recorded.—H. C. R.]

[6] This, by far the most surprising fact connected with these walls, is to some extent *confirmed* by Ctesias, who gives the measure of the height as 50 fathoms (Diod. Sic. ii. 7), equal to 200 ordinary cubits. Other writers considerably reduce the amount; Pliny (vi. 26) and Solinus (c. 60) to 200 feet, Strabo and others to 75 feet. The great width and height of the walls are noticed in Scripture (Jerem. li. 53, 58). There can be no doubt that the Babylonians and Assyrians surrounded their cities with walls of a height which, to us, is astounding. The sober and practical Xenophon (Anab. II. iv. § 12, and III. iv. § 10) reports the height of the so-called Median wall at 100 feet, and that of the walls of the ruined Nineveh at 150 feet.

[It must be remembered, however, that Strabo and the historians of Alexander substitute 50 for the 200 cubits of Herodotus, and it may therefore be suspected that the latter author referred to hands, four of which were equal to the cubit. The measure indeed of 50 fathoms or 200 royal cubits for the walls of a city in a plain is quite preposterous, and if intended by the authors, must be put down as a gross exaggeration. When Xenophon estimates the height of the walls of Nineveh opposite Mespila at 150 feet, he gives the aggregate of the river bank, the colossal mound (modern *Koyunjik*) on the top of the bank, and the wall on the top of the mound. My own belief is that the height of the walls of Babylon did not exceed 60 or 70 English feet.—H. C. R.]

[6a] The Greek metrical system was closely connected with the Babylonian. It is of course more in the divisions and general arrangement of the scale than in actual measurement that the Babylonian character of the Greek system is exhibited. Thus, the foot being taken as the unit for all longer measures, the ὀργυιὰ is found to contain 6 feet, the κάλαμος 10, the ἅμμα 60, the πλέθρον 100, and the στάδιον 600;—the alternation in the series of 6 and 10 occurring precisely as in the well-known Babylonian notation—now abundantly verified from the inscriptions—of the *Sos*, the *Nir*, and the *Sar*. With regard to the positive relationship of the Greek and Babylonian measures of length, it is difficult as yet to form a decided opinion. Böckh (Clas. Mus. vol. i. p. 4) maintains that the Babylonian cubic foot stood to the Greek in the ratio of 3 to 2, and M. Oppert, from a tolerably extensive field of comparison (see Athenæum Français, 1854, p. 370), has also valued the length of the Babylonian foot at 315 millimetres, which is, as nearly as possible, 12 2-5 English inches, but my own researches rather lead me to believe the ordinary Babylonian foot to have been *less* than the Greek—less even than the English foot. It may perhaps have been identical with the Egyptian or Samian, the exact value of which, obtained from the Nilometer, is 11·82852384 English inches, but I would prefer comparing the Roman foot, which is only 11·6496 English inches, or even a foot of still less value, if any authority could be found for it.—H. C. R.]

[7] According to M. Oppert, the Babylonian cubit was to the foot, not as 3 : 2, but as 5 : 3. The foot contained 3 hands of 5 fingers each, or 15 fingers (Athenæum Français, 1850, p. 370); the cubit 5 such hands, or 25 fingers. If then we accept the statement of Herodotus, the Royal Babylonian cubit must have contained 28

179. And here I may not omit to tell the use to which the mould dug out of the great moat was turned, nor the manner wherein the wall was wrought. As fast as they dug the moat the soil which they got from the cutting was made into bricks, and when a sufficient number were completed they baked the bricks in kilns. Then they set to building, and began with bricking the borders of the moat, after which they proceeded to construct the wall itself, using throughout for their cement hot bitumen, and interposing a layer of wattled reeds at every thirtieth course of the bricks.[8] On the top, along the edges of the wall, they constructed buildings of a single chamber facing one another, leaving between them room for a four-horse chariot to turn. In the circuit of the wall are a hundred gates, all of brass, with brazen lintels and side-posts. The bitumen used in the work was brought to Babylon from the Is, a small stream which flows into the Euphrates at the point where the city of the same name stands,[9] eight days' journey from Babylon. Lumps of bitumen are found in great abundance in this river.

fingers, or 4 more than the Greek. The exact value of the cubit will, of course, depend on the estimate which we form of the real length of the foot (see the last note). Assuming at present that the Babylonian foot nearly equalled the English, the common cubit would have been 1 foot 8 inches, and the Royal cubit 1 foot 10·4 inches. The Herodotean height of the walls, according to this estimate, would be 373 ft. 4 in., or 13 ft. 4 in. higher than the extreme height of St. Paul's!

[8] Layers of reeds are found in some of the remains of brick buildings at present existing in Babylonia, but usually at much smaller intervals than here indicated. At Akkerkuf "they bed every *fifth* or *sixth* layer of brick, to a thickness of two inches." (See Porter's Travels, vol. ii. p. 278.) In the Mujelibé, or ancient temple of Belus at Babylon, "the straw line runs its unbroken length between the ranges of *every single* brick course." (Ibid. p. 341).

[I have never myself observed layers of reeds in any building of undoubted Babylonian origin. All the ruins, at any rate about Babylon, in which reeds are met with at short distances between the layers of crude brick, are of the Parthian age, such as Al Hymar, Akkerkuf, the upper walls of Rich's Mujellibeh, Mokhattat, Zibliyeh, Shishobar, and the walls of Seleucia and Ctesiphon. Impressions of reeds are at the same time very common on the burnt bricks of Nebuchadnezzar's buildings from the bricks having been laid on matting when in a soft state.—H. C. R.]

[9] This place seems to be mentioned in the tribute paid to Thothmes III. at Karnak, from Nineveh, Shinar, Mesopotamia, and Babel, &c., under the name of "*Ist*," the chief of which brought 2040 minæ of bitumen, which is called *sift*, answering to *zifte*, its modern name in those parts, as Rich says. In Egyptian Arabic *zifte* (like the Hebrew *zift*, Exod. iii. 2) means pitch, bitumen (sift), and incense also. (See Birch's letter in Otia Ægyptiaca, p. 80, etc.)—[G. W.]

Is is indubitably the modern *Hit*, where the bitumen is still abundant. The following quaint description is given by an old traveller:—

"Having spent three days and better, from the ruins of old Babylon we came unto a town called Ait, inhabited only by Arabians, but very ruinous. Near unto which town is a valley of pitch very marvellous to behold, and a thing almost incredible, wherein are many springs throwing out abundantly a kind of black substance, like unto tar and pitch, which serveth all the countries thereabouts to make staunch their barks and boats, every one of which springs maketh a noise like a smith's forge in puffing and blowing out the matter, which never ceaseth night nor day, and the

180. The city is divided into two portions by the river which runs through the midst of it. This river is the Euphrates, a broad, deep, swift stream, which rises in Armenia, and empties itself into the Erythræan sea. The city wall is brought down on both sides to the edge of the stream: thence from the corners of the wall, there is carried along each bank of the river a fence of burnt bricks. The houses are mostly three and four stories high; the streets all run in straight lines, not only those parallel to the river, but also the cross streets which lead down to the waterside. At the river end of these cross streets are low gates in the fence that skirts the stream, which are, like the great gates in the outer wall, of brass, and open on the water.

181. The outer wall is the main defence of the city. There is, however, a second inner wall, of less thickness than the first, but very little inferior to it in strength.[10] The centre of each division of the town was occupied by a fortress. In the one stood the palace of the kings,[1] surrounded by a wall of great strength and size: in the other was the sacred precinct of Jupiter Belus,[2] a

noise is heard a mile off, swallowing up all weighty things that come upon it. The Moors call it 'the mouth of hell.'" (Collection of Voyages and Travels from the Library of the Earl of Oxford. 2 vols. London, 1745. Vol. ii. p. 752.)

[The name of this place was originally *Ihi*, or, with a distinctive epithet attached, *Ihidakira*, meaning "the bitumen spring." In the Is of Herodotus we have *Ihi* with a Greek nominatival ending. The same place is probably indicated in Ezra viii. 15, 21, 31, where we have the Hebrew orthography of אהוא, or, in the English version Ahava. Isidore of Charax writes the name as 'Αείπολις in his Parthian stations (p 5). Ptolemy has 'Ιδικάρα (v. 20), and the Talmud יהיאדקירא (*Ihidakira*) as the most northerly town of Babylonia. Zosimus also writes Δάκιρα (iii. p. 165), and Ammianus, Diacira (xxiv. 2). Hit is probably the same name with a feminine ending.—H. C. R.]

[10] The "inner wall" here mentioned may have been the wall of Nebuchadnezzar's new city—the "inner city" of Berosus (Fr. 14)—which lay entirely within the ancient circuit, and had a circumference of 16,000 ammas or 44 stades.—See note [6] on ch. 178.

[1] This is the mass or mound still called the Kasr or Palace, "a square of 700 yards in length and breadth." (Rich, First Memoir, p. 22.) It is an immense pile of brickwork, chiefly of the finest kind. On it stand some remarkable ruins to which the name *Kasr* is specially applied. Its single tree which Rich thought strange to the country, and a remnant of the hanging-gardens of Nebuchadnezzar, still grows on one of the ridges, but is not found to deserve the attention bestowed on it, since it is of a kind very common in the valley of the Euphrates.

[There can be no doubt whatever of the identity of the ruins of the Kasr with the great palace of Babylon noticed by Herodotus, and described at more length by Josephus from Berosus (contr. Ap. i. 19), because several slabs belonging to the original building have been found there which bear inscriptions commemorative of the building of the palace by Nebuchadnezzar. For a full explanation of the subject, see the Essay appended to Book iii., "On the Topography of Babylon."—H. C. R.]

[2] The Babylonian worship of Bel is well known to us from Scripture (Isaiah xlvi. 1; Jerem. l. 2; Apoc. Dan. xii. 16). There is little doubt that he was the recognised head of the Babylonian Pantheon, and therefore properly identified by the Greeks with their Zeus or Jupiter. (Compare the expressions *Jupiter Ammon*,

square enclosure two furlongs each way, with gates of solid brass; which was also remaining in my time. In the middle of the precinct there was a tower of solid masonry, a furlong in length and breadth, upon which was raised a second tower, and on that a third, and so on up to eight. The ascent to the top is on the outside, by a path which winds round all the towers. When one is about half way up, one finds a resting-place and seats, where persons are wont to sit some time on their way to the summit. On the topmost tower there is a spacious temple, and inside the temple stands a couch of unusual size, richly adorned, with a golden table by its side. There is no statue of any kind set up in the place, nor is the chamber occupied of nights by any one but a single native woman, who, as the Chaldæans, the priests of this god,[3] affirm, is chosen for himself by the deity out of all the women of the land.

Jupiter Papias, &c.) It has been usual to suppose that Bel and Baal are the same word, and therefore that the word Bel means simply "Lord." But this is very uncertain. Bel is בֵּל in the original, while Baal is בַּעַל. These *may be* distinct roots.

[There are some points of considerable difficulty connected with the worship of Bel at Babylon. In the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar, for instance, the name of Bel, as a distinct divinity, hardly ever occurs. The great temple of Babylon is consecrated to Merodach, and that god is the tutelar divinity of the city. In the Assyrian inscriptions, however, Bel is associated with Babylon. Pul and Tiglath-Pileser both sacrificed to him in that city as the supreme local deity, and Sargon expressly calls Babylon "the dwelling-place of Bel." At a still earlier period, that is, under the old Chaldæan Empire, Niffer was the chief seat of the worship of Bel, and the city was named after him, an explanation being thus afforded of the many traditions which point to Niffer, or the city of Belus (Calneh of Genesis), as the primitive capital of Chaldæa. It may be presumed from many notices, both in sacred and profane history, that the worship of Bel again superseded that of Merodach at Babylon under the Achæmenian princes. See the Essay on the Religion of the Assyrians and Babylonians.—H. C. R.]

[3] Ctesias appears to have agreed with Herodotus in this statement. Diodorus, whose Assyrian history seems to have been entirely taken from Ctesias, compares the Chaldæans of Babylonia with the priests of Egypt (ii. 29). And it is unquestionable that at the time of Alexander's conquests the Chaldæans were a priest-caste. Yet originally the appellation seems to have been ethnic.

[It is only recently that the darkness which has so long enveloped the history of the Chaldæans has been cleared up, but we are now able to present a tolerably clear account of them. The Chaldæans then appear to have been a branch of the great Hamite race of *Akkad*, which inhabited Babylonia from the earliest times. With this race originated the art of writing, the building of cities, the institution of a religious system, and the cultivation of all science, and of astronomy in particular. The language of these *Akkad* presents affinities with the African dialects on the one side, and with the Turanian, or those of High Asia, on the other. It stands somewhat in the same relation as the Egyptian to the Semitic languages, belonging as it would seem to the great parent stock from which the trunk-stream of the Semitic tongues also sprung, before there was a ramification of Semitic dialects, and before Semitism even had become subject to its peculiar organisation and developments. In this primitive Akkadian tongue, which I have been accustomed generally to denominate Scythic, from its near connexion with the Scythic dialect of Persia, were preserved all the scientific treatises known to the Babylonians, long after the

182. They also declare—but I for my part do not credit it—that the god comes down in person into this chamber, and sleeps upon the couch. This is like the story told by the Egyptians of what takes place in their city of Thebes,[4] where a woman always passes the night in the temple of the Theban Jupiter.[5] In each case the woman is said to be debarred all intercourse with men. It is also like the custom at Patara, in Lycia, where the priestess who delivers the oracles, during the time that she is so employed—for at Patara there is not always an oracle,[6]—is shut up in the temple every night.

183. Below, in the same precinct, there is a second temple, in which is a sitting figure of Jupiter, all of gold. Before the figure stands a large golden table, and the throne whereon it sits, and the base on which the throne is placed, are likewise of

Semitic element had become predominant in the land—it was in fact the language of science in the East, as the Latin was in Europe during the middle ages. When Semitic tribes established an empire in Assyria in the 13th century B. C. they adopted the alphabet of the *Akkad*, and with certain modifications applied it to their own language; but during the seven centuries which followed of Semitic dominion at Nineveh and Babylon, this Assyrian language was merely used for historical records and official documents. The mythological, astronomical, and other scientific tablets found at Nineveh are exclusively in the Akkadian language, and are thus shown to belong to a priest-class, exactly answering to the Chaldæans of profane history and of the book of Daniel. We thus see how it is that the Chaldæans (taken generally for the *Akkad*) are spoken of in the prophetical books of Scripture as composing the armies of the Semitic kings of Babylon and as the general inhabitants of the country, while in other authorities they are distinguished as philosophers, astronomers, and magicians, as, in fact, the special depositaries of science. It is further very interesting to find that parties of these Chaldæan *Akkad* were transplanted by the Assyrian kings from the plains of Babylon to the Armenian mountains, in the 7th and 8th centuries B. C., and that this translation took place to such an extent, that in the inscriptions of Sargon the geographical name of *Akkad* is sometimes applied to the mountains instead of the vernacular title of *Vararat* or Ararat—an excellent illustration being thus afforded of the notices of the Chaldæans in this quarter by so many of the Greek historians and geographers. It is probable that both the Georgian and Armenian languages at the present day retain many traces of the old Chaldæan speech that was thus introduced into the country 2500 years ago.—H. C. R.]

[4] This fable of the god coming personally into his temple was contrary to the Egyptian belief in the nature of the gods. It was only a figurative expression, similar to that of the Jews, who speak of God visiting and dwelling in his holy hill, and not intended to be taken literally. (Of the women in the service of Amun, see note on Book ii. ch. 35.)—[G. W.]

[5] The *Theban* Jupiter, or god worshipped as the Supreme Being in the city of Thebes, was Ammon (Amun). Herodotus says the *Theban* rather than the Egyptian Jupiter, because various gods were worshipped in various parts of Egypt as supreme: Khem at Chemmis, Phtha at Memphis, Ra at Heliopolis, &c.

[6] Patara lay on the shore, a little to the east of the Xanthus (Strabo xiv. p. 951: Ptol. v. 3.). Scylax (Peripl. p. 93) seems to place it some distance up the stream, but his text is probably corrupt in this place. The site is fixed with certainty by ruins and inscriptions (Beaufort's Karamania, p. 5; Ionian Antiq. vol. iii. p. 85; Fellows's Lycia, p. 416 to p. 419), and the name still adheres to the place.

According to Servius (ad Æn. iv. 143) Apollo delivered oracles here during the six winter months, while during the six summer months he gave responses at Delos. Compare Hor. Od. iii. 4, 64.

gold. The Chaldæans told me that all the gold together was eight hundred talents' weight. Outside the temple are two altars, one of solid gold, on which it is only lawful to offer sucklings; the other a common altar, but of great size, on which the full-grown animals are sacrificed. It is also on the great altar that the Chaldæans burn the frankincense, which is offered to the amount of a thousand talents' weight, every year, at the festival of the god. In the time of Cyrus there was likewise in this temple the figure of a man, twelve cubits high, entirely of solid gold. I myself did not see this figure, but I relate what the Chaldæans report concerning it. Darius, the son of Hystaspes, plotted to carry the statue off, but had not the hardihood to lay his hands upon it. Xerxes, however, the son of Darius, killed the priest who forbade him to move the statue, and took it away.[7] Besides the ornaments which I have mentioned, there are a large number of private offerings in this holy precinct.[8]

184. Many sovereigns have ruled over this city of Babylon, and lent their aid to the building of its walls and the adornment of its temples, of whom I shall make mention in my Assyrian history. Among them two were women. Of these, the earlier, called Semiramis, held the throne five generations before the later princess.[9] She raised certain embankments well worthy of inspection, in the plain near Babylon, to control the river, which,

[7] There can be little doubt that this was done by Xerxes after the revolt of Babylon, of which Ctesias speaks (Exc. Pers. § 22). Arrian relates that Xerxes not only plundered but *destroyed* the temple on his return from Greece (vii. 17; comp. Strab. xvi. p. 1049). It is likely that the revolt was connected with the disasters of the Grecian expedition, and that Xerxes, on taking the city, maltreated the priests, plundered the temple, and diminished its strength as a fortress, to which purpose it may have been turned during the siege. But the κατέσκαψεν of Arrian is too strong a word. It may be remarked that Strabo uses the milder term κατεσπάσεν.

[8] The great temple of Babylon, regarding which the Greeks have left so many notices, is beyond all doubt to be identified with the enormous mound which is named *Mujellibèh* by Rich, but to which the Arabs universally apply the title of *Bábil.* In the description, however, which Herodotus gives of this famous building he would seem to have blended architectural details which applied in reality to two different sites; his measurement of a stade square answering pretty well to the circumference of Babil, and his notices also of the chapels and altars of the god being in close agreement with the accounts preserved in the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar of the high place of Merodach at Babylon; while, on the other hand, the elevation of seven stages one above the other, and the construction of a shrine for the divinity at the summit of the pile, must necessarily refer to the temple of the Planets of the Seven Spheres at Borsippa, now represented by the ruins of Birs-Nimrud. A full account of both of these temples is given from the Cuneiform Inscriptions at the close of Book iii., "On the Topography of Babylon," to which accordingly the reader is referred.—[H. C. R.]

[9] Scaliger proposed to read "*fifty* generations" instead of "five." Vitringa suggested "fifteen." Both wished to identify the Semiramis of Herodotus with that of Ctesias. But they are two entirely distinct personages. See the Essays appended to this volume, Essay viii., "On the History of the later Babylonians."

till then, used to overflow, and flood the whole country round about.

185. The later of the two queens, whose name was Nitocris, a wiser princess than her predecessor, not only left behind her, as memorials of her occupancy of the throne, the works which I shall presently describe, but also, observing the great power and restless enterprise of the Medes, who had taken so large a number of cities, and among them Nineveh, and expecting to be attacked in her turn, made all possible exertions to increase the defences of her empire. And first, whereas the river Euphrates, which traverses the city, ran formerly with a straight course to Babylon, she, by certain excavations which she made at some distance up the stream, rendered it so winding that it comes three several times in sight of the same village, a village in Assyria, which is called Ardericca;[1] and to this day, they who would go from our sea to Babylon, on descending to the river touch three times, and on three different days, at this very place. She also made an embankment along each side of the Euphrates, wonderful both for breadth and height, and dug a basin for a lake a great way above Babylon, close alongside of the stream, which was sunk everywhere to the point where they came to water, and was of such breadth that the whole circuit measured four hundred and twenty furlongs. The soil dug out of this basin was made use of in the embankments along the waterside. When the excavation was finished, she had stones brought, and bordered with them the entire margin of the reservoir. These two things were done, the river made to wind, and the lake excavated, that the stream might be slacker by reason of the number of curves, and the voyage be rendered circuitous, and that at the end of the voyage it might be necessary to skirt the lake and so make a long round. All these works were on that side of Babylon where the passes lay, and the roads into Media were the straightest, and the aim of the queen in making them was to prevent the Medes from holding intercourse with the Babylonians, and so to keep them in ignorance of her affairs.

186. While the soil from the excavation was being thus used for the defence of the city, Nitocris engaged also in another undertaking, a mere by-work compared with those we have already mentioned. The city, as I said, was divided by the river into two distinct portions. Under the former kings, if a

[1] Ardericca is probably the modern *Akkerkuf*, which was on the line of the original *Nahr Malcha*, or Royal River, a canal made for purposes of irrigation. No such cuttings as those here described by Herodotus can ever have existed.—[H. C. R.]

man wanted to pass from one of these divisions to the other, he had to cross in a boat; which must, it seems to me, have been very troublesome. Accordingly, while she was digging the lake, Nitocris bethought herself of turning it to a use which should at once remove this inconvenience, and enable her to leave another monument of her reign over Babylon. She gave orders for the hewing of immense blocks of stone, and when they were ready and the basin was excavated, she turned the entire stream of the Euphrates into the cutting, and thus for a time, while the basin was filling, the natural channel of the river was left dry. Forthwith she set to work, and in the first place lined the banks of the stream within the city with quays of burnt brick, and also bricked the landing-places opposite the river-gates, adopting throughout the same fashion of brickwork which had been used in the town wall; after which, with the materials which had been prepared, she built, as near the middle of the town as possible, a stone bridge, the blocks whereof were bound together with iron and lead. In the daytime square wooden platforms were laid along from pier to pier, on which the inhabitants crossed the stream; but at night they were withdrawn, to prevent people passing from side to side in the dark to commit robberies. When the river had filled the cutting, and the bridge was finished, the Euphrates was turned back again into its ancient bed; and thus the basin, transformed suddenly into a lake, was seen to answer the purpose for which it was made, and the inhabitants, by help of the basin, obtained the advantage of a bridge.

187. It was this same princess by whom a remarkable deception was planned. She had her tomb constructed in the upper part of one of the principal gateways of the city, high above the heads of the passers by, with this inscription cut upon it:—"If there be one among my successors on the throne of Babylon who is in want of treasure, let him open my tomb, and take as much as he chooses,—not, however, unless he be truly in want, for it will not be for his good." This tomb continued untouched until Darius came to the kingdom. To him it seemed a monstrous thing that he should be unable to use one of the gates of the town, and that a sum of money should be lying idle, and moreover inviting his grasp, and he not seize upon it. Now he could not use the gate because, as he drove through, the dead body would have been over his head. Accordingly he opened the tomb; but instead of money, found only the dead body, and a writing which said—"Hadst thou not been insatiate of pelf, and careless how thou gottest it, thou wouldst not have broken open the sepulchres of the dead."

188. The expedition of Cyrus was undertaken against the son of this princess, who bore the same name as his father Labynetus,[2] and was king of the Assyrians. The Great King, when he goes to the wars, is always supplied with provisions carefully prepared at home, and with cattle of his own. Water too from the river Choaspes, which flows by Susa,[3] is taken with him for his drink, as that is the only water which the kings of Persia taste.[4] Wherever he travels, he is attended by a number of four-wheeled cars drawn by mules, in which the Choaspes water, ready boiled for use, and stored in flagons of silver, is moved with him from place to place.

189. Cyrus on his way to Babylon came to the banks of the Gyndes,[5] a stream which, rising in the Matienian mountains,[6] runs through the country of the Dardanians,[7] and empties itself

[2] Herodotus probably regards this Labynetus as the son of the king mentioned in chap. 74.

[3] For a description of the situation and present state of Susa, see note on Book iii. ch. 68. There is no doubt that the Choaspes is the modern *Kerkhah.* (See Journal of the Geogr. Soc., vol. ix. part i. pp. 88, 89.)

[4] This statement of Herodotus is echoed by various writers (Plutarch, de Exil. vol. ii. p. 601, D; Athenæus, Deipnosoph. ii. 23, p. 171; Solinus, Polyhist. xli. p. 83; Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 1073, &c.). Some add to it, that no one but the king (Solin. l. s. c.), or no one but the king and his eldest son (Agathocles, Fr. 5), might drink the Choaspes water. What most say of the Choaspes, Strabo reports of the Eulæus (xv. p. 1043), and Pliny (H. N. xxxi. 3) mentions both names. But these two writers are probably mistaken in regarding the Eulæus and Choaspes as different rivers. The term Eulæus (Ulai of Daniel) seems to have been applied to the *Kerkhah* from Susa to its junction with the *Karun.* The water of both the *Karun* and the *Kerkhah* is said at the present day to be excellent, and the natives vaunt the superiority of these two rivers over all other streams or springs in the world (Journal of Geogr. Society, vol. ix. part i. p. 89).

[5] The Gyndes is undoubtedly the *Diyálah*, since,—firstly,—there is no other *navigable* stream after the lower Zab on the road between Sardis and Susa (vide infra, v. 52); and secondly, no other river of any consequence could have to be crossed between the mountains and the Tigris on the march from Agbatana to Babylon. Were it not for these circumstances the river *Gangír*, which is actually divided at Mendalli into a multitude of petty streams, and completely absorbed in irrigation, might seem to have a better claim (Journal of Geogr. Soc. ut sup. p. 46).

[6] These Matieni are not to be confounded with the Matieni of Asia Minor, who may have been of the same race (query, Medes? the *d* of Mada passing into *t*, as in Sauro-*matæ*), but were a distinct people. Herodotus seems to assign to these Matieni the whole of the mountain range from the sources of the Diyálah near Hamadán to those of the *Aras* (Araxes) near Erzeroum in Upper Armenia (vide infra, ch. 202).

[The term Matieni may perhaps mean simply "mountaineers." The Babylonian word, at any rate, which is used for a mountain may be read as *matu* in the singular, and *matiya* or *matein* in the plural. There is, however, no cognate term in any of the other Semitic languages.—H. C. R.]

[7] No other writer mentions Dardanians in these parts. It has been proposed to read *διὰ Δαραέων,—δι' Ἀρμενίων,*—and *διὰ Δαρνέων.* The only various reading in the MSS. favours the last emendation. It is *διαρδανέων*, which has all the letters of *διὰ Δαρνέων* with a single dislocation. The ruins of *Darneh* still exist on the

into the river Tigris. The Tigris, after receiving the Gyndes, flows on by the city of Opis,[8] and discharges its waters into the Erythræan sea. When Cyrus reached this stream, which could only be passed in boats, one of the sacred white horses accompanying his march, full of spirit and high mettle, walked into the water, and tried to cross by himself; but the current seized him, swept him along with it, and drowned him in its depths. Cyrus, enraged at the insolence of the river, threatened so to break its strength that in future even women should cross it easily without wetting their knees. Accordingly he put off for a time his attack on Babylon, and, dividing his army into two parts, he marked out by ropes one hundred and eighty trenches on each side of the Gyndes, leading off from it in all directions, and setting his army to dig, some on one side of the river, some on the other, he accomplished his threat by the aid of so great a number of hands, but not without losing thereby the whole summer season.

190. Having, however, thus wreaked his vengeance on the Gyndes[9] by dispersing it through three hundred and sixty chan-

banks of the Zamacán before it joins the Diyálah, and before the united rivers issue from the mountains into the plain of *Shahrizúr*.

[It must be confessed, however, that *Darneh* has not been a place of any consequence either in the ancient or modern geography of the country. It was merely selected by the Kurdish emirs for their residence about five centuries back on account of the strength of the position. Δαρδάνεοι may very well mean "the holders of the passes," and thus exactly apply to the tribes along the banks of the upper *Diyálah*.—H. C. R.]

[8] This is the plain meaning of Herodotus, who has therefore been accused of ignorance by Rennell (Geography of Herod. § 9, p. 202). But the situation of Opis is uncertain. Strabo, by calling it an emporium (xvi. p. 1051) might lead us to imagine that its position was low down the river. Xenophon's narrative (Anab. II. iv. 13–25), it must be granted, makes this impossible. Still, however, Opis may have been a little below the junction of the Diyálah with the Tigris, or at the point of confluence.

[If we remember that Xenophon's Median Wall is the enceinte of Babylon, and that the Greeks crossed the Tigris at Sittacé, which was on the road from Babylon to Susa, we can hardly fail of identifying the *Diyálah* with the Physcus of Xenophon (Anab. II. iv. 25), and thus recognising Opis in the ruins of *Khafaji*, near the confluence of the two rivers. The name of Physcus probably comes from *Hupuska*, the title in the inscriptions of the district of *Sulimanieh*, through which the Diyálah flows. In the name of Opis we have probably a Greek nominatival ending as in Is. The cuneiform orthography is *Hupiya*, and I rather think that *Khafaji* is a mere corruption of the original name. The name of Sittacé, or, more properly, Psittacé, is written in the inscriptions as *Patsita*, without the Scythic guttural termination. It appears to have been situated at least as low down as the modern fort of the Zobeid chief.—H. C. R.]

[9] Rennell sensibly remarks (p. 202) that the story of Cyrus's dividing the Gyndes is a very childish one, *in the manner in which it is told*. He supposes that the river was swollen, and that the sole object of Cyrus was to effect the passage. But this explanation is unsatisfactory. It is not conceivable that Cyrus proceeded against Babylon unprepared for the passage of great rivers. Boats must have abounded on the streams, and rafts supported by inflated skins, which were in constant use upon

nels, Cyrus, with the first approach of the ensuing spring, marched forward against Babylon. The Babylonians, encamped without their walls, awaited his coming. A battle was fought at a short distance from the city, in which the Babylonians were defeated by the Persian king, whereupon they withdrew within their defences. Here they shut themselves up, and made light of his siege, having laid in a store of provisions for many years in preparation against this attack; for when they saw Cyrus conquering nation after nation, they were convinced that he would never stop, and that their turn would come at last.

191. Cyrus was now reduced to great perplexity, as time went on and he made no progress against the place. In this distress either some one made the suggestion to him, or he bethought himself of a plan, which he proceeded to put in execution. He placed a portion of his army at the point where the

them, as the Nimrud sculptures show, could have been constructed rapidly. Even if it had been necessary to divide the Gyndes, in order to make it fordable, there would have been no need of entirely dispersing it, and so wasting a whole summer. And if this was the only means by which Cyrus could pass the comparatively small stream of the Diyálah, how did he get across the Tigris?

If we accept the fact of the dispersion, the true explanation would seem to be, that Cyrus had already resolved to attempt the capture of Babylon by the means which he subsequently adopted, and thought it necessary to practise his army in the art of draining off the waters from a stream of moderate size before attempting the far greater work of making the Euphrates fordable. He may not have been aware of the artificial reservoir which rendered his task at Babylon comparatively easy, or not have anticipated the neglect which converted a means of defence to the assailed into a convenience to the assailing party.

It is remarkable that Mr. Grote accepts the narrative of Herodotus as it stands, apparently seeing in it no improbability. At least he offers no explanation of the conduct of Cyrus (Hist. of Greece, vol. iv. pp. 284–5).

[I incline to regard the whole story as a fable, embodying some popular tradition with regard to the origin of the great hydraulic works on the *Diyálah* below the Hamaran hills, where the river has been dammed across to raise the level of the water, and a perfect network of canals have been opened out from it on either side. The principal of these canals to the east, now named *Beladroz* (Βαράσροϑ in Theophanes, and *Baraz rud*, or "hog river," of the Arabs), is apparently of extreme antiquity, the stream having worked itself a bed in the alluvial soil nearly 50 feet below the level of the country. There are fully 360 streams of water derived from the *Diyálah*, including all the branch cuts from the seven great canals. If Cyrus did indeed execute these works, his object must have been to furnish means of irrigation to the country, and such a motive was scarcely likely to have influenced him when he was conducting a hostile expedition against Babylon. Moreover, if he marched upon Babylon by the high road leading from the Persian mountains, he would have had no occasion to cross the *Diyálah* at all. The direct route must have followed the left bank of the river to Opis, near which was the passage of the Tigris.

The name of the river Gyndes is probably derived from the cuneiform *Khudun*, a city and district on the banks of the river adjoining *Hupuska*, which is mentioned in the annals of Sardanapalus. It is at any rate worthy of remark that all the names by which this river has been known in modern times, *Tamerra*, *Shirnan*, *Nahrwan*, and *Diyálah*, are those of cities on its banks, and the same system of nomenclature may very well be supposed to have existed in antiquity.—H. C. R.]

river enters the city, and another body at the back of the place where it issues forth, with orders to march into the town by the bed of the stream, as soon as the water became shallow enough: he then himself drew off with the unwarlike portion of his host, and made for the place where Nitocris dug the basin for the river, where he did exactly what she had done formerly: he turned the Euphrates by a canal into the basin,[1] which was then a marsh, on which the river sank to such an extent that the natural bed of the stream became fordable. Hereupon the Persians who had been left for the purpose at Babylon by the river-side, entered the stream, which had now sunk so as to reach about midway up a man's thigh, and thus got into the town. Had the Babylonians been apprised of what Cyrus was about, or had they noticed their danger, they would not have allowed the entrance of the Persians within the city, which was what ruined them utterly, but would have made fast all the street-gates which gave upon the river, and mounting upon the walls along both sides of the stream, would so have caught the enemy as it were in a trap. But, as it was, the Persians came upon them by surprise and so took the city. Owing to the vast size of the place, the inhabitants of the central parts (as the residents at Babylon declare) long after the outer portions of the town were taken, knew nothing of what had chanced, but as they were engaged in a festival, continued dancing and revelling until they learnt the capture but too certainly. Such, then, were the circumstances of the first taking of Babylon.[2]

192. Among many proofs which I shall bring forward of the power and resources of the Babylonians, the following is of special account. The whole country under the dominion of the Persians, besides paying a fixed tribute, is parcelled out into divisions, which have to supply food to the Great King and his army during different portions of the year.[3] Now out of the twelve months which go to a year, the district of Babylon fur-

[1] Mr. Grote says that Cyrus "caused *another* reservoir and *another* canal of communication to be dug, by means of which he drew off the water of the Euphrates" (vol. iv. p. 285). But Herodotus says that he turned the river into the *same* reservoir—ἐς τὴν λίμνην—which was at the time a marsh—ἐοῦσαν ἕλος. And indeed, had he done otherwise, he would have expended time and labour very unnecessarily.

[2] Herodotus intends to contrast this *first* capture with the *second* capture by Darius Hystaspes, of which he speaks in the latter portion of the third Book. We learn, however, by the mode of speech used, that he was not aware of any former occasion on which the city of Babylon had been taken by an enemy.

[3] See the Essay appended to Book iii., "On the Persian System of Administration and Government."

nishes food during four, the other regions of Asia during eight; by which it appears that Assyria, in respect of resources, is one-third of the whole of Asia. Of all the Persian governments, or satrapies as they are called by the natives,[4] this is by far the best. When Tritantæchmes, son of Artabazus,[5] held it of the king, it brought him in an artaba of silver every day. The artaba is a Persian measure,[6] and holds three chœnixes more than the medimnus of the Athenians. He also had, belonging to his own private stud, besides war-horses, eight hundred stallions and sixteen thousand mares, twenty to each stallion. Besides which he kept so great a number of Indian hounds,[7] that four large villages of the plain were exempted from all other charges on condition of finding them in food.

[4] The native orthography of the word, which the Greeks wrote σατράπης, is "khshatrapá." It is found twice in the Behistun inscription (Col. III. l. 14 and l. 55). The etymology has been much disputed (see Gesen. Hebr. Lex. p. 41. Engl. ed.); but, as "khshatram" is used throughout the inscriptions for "crown" or "empire," we can scarcely be mistaken in regarding "khshatrapá" as formed of the two roots "khshatram," and "pa." The latter word signifies in Sanscrit "to preserve, uphold," whence it appears that a Satrap is "one who upholds the crown." (Cf. Col. Rawlinson's Vocabulary of the ancient Persian language, pp. 116–7).

[5] We hear of a Tritantæchmes, "son of *Artabanus*, brother of Darius Hystaspes," in Book vii. ch. 82, from which place it might appear that this passage should be corrected. But we cannot be sure that the same person is intended in both instances. Indeed, as Herodotus seems to speak of his own personal knowledge, it is probable that the Tritantæchmes here mentioned was Satrap of Babylon at the time of Herodotus's visit (about B. C. 450), in which case it is scarcely possible that he should have been the same person who 30 years before was one of the six superior generals of the army of Xerxes.

[The name of Tritantæchmes is of considerable interest because it points to the Vedic traditions, which the Persians brought with them from the Indus, and of the currency of which in the time of Xerxes we have thus distinct evidence. The name means "strong as Tritan"—this title, which etymologically means "three-bodied," being the Sanscrit and Zend form of the famous Feridun of Persian romance, who divided the world between his three sons, Selm, Tur, and Erij.—H. C. R.]

[6] This is the same name as the *ardeb* of modern Egypt, and, like the *medimnus*, is a corn measure. The *ardeb* is nearly five English bushels, and contains 8 *med.* This, too, is the Latin *modius*, which last was equal to one-sixth of the Greek *medimnus*. But the *ardeb* differs in quantity from the *artaba*.

1 *medimnus* = 48 *chœnices*, or 6 Latin *modii*.
1 *modius* = 8 *chœnices*.
1 *artaba* = 51 *chœnices* (48 + 3).
1 *artaba* = little more than 6¼ *modii*.
1 *modius* = nearly 1 peck, English.
1 *artaba* = about 1½ bushel.—[G. W.]

[7] Concerning these famous dogs see Bähr's Ctesias (Indic. Excerpt. § 5), and Arist. Hist. An. viii. 28.

Models of favourite dogs are frequently found in excavating the cities of Babylonia. Some may be seen in the British Museum, obtained from the hunting palace of the son of Esar-Haddon at Nineveh. They are of small size, and are inscribed with the name of the dog, which is commonly a word indicative of their hunting prowess. The representation of an Indian dog (p. 257) is from a terra-cotta fragment found by Col. Rawlinson at Babylon.

193. But little rain falls in Assyria,[8] enough, however, to make the corn begin to sprout, after which the plant is nourished and the ears formed by means of irrigation from the river.[9] For the river does not, as in Egypt, overflow the corn-lands of its own accord, but is spread over them by the hand, or by the help of engines.[1] The whole of Babylonia is, like Egypt, intersected with canals. The largest of them all, which runs towards the winter



Indian Hound (from a Babylonian tablet).

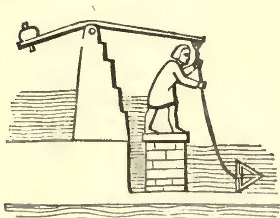
[8] Rain is very rare in Babylonia during the summer months, and productiveness depends entirely on irrigation. During the spring there are constant showers, and at other times of the year rain falls frequently, but irregularly, and never in great quantities. The heaviest is in December. In ancient times, when irrigation was carried to a far greater extent than it is at present, the meteorology of the country may probably have been different.—[H. C. R.]

[9] At the present day it is not usual to trust even the first sprouting of the corn to nature. The lands are laid under water for a few days before the corn is sown; the water is then withdrawn, and the seed scattered upon the moistened soil.—[H. C. R.]

[1] The engine intended by Herodotus seems to have been the common hand-swipe, to which alone the name of κηλωνήϊον would properly apply. The ordinary method of irrigation at the present day is by the help of oxen, which draw the water from the river to the top of the bank by means of ropes passed over a roller, working between two upright posts. Accounts of this process will be found in the works of Col. Chesney (Euphrates Expedition, vol. i. p. 653), and Mr. Layard (Nineveh and

sun, and is impassable except in boats,[2] is carried from the Euphrates into another stream, called the Tigris, the river upon which the town of Nineveh formerly stood.[3] Of all the countries that we know there is none which is so fruitful in grain. It makes no pretension indeed of growing the fig, the olive, the vine, or any other tree of the kind; but in grain it is so fruitful as to yield commonly two-hundred-fold, and when the production is the greatest, even three-hundred-fold. The blade of the wheat-plant and barley-plant is often four fingers in breadth. As for the millet and the sesame, I shall not say to what height they grow, though within my own knowledge; for I am not ignorant that what I have already written concerning the fruitfulness of Babylonia[4] must seem incredible to those who have never visited the

its Remains, Part I. ch. x.). Occasionally, however, the hand-swipe is used. Col. Chesney says:—"When the bank is too high to throw up the water in this manner" (viz. with a basket) "it is raised by another process equally simple. A wooden lever, from 13 to 15 feet long, is made to revolve freely on the top of a post 3 or 4 feet high, about two-thirds of the length of the lever projecting over the river, with a leather bucket or closely made basket of date-branches, suspended from the extremity: this is balanced when full of water by means of a bucket of earth or stones at the other end, and this simple machine is so well contrived that very slight manual exertion will raise the bucket sufficiently high to empty its contents into a cistern or other kind of receptacle, from whence it is dispersed over the fields by means of numerous small channels." (Compare Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, p. 109.)


Hand-swipe. (From a slab of Sennacherib.)

Representations of hand-swipes have been found on the monuments.

[2] This probably refers to the original Nahr Malcha, the great work of Nebuchadnezzar, which left the Euphrates at the modern Felugia, and entered the Tigris in the vicinity of the embouchure of the Gyndes (*Diyálah*). This canal has, however, repeatedly changed its course since its original construction, and the ancient bed cannot be now continuously traced.—[H. C. R.]

[3] Beloe translates ἐσέχει ἐς τὸν Τίγριν, παρ' ὃν Νῖνος πόλις οἴκητο, "is continued to *that part* of the Tigris where Nineveh *stands;*" thus placing the canal in Assyria, above the alluvium, where no canal is possible, and giving the impression that Nineveh was standing in the time of Herodotus!

[4] The fertility of Babylonia is celebrated by a number of ancient writers. Theophrastus, the disciple of Aristotle, speaks of it in his History of Plants (viii. 7). Berosus (Fr. 1) says that the land produced naturally wheat, barley, the pulse called ochrys, sesame, edible roots named *gongæ*, palms, apples, and shelled fruits of various kinds. Strabo, apparently following Herodotus, mentions the barley as returning often 300 fold (xvi. p. 1054) Pliny says that the wheat is cut twice, and is afterwards good keep for beasts (Hist. Nat. xviii. 17). Moderns, while bearing testimony to the general fact, go less into details. Rich says:—"The air is salubrious, and the soil extremely fertile, producing great quantities of rice, dates, and grain of different kinds, though it is not cultivated to above half the degree of which it is susceptible." (First Memoir, p. 12.) Colonel Chesney (Euphrat. Exp. vol. ii. pp. 602–3) remarks,—"Although greatly changed by the neglect of man, those portions of Mesopotamia which are still cultivated, as the country about Hillah, show that the region has all the fertility ascribed to it by Herodotus;" and he anticipates that "the

country. The only oil they use is made from the sesame-plant.[5] Palm-trees grow in great numbers over the whole of the flat country,[6] mostly of the kind which bears fruit, and this fruit supplies them with bread, wine, and honey. They are cultivated like the fig-tree in all respects, among others in this. The natives tie the fruit of the male-palms, as they are called by the Greeks, to the branches of the date-bearing palm, to let the gall-fly enter the dates and ripen them, and to prevent the fruit from falling off. The male-palms, like the wild fig-trees, have usually the gall-fly in their fruit.[7]

194. But the greatest wonder of all that I saw in the land, after the city itself, I will now proceed to mention. The boats which come down the river to Babylon are circular, and made of skins. The frames, which are of willow, are cut in the country of the Armenians above Assyria, and on these, which serve for hulls, a covering of skins is stretched outside, and thus the boats are made, without either stem or stern, quite round like a shield. They are then entirely filled with straw, and their cargo is put on board, after which they are suffered to float down the stream. Their chief freight is wine, stored in casks made of the wood of the palm-tree.[8] They are managed by two men who stand up-

time may not be distant when the date-groves of the Euphrates may be interspersed with flourishing towns, surrounded with fields of the finest wheat, and the most productive plantations of indigo, cotton, and sugar-cane."

[5] Mr. Layard informs us that this is still the case with respect to the people of the plains (Nineveh, Part ii. ch. vi.). The olive is cultivated on the flanks of Mount Zagros, but Babylonia did not extend so far.

[6] "As far as the eye can reach from the town (Hillah)," says Ker Porter, "both up and down the Euphrates the banks appear to be thickly shaded with groves of date-trees." (Travels, vol. ii. p. 335.) There is reason to believe that anciently the country was very much more thickly wooded than it is at present. The palm will grow wherever water is brought. In ancient times the whole country between the rivers, and the greater portion of the tract intervening between the Tigris and the mountains, was artificially irrigated. At present cultivation extends but a short distance from the banks of the great streams.

[The sylvan character and beautiful appearance of the country, which afterwards so much excited the admiration of the Arabs, are particularly noticed by Ammianus and Zosimus in their descriptions of the march of Julian's army across Mesopotamia from the Euphrates to the Tigris. A forest of verdure, says Ammianus, extended from this point as far as Mesênê and the shores of the sea. Compare Amm. Marc. xxiv. 3, with Zosim. iii. p. 173–9.—H. C. R.]

[7] Theophrastus first pointed out the inaccuracy of this statement (Hist. Plant. ii. 9). Several writers, among them Larcher and Bähr, have endeavoured to show that Herodotus is probably right and Theophrastus wrong. Modern travellers, however, side with the naturalist against the historian. All that is required for fructification, they tell us, is, that the pollen from the blossoms of the male palm should come into contact with the fruit of the female palm or date-tree. To secure this, the practice of which Herodotus speaks is still observed.

[8] Col. Chesney and Mr. Layard, adopting the conjecture of Valla (φοινικηΐου for φοινικηΐους), speak of the quantity of *palm-wine* brought to Babylon from Armenia. But there are two objections to this. Babylonia, the land of dates, would not be

right in them, each plying an oar, one pulling and the other pushing.[9] The boats are of various sizes, some larger, some smaller; the biggest reach as high as five thousand talents' burthen. Each vessel has a live ass on board; those of larger size have more than one. When they reach Babylon, the cargo is landed and offered for sale; after which the men break up their boats, sell the straw and the frames, and loading their asses with the skins, set off on their way back to Armenia. The current is too strong to allow a boat to return up-stream, for which reason they make their boats of skins rather than wood. On their return to Armenia they build fresh boats for the next voyage.

195. The dress of the Babylonians is a linen tunic reaching to the feet, and above it another tunic made in wool, besides which they have a short white cloak thrown round them, and shoes of a peculiar fashion, not unlike those worn by the Bœotians. They have long hair, wear turbans on their heads, and anoint their whole body with perfumes.[1] Every one carries a

likely to import the spirituous liquor which can be distilled from that fruit; and the mountain tract of Armenia could not produce it. It was no doubt *grape-wine* that Babylon imported from the regions higher up the river, though perhaps scarcely from Armenia, which is too cold for the vine.

[Grape wine is now brought to Baghdad from *Kerkuk*, but not from Armenia, where the vine does not grow.—H. C. R.]

[9] Boats of this kind, closely resembling coracles, are represented in the Nineveh sculptures, and still ply on the Euphrates. "The Kufa," we read in Ker Porter, "is of close *willow* work, well coated with the bituminous substance of the country—*perfectly circular*, it resembles a large bowl on the surface of the stream." (Travels, vol. ii. p. 260.) Mr. Layard adds, that these boats are "sometimes *covered with skins*, over which the bitumen is smeared." (Nineveh, Part II. ch. v.) Col. Chesney also says (vol. ii. p. 640), "In some instances, though but rarely in the present day, the basket-work is *covered with leather* . . but the common method is to cover the bottom with bitumen." (Col. Rawlinson, however, doubts the existence of "kufas *covered with skins*," which he has never seen, and of which he has never heard, on either river. The kufas are used chiefly on the lower Tigris and Euphrates, and are not ordinarily broken up, being too valuable. But the rafts which descend the streams from their upper portions, which are formed of wood and reeds supported by inflated skins, have exactly the same fate as the boats of Herodotus. "When the rafts have been unloaded they are broken up, and the beams, wood and twigs, are sold at a considerable profit . . . The skins are brought back either upon the shoulders of the raftmen or upon donkeys, to Mosul or Tekrit, where the men employed in the navigation usually reside." (Layard's Nineveh, Part I. ch. xiii.) The preceding representation of the *Kufa* is from Col. Chesney.



Kufa (from Col. Chesney).

[1] The dress of the Babylonians appears on the cylinders to be a species of flounced robe, reaching from their neck to their feet. In some representations there is an appearance of a division into two garments; the upper one being a sort of short

seal,[2] and a walking-stick, carved at the top into the form of an apple, a rose, a lily, an eagle, or something similar;[3] for it is not their habit to use a stick without an ornament.



jacket or tippet, flounced like the under-robe or petticoat. This would seem to be the χλανίδιον or short cloak of Herodotus. The long petticoat would be his κιθὼν ποδηνεκὴς λίνεος. The upper woollen tunic may be hidden by the tippet or χλανίδιον.

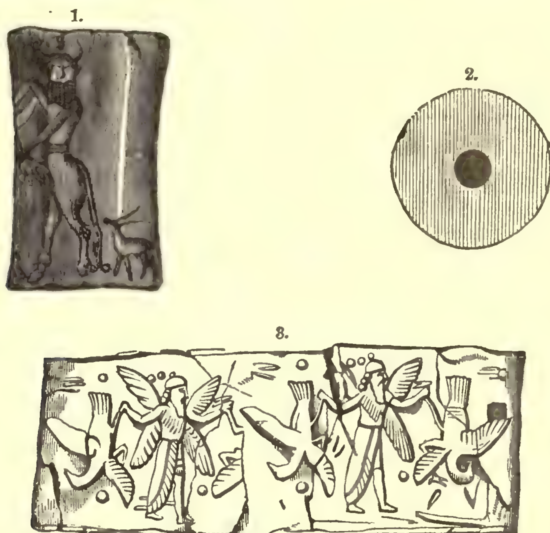
The long hair of the Babylonians is very conspicuous on the cylinders. It either depends in lengthy tresses which fall over the back and shoulders, or is gathered into what seems a club behind. There are several varieties of head-dress; the most usual are a low cap or turban, from which two curved horns branch out, and a high crown or mitre, the appearance of which is very remarkable. It is uncertain which of these is the μίτρα of Herodotus.

[2] The Babylonian cylinders above referred to, of which there are some thousands in the museums of Europe, are undoubtedly the 'seals' of Herodotus. Many impressions of them have been found upon clay-tablets. They are round, from half an inch to three inches in length (the generality being about an inch long), and about one-third of their length in diameter. They are of various materials. The most usual is a composition in which black manganese seems to be the principal ingredient; but besides this they have been found of amethyst, rock-crystal, cornelian, agate, bloodstone, chalcedony, onyx, jasper, serpentine, pyrites, &c. They are hollow, being pierced from end to end; either for the purpose of being worn strung upon a cord, or perhaps to admit a metal axis, by means of which they were rolled upon the clay, so as to leave their impression on it. (See Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, pp. 602–609.)

[The inscription on the cylinders is usually the name of the owner, with that of his father, and an epithet, signifying the servant of such or such a god, the divinity being named who was supposed to have presided over the wearer's birth, and to have him under his protection. In almost every case—even on the cylinders found at Nineveh—the language and character are Chaldæan Scythic, and not Assyrian Semitic, though when mere names and epithets occur it is difficult to distinguish between them.—H. C. R.]

[3] Upon the cylinders the Babylonians are frequently, but not invariably, represented with sticks. In the Assyrian sculptures the officers of the court have always sticks, used apparently as staves of office. The heads of these are often elaborately wrought. At Persepolis the officers of the Persian court bear similar staves. Ornaments of the nature described by Herodotus, which may have been the heads of walking-sticks, are often found among the ruins of the Babylonian cities.

196. Of their customs, whereof I shall now proceed to give an account, the following (which I understand belongs to them in common with the Illyrian tribe of the Eneti[4]) is the wisest in my judgment. Once a year in each village the maidens of age to marry were collected all together into one place; while the men stood round them in a circle. Then a herald called up the damsels one by one, and offered them for sale. He began with the most beautiful. When she was sold for no small sum of money, he offered for sale the one who came next to her in beauty. All of them were sold to be wives. The richest of the Babylonians who wished to wed bid against each other for the loveliest maidens, while the humbler wife-seekers, who were indifferent about beauty, took the more homely damsels with marriage-portions. For the custom was that when the herald had



Babylonian Seals. (From Layard.)
1. External view. 2. Section. 3. Impression on clay tablet.

[4] The Eneti or Heneti are the same with the Venetians of later times (Liv. i. 1). According to one account they came to Italy with Antenor after the fall of Troy, and were Paphlagonians. Niebuhr thinks they could not have been Illyrians, or Polybius would have noticed the fact (Hist. of Rome, vol. i, p. 164, Engl. Tr.), and conjectures that they were Liburnians, quoting Virgil as authority.

> "Antenor potuit . . . .
> Illyricos penetrare sinus atque intima tutus
> Regna *Liburnorum*."—*Æn.* i. 243-5.

But may not the Liburnians have been an Illyrian tribe? Servius in his comment on the passage says that the king of the Venetians at this time was Œnetus, an *Illyrian.*

gone through the whole number of the beautiful damsels, he should then call up the ugliest—a cripple, if there chanced to be one—and offer her to the men, asking who would agree to take her with the smallest marriage-portion. And the man who offered to take the smallest sum had her assigned to him. The marriage-portions were furnished by the money paid for the beautiful damsels, and thus the fairer maidens portioned out the uglier. No one was allowed to give his daughter in marriage to the man of his choice, nor might any one carry away the damsel whom he had purchased without finding bail really and truly to make her his wife; if, however, it turned out that they did not agree, the money might be paid back. All who liked might come even from distant villages and bid for the women. This was the best of all their customs, but it has now fallen into disuse.[5] They have lately hit upon a very different plan to save their maidens from violence, and prevent their being torn from them and carried to distant cities, which is to bring up their daughters to be courtesans. This is now done by all the poorer of the common people, who since the conquest have been maltreated by their lords, and have had ruin brought upon their families.

197. The following custom seems to me the wisest of their institutions next to the one lately praised. They have no physicians, but when a man is ill, they lay him in the public square, and the passers-by come up to him, and if they have ever had his disease themselves or have known any one who has suffered from it, they give him advice, recommending him to do whatever they found good in their own case, or in the case known to them. And no one is allowed to pass the sick man in silence without asking him what his ailment is.

198. They bury their dead in honey,[6] and have funeral lamentations like the Egyptians. When a Babylonian has consorted with his wife, he sits down before a censer of burning incense, and the woman sits opposite to him. At dawn of day they wash; for till they are washed they will not touch any of

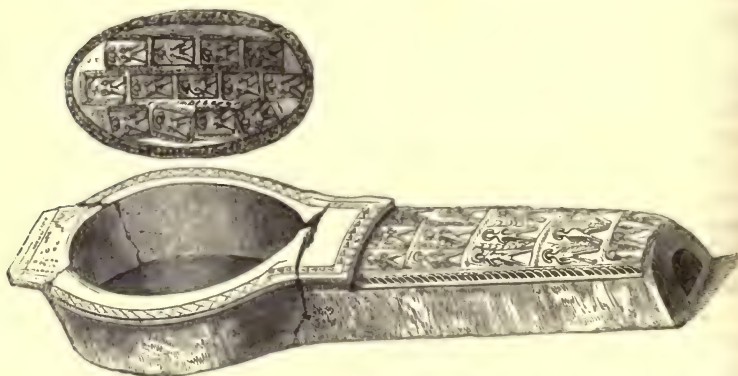
[5] Writers of the Augustan age (Strabo, xvi. p. 1058; Nic. Damasc. p. 152; Orelli) mention this custom as still existing in their day. The latter testimony, coming from a native of Damascus, is particularly valuable.

[6] Modern researches show two modes of burial to have prevailed in ancient Babylonia. *Ordinarily* the bodies seem to have been compressed into urns and baked, or burnt. Thousands of funeral urns are found on the sites of the ancient cities. Coffins are also found, but rarely. These are occasionally of wood (Rich's First Memoir, pp. 31–2), but in general of the same kind of pottery as the urns. Specimens brought from Warka may be seen in the British Museum; they resemble in shape the Egyptian mummy-cases. These coffins might have been filled with honey, but they are thought to belong to a comparatively recent period.

[So many races have successively inhabited Babylonia, and made use in succes-

their common vessels. This practice is observed also by the Arabians.

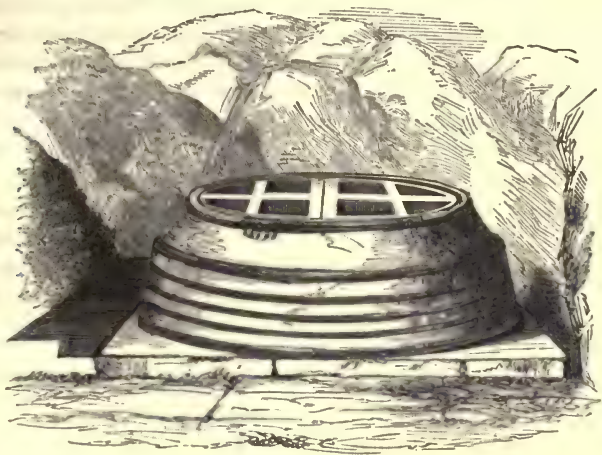
199. The Babylonians have one most shameful custom. Every woman born in the country must once in her life go and sit down in the precinct of Venus, and there consort with a stranger. Many of the wealthier sort, who are too proud to mix with the others, drive in covered carriages to the precinct, followed by a goodly train of attendants, and there take their station. But the larger number seat themselves within the holy enclosure with wreaths of string about their heads,—and here there is always a great crowd, some coming and others going; lines of cord mark out paths in all directions among the women, and the strangers pass along them to make their choice. A woman who has once taken her seat is not allowed to return home till one of the strangers throws a silver coin into her lap, and takes her with him beyond the holy ground. When he throws the coin he says these words—"The goddess Mylitta prosper thee." (Venus is called Mylitta by the Assyrians.) The silver



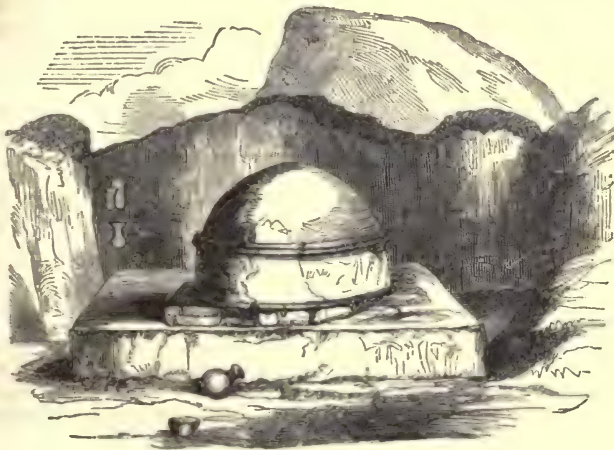
Babylonian Coffin and Lid. (Layard.)

sion of the same cemeteries, that there is some difficulty in ascertaining to what particular age and nation the various modes of sepulture that have been met with belonged. The burial-places, however, of the primitive Hamite Chaldæans have been carefully examined by Mr. Taylor, and well described by him in his two papers on Mugheir and Abu-Shahrein in the Journal of the Asiatic Society (vol. xv. part II.). In these burial-places the skeletons are sometimes found laid out in brick vaults, but more generally reposing on a small brick platform, with a pottery cover over them, very like a modern dish-cover. Some of these covers are now in the British Museum. The coffins from Warka, of green glazed pottery, and shaped like a slipper-bath (represented above), belonged probably to the Chaldæans of the Parthian age, the figures in relief which are stamped upon them being of an entirely different character from the figures on the antique cylinder-seals. The funeral jars, again, which seem to have been used for ordinary burial, and which are to be

coin may be of any size; it cannot be refused, for that is forbidden by the law, since once thrown it is sacred. The woman goes with the first man who throws her money, and rejects no one. When she has gone with him, and so satisfied the goddess, she returns home, and from that time forth no gift how-



found in hundreds of thousands in every Babylonian ruin, are, I believe, of all ages, from the earliest Chaldæan times down to the Arab conquest. Ashes are sometimes found in these jars, but it is far more usual to meet with a skeleton compressed into a small space, but with the bones and cranium uncalcined; and in all such cases as have fallen under my personal observation, I have found the mouth of the jar much too narrow to admit of the possibility of the cranium passing in or out; so that either the clay jar must have been moulded over the corpse, and then baked, which



ever great will prevail with her. Such of the women as are tall and beautiful are soon released, but others who are ugly have to stay a long time before they can fulfil the law. Some have waited three or four years in the precinct.[7] A custom very much like this is found also in certain parts of the island of Cyprus.

200. Such are the customs of the Babylonians generally. There are likewise three tribes among them who eat nothing but fish.[8] These are caught and dried in the sun, after which they are brayed in a mortar, and strained through a linen sieve. Some prefer to make cakes of this material, others bake it into a kind of bread.

201. When Cyrus had achieved the conquest of the Babylonians, he conceived the desire of bringing the Massagetæ under his dominion. Now the Massagetæ are said to be a great and warlike nation, dwelling eastward, toward the rising of the sun, beyond the river Araxes, and opposite the Issedonians.[9] By many they are regarded as a Scythian race.[1]

202. As for the Araxes, it is, according to some accounts, larger, according to others smaller than the Ister (Danube). It has islands in it, many of which are said to be equal in size to Lesbos. The men who inhabit them feed during the summer

would account for the ashes inside, or the neck of the jar must at any rate have been added subsequently to the other rites of interment. In some cases two jars are joined together by bitumen, so as to admit of the corpse being laid at full length instead of being compressed into a small compass, with the knees resting on the shoulders. The wooden coffins observed by Rich must have been of the Mohammedan period.—H. C. R.]

[7] This unhallowed custom is mentioned among the abominations of the religion of the Babylonians in the book of Baruch (vi. 43):—"The women also with cords about them, sitting in the ways, burn bran for perfume; but if any of them, drawn by some that passeth by, lie with him, she reproaches her fellow, that she was not thought as worthy as herself, nor her cord broken." Strabo also speaks of it (xvi. p. 1058).

[8] The inhabitants of the marshes in lower Babylonia, against whom the Assyrian kings so often make war (Layard's Monuments of Nineveh, 2nd series, plates 25, 27, 28), are probably intended; but it is difficult to suppose that fish formed really at any time their sole food. The marshes must always have abounded with water-fowl, and they now support, besides, vast herds of buffaloes, which form the chief wealth of the inhabitants (see Mr. Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, ch. xxiv. pp. 553, 554).

[9] The Issedonians are mentioned repeatedly in Book iv. Their seats are not very distinctly marked. They lie east of the Argippæans (iv. 25) and south of the Arimaspi (ib. 27). Rennell supposes them to have occupied the tract which is now inhabited by the Eleuthes or Calmuck Tatars.

[1] Herodotus himself admits that the dress and mode of life of both nations were the same. Dr. Donaldson brings an etymological argument in support of the identity (Varronianus, p. 29). According to him the word Scyth is another form of Goth, and the Massagetæ, Thyssagetæ, &c. are branches of the Gothic nation, Massa-Goths, Thyssa-Goths, &c.

on roots of all kinds, which they dig out of the ground, while they store up the fruits, which they gather from the trees at the fitting season, to serve them as food in the winter-time. Besides the trees whose fruit they gather for this purpose, they have also a tree which bears the strangest produce. When they are met together in companies they throw some of it upon the fire round which they are sitting, and presently, by the mere smell of the fumes which it gives out in burning, they grow drunk, as the Greeks do with wine. More of the fruit is then thrown on the fire, and, their drunkenness increasing, they often jump up and begin to dance and sing. Such is the account which I have heard of this people.

The river Araxes, like the Gyndes, which Cyrus dispersed into three hundred and sixty channels, has its source in the country of the Matienians. It has forty mouths, whereof all, except one, end in bogs and swamps. These bogs and swamps are said to be inhabited by a race of men who feed on raw fish, and clothe themselves with the skins of seals. The other mouth of the river flows with a clear course into the Caspian Sea.[2]

203. The Caspian is a sea by itself, having no connexion with any other.[3] The sea frequented by the Greeks, that beyond the pillars of Hercules, which is called the Atlantic, and also the Erythræan, are all one and the same sea. But the Caspian is a distinct sea, lying by itself, in length fifteen days' voyage with a row-boat, in breadth, at the broadest part, eight

[2] The geographical knowledge of Herodotus seems to be nowhere so much at fault as in his account of this river. He appears to have confused together the information which had reached him concerning two or three distinct streams. The Araxes, which rises in the *Matienian* mountains, *whence the Gyndes flows*, can only be the modern Aras, which has its source in the Armenian mountain-range near Erzeroum, and running eastward joins the Kur near its mouth, and falls into the Caspian on the west. On the other hand, the Araxes, which separates the country of the Massagetæ (who dwelt to the east of the Caspian, ch. 204) from the empire of Cyrus, would seem to be either the Jaxartes (the modern *Sir*) or the Oxus (*Jyhun*). The number of mouths and great size of the islands correspond best with the former stream, while the division into separate channels, and the passage of one branch into the Caspian, agrees strictly with the former state of the Jyhun river.

To increase the perplexity, we are told (iv. 11) that when the Massagetæ dispossessed the Scythians of this tract east of the Caspian, the latter people "*crossed the Araxes*, and entered the land of Cimmeria," where the Wolga seems to be intended. (See Wesseling ad loc.) Probably the name Aras (Rha) was given by the natives to all, or most, of these streams, and Herodotus was not sufficiently acquainted with the general geography to perceive that different rivers must be intended.

[3] Here the geographical knowledge of Herodotus was much in advance of his age. Eratosthenes, Strabo, Pomponius Mela, and Pliny all believed that the Caspian Sea was connected with the Northern Ocean by a long and narrow gulf. False information received at the time of Alexander's conquests seems to have made geographical knowledge retrograde. It was reserved for Ptolemy to restore the Caspian to its true position of an *inland* sea.

days' voyage.[4] Along its western shore runs the chain of the Caucasus, the most extensive and loftiest of all mountain-ranges.[5] Many and various are the tribes by which it is inhabited, most of whom live entirely on the wild fruits of the forest. In these forests certain trees are said to grow, from the leaves of which, pounded and mixed with water, the inhabitants make a dye, wherewith they paint upon their clothes the figures of animals; and the figures so impressed never wash out, but last as though they had been inwoven in the cloth from the first, and wear as long as the garment.

204. On the west then, as I have said, the Caspian Sea is bounded by the range of Caucasus. On the east it is followed by a vast plain, stretching out interminably before the eye,[6] the greater portion of which is possessed by those Massagetæ, against whom Cyrus was now so anxious to make an expedition. Many strong motives weighed with him and urged him on—his birth especially, which seemed something more than human, and his good fortune in all his former wars, wherein he had always found, that against what country soever he turned his arms, it was impossible for that people to escape.

205. At this time the Massagetæ were ruled by a queen, named Tomyris, who at the death of her husband, the late king, had mounted the throne. To her Cyrus sent ambassadors, with instructions to court her on his part, pretending that he wished to take her to wife. Tomyris, however, aware that it was her kingdom, and not herself, that he courted, forbade the men to approach. Cyrus, therefore, finding that he did not advance his designs by this deceit, marched towards the Araxes, and openly

[4] It is impossible to make any exact comparison between the actual size of the Caspian and the estimate of Herodotus, since we do not know what distance he intends by the day's voyage of a *row-boat*. No light is thrown on this by his estimate of the rate of *sailing* vessels (iv. 86).

It is possible, however, to compare the *proportions*. Let it then be observed that Herodotus makes the length a little less than double of the *greatest* breadth. He is careful to say the *greatest*, not the *average* breadth (τῇ εὐρυτάτη ἐστὶ αὐτὴ ἑωυτῆς). Now in point of fact the Caspian is 750 miles long from north to south, and about 400 miles across in the broadest part from east to west. These numbers, which are certainly near the truth, are *exactly* in the proportion given by Herodotus of 15 to 8. There seems to be great reason, therefore, to question the conclusions of Bredow and others, who suppose that Herodotus measured the length of the Caspian from east to west, and its breadth from north to south, and was right in doing so, since the sea of Aral formed a part of the Caspian in ancient times. It would be strange indeed if the sea had so entirely altered its shape, and yet preserved exactly the proportions of its ancient bed.

[5] This was true within the limits of Greek geographical knowledge. Peaks in the Caucasus attain the height of 17,000 feet. Neither in Taurus, nor in Zagros, nor in any of the European Alps is the elevation so great.

[6] The deserts of Kharesm, Kizilkoum, &c., the most southern portion of the Steppe region.

displaying his hostile intentions, set to work to construct a bridge on which his army might cross the river, and began building towers upon the boats which were to be used in the passage.

206. While the Persian leader was occupied in these labours, Tomyris sent a herald to him, who said, "King of the Medes, cease to press this enterprise, for thou canst not know if what thou art doing will be of real advantage to thee. Be content to rule in peace thy own kingdom, and bear to see us reign over the countries that are ours to govern. As, however, I know thou wilt not choose to hearken to this counsel, since there is nothing thou less desirest than peace and quietness, come now, if thou art so mightily desirous of meeting the Massagetæ in arms, leave thy useless toil of bridge-making; let us retire three days' march from the river bank, and do thou come across with thy soldiers; or, if thou likest better to give us battle on thy side the stream, retire thyself an equal distance." Cyrus, on this offer, called together the chiefs of the Persians, and laid the matter before them, requesting them to advise him what he should do. All the votes were in favour of his letting Tomyris cross the stream, and giving battle on Persian ground.

207. But Crœsus the Lydian, who was present at the meeting of the chiefs, disapproved of this advice; he therefore rose, and thus delivered his sentiments in opposition to it: "Oh! my king! I promised thee long since, that, as Jove had given me into thy hands, I would, to the best of my power, avert impending danger from thy house. Alas! my own sufferings, by their very bitterness, have taught me to be keen-sighted of dangers. If thou deemest thyself an immortal, and thine army an army of immortals, my counsel will doubtless be thrown away upon thee. But if thou feelest thyself to be a man, and a ruler of men, lay this first to heart, that there is a wheel on which the affairs of men revolve, and that its movement forbids the same man to be always fortunate. Now concerning the matter in hand, my judgment runs counter to the judgment of thy other counsellors. For if thou agreest to give the enemy entrance into thy country, consider what risk is run! Lose the battle, and therewith thy whole kingdom is lost. For assuredly, the Massagetæ, if they win the fight, will not return to their homes, but will push forward against the states of thy empire. Or if thou gainest the battle, why, then thou gainest far less than if thou wert across the stream, where thou mightest follow up thy victory. For against thy loss, if they defeat thee on thine own ground, must be set theirs in like case. Rout their army on the other side of the river, and thou mayest push at once into the heart of their country. More-

over, were it not disgrace intolerable for Cyrus the son of Cambyses to retire before and yield ground to a woman? My counsel therefore is, that we cross the stream, and pushing forward as far as they shall fall back, then seek to get the better of them by stratagem. I am told they are unacquainted with the good things on which the Persians live, and have never tasted the great delights of life. Let us then prepare a feast for them in our camp; let sheep be slaughtered without stint, and the wine-cups be filled full of noble liquor, and let all manner of dishes be prepared: then leaving behind us our worst troops, let us fall back towards the river. Unless I very much mistake, when they see the good fare set out, they will forget all else and fall to. Then it will remain for us to do our parts manfully."

208. Cyrus, when the two plans were thus placed in contrast before him, changed his mind, and preferring the advice which Crœsus had given, returned for answer to Tomyris, that she should retire, and that he would cross the stream. She therefore retired, as she had engaged; and Cyrus, giving Crœsus into the care of his son Cambyses (whom he had appointed to succeed him on the throne), with strict charge to pay him all respect and treat him well. if the expedition failed of success; and sending them both back to Persia, crossed the river with his army.

209. The first night after the passage, as he slept in the enemy's country, a vision appeared to him. He seemed to see in his sleep the eldest of the sons of Hystaspes, with wings upon his shoulders, shadowing with the one wing Asia, and Europe with the other. Now Hystaspes, the son of Arsames, was of the race of the Achæmenidæ,[7] and his eldest son, Darius, was at that time scarce twenty years old; wherefore, not being of age to go to the wars, he had remained behind in Persia. When Cyrus woke from his sleep, and turned the vision over in his mind, it seemed to him no light matter. He therefore sent for Hystaspes, and taking him aside, said, "Hystaspes, thy son is discovered to be plotting against me and my crown. I will tell thee how I know it so certainly. The gods watch over my safety, and warn me beforehand of every danger. Now last night, as I lay in my bed, I saw in a vision the eldest of thy sons with wings upon his shoulders, shadowing with the one wing Asia, and Europe with the other. From this it is certain, beyond all possible doubt, that he is engaged in some plot against

[7] For the entire genealogy of Darius, see note on Book vii. ch. 11. It may be observed here that the inscriptions confirm Herodotus thus far. Darius was son of Hystaspes (Vashtáspa) and grandson of Arsames (Arsháma). He traced his descent through four ancestors to Achæmenes (Hakhámanish).

me. Return thou then at once to Persia, and be sure, when I come back from conquering the Massagetæ, to have thy son ready to produce before me, that I may examine him."

210. Thus Cyrus spoke, in the belief that he was plotted against by Darius; but he missed the true meaning of the dream, which was sent by God to forewarn him, that he was to die then and there, and that his kingdom was to fall at last to Darius.

Hystaspes made answer to Cyrus in these words:—"Heaven forbid, sire, that there should be a Persian living who would plot against thee! If such an one there be, may a speedy death overtake him! Thou foundest the Persians a race of slaves, thou hast made them free men: thou foundest them subject to others, thou hast made them lords of all. If a vision has announced that my son is practising against thee, lo, I resign him into thy hands to deal with as thou wilt." Hystaspes, when he had thus answered, recrossed the Araxes and hastened back to Persia, to keep a watch on his son Darius.

211. Meanwhile Cyrus, having advanced a day's march from the river, did as Crœsus had advised him, and, leaving the worthless portion of his army in the camp, drew off with his good troops towards the river. Soon afterwards, a detachment of the Massagetæ, one-third of their entire army, led by Spargapises,[8] son of the queen Tomyris, coming up, fell upon the body which had been left behind by Cyrus, and on their resistance put them to the sword. Then, seeing the banquet prepared, they sat down and began to feast. When they had eaten and drunk their fill, and were now sunk in sleep, the Persians under Cyrus arrived, slaughtered a great multitude, and made even a larger number prisoners. Among these last was Spargapises himself.

212. When Tomyris heard what had befallen her son and her army, she sent a herald to Cyrus, who thus addressed the conqueror:—"Thou bloodthirsty Cyrus, pride not thyself on this poor success: it was the grape-juice—which, when ye drink it, makes you so mad, and as ye swallow it down brings up to your lips such bold and wicked words—it was this poison where-

[8] The identity of this name with the "Spargapithes," mentioned as a Scythian king in Book iv. (ch. 76), is of importance towards determining the ethnic family to which the Massagetæ are to be assigned. The Arian derivation of the word (Svarga, pita) is remarkable.

[The Arian etymology is perhaps more apparent than real. At least "Heaven father"—which would be the meaning of the name in Sanscrit—is an unsatisfactory compound. And, besides, the *sv* of the Sanscrit invariably changes to an aspirate or guttural in the Zend, Persian, and other cognate dialects—*svarga* in fact becoming *kheng* or *gang*, as in the famous *gangdiz* or Paradise of Persian romance.—H. C. R.]

with thou didst ensnare my child, and so overcamest him, not in fair open fight. Now hearken what I advise, and be sure I advise thee for thy good. Restore my son to me and get thee from the land unharmed, triumphant over a third part of the host of the Massagetæ. Refuse, and I swear by the sun, the sovereign lord of the Massagetæ, bloodthirsty as thou art, I will give thee thy fill of blood."

213. To the words of this message Cyrus paid no manner of regard. As for Spargapises, the son of the queen, when the wine went off, and he saw the extent of his calamity, he made request to Cyrus to release him from his bonds; then, when his prayer was granted, and the fetters were taken from his limbs, as soon as his hands were free, he destroyed himself.

214. Tomyris, when she found that Cyrus paid no heed to her advice, collected all the forces of her kingdom, and gave him battle. Of all the combats in which the barbarians have engaged among themselves, I reckon this to have been the fiercest. The following, as I understand, was the manner of it:—First, the two armies stood apart and shot their arrows at each other; then, when their quivers were empty, they closed and fought hand-to-hand with lances and daggers; and thus they continued fighting for a length of time, neither choosing to give ground. At length the Massagetæ prevailed. The greater part of the army of the Persians was destroyed and Cyrus himself fell, after reigning nine and twenty years. Search was made among the slain by order of the queen for the body of Cyrus, and when it was found she took a skin, and, filling it full of human blood, she dipped the head of Cyrus in the gore, saying, as she thus insulted the corse, "I live and have conquered thee in fight, and yet by thee am I ruined, for thou tookest my son with guile; but thus I make good my threat, and give thee thy fill of blood." Of the many different accounts which are given of the death of Cyrus, this which I have followed appears to me most worthy of credit.[9]

[9] It may be questioned whether the account, which out of many seemed to our author most worthy of credit, was often really the most credible. Unwittingly Herodotus was drawn towards the most romantic and poetic version of each story, and what he admired most seemed to him the likeliest to be true. There is no insincerity or pretence in this. In real good faith he adopts the most perfectly poetic tale or legend. He does not, like Livy, knowingly falsify history.

With respect to the particular matter of the death of Cyrus, the fact of the existence of his tomb at Pasargadæ, vouched for by Aristobulus, one of the companions of Alexander (much better reported by Arrian, vi. 29, than by Strabo, xv. p. 1036), seems conclusive against the historic truth of the narrative of Herodotus. Larcher's supposition that the tomb at Pasargadæ was a cenotaph (Histoire d'Hérod. vol. i. p. 509) is contradicted by the whole relation in Arrian, where we hear not

215. In their dress and mode of living the Massagetæ resemble the Scythians. They fight both on horseback and on foot, neither method is strange to them: they use bows and lances,

only of the gold sarcophagus, but of the body also, whereof, after the tomb had been violated, Aristobulus himself collected and interred the remains. The inscription too ("*I am Cyrus*, the son of Cambyses, who founded the empire of the Persians, and ruled over Asia. Grudge me not then this monument") could scarcely have been placed on a cenotaph. There can be no reasonable doubt that the body of Cyrus was interred in the tomb described, after Aristobulus, in Arrian.

According to Xenophon, Cyrus died peacefully in his bed (Cyrop. VIII. vii.); according to Ctesias, he was severely wounded in a battle which he fought with the Derbices, and died in camp of his wounds (Persic. Excerpt. § 6–8). Of these two authors, Ctesias, perhaps, is the less untrustworthy. On his authority, conjoined with that of Herodotus, it may be considered certain, 1. That Cyrus died a violent death; and 2. That he received his death-wound in fight; but against what enemy must continue a doubtful point.

There is much reason to believe that the tomb of Cyrus still exists at *Murg-Aub*, the ancient Pasargadæ. On a square base, composed of immense blocks of beautiful white marble, rising in steps, stands a structure so closely resembling the description of Arrian, that it seems scarcely possible to doubt its being the tomb which in Alexander's time contained the body of Cyrus. It is a quadrangular house, or



rather chamber, built of huge blocks of marble, 5 feet thick, which are shaped at the top into a slooping roof. Internally the chamber is 10 feet long, 7 wide, and 8 high. There are holes in the marble floor, which seem to have admitted the fastenings of a sarcophagus. The tomb stands in an area marked out by pillars, whereon occurs repeatedly the inscription (written both in Persian and in the so-called Median), "I am Cyrus the king, the Achæmenian." A full account, with a sketch of the structure (from which the accompanying view is taken), will be found in Ker Porter's Travels (vol. i. pp. 498–506). It is called by the natives the tomb of the Mother of Solomon!

but their favourite weapon is the battle-axe.[1] Their arms are all either of gold or brass. For their spear-points, and arrow-heads, and for their battle-axes, they make use of brass; for head-gear, belts, and girdles, of gold. So too with the caparison of their horses, they give them breastplates of brass, but employ gold about the reins, the bit, and the cheek-plates. They use neither iron nor silver, having none in their country; but they have brass and gold in abundance.[2]

216. The following are some of their customs:—Each man has but one wife, yet all the wives are held in common; for this a custom of the Massagetæ and not of the Scythians, as the Greeks wrongly say. Human life does not come to its natural close with this people; but when a man grows very old, all his kinsfolk collect together and offer him up in sacrifice; offering at the same time some cattle also. After the sacrifice they boil the flesh and feast on it; and those who thus end their days are reckoned the happiest. If a man dies of disease they do not eat him, but bury him in the ground, bewailing his ill-fortune that he did not come to be sacrificed. They sow no grain, but live on their herds, and on fish, of which there is great plenty in the Araxes. Milk is what they chiefly drink. The only god they worship is the sun, and to him they offer the horse in sacrifice; under the notion of giving to the swiftest of the gods the swiftest of all mortal creatures.[3]

[1] There is some doubt as to the nature of the weapon known to the Greeks as the *σάγαρις*. It has been taken for a battle-axe, a bill-hook, and a short curved sword or scymitar. Bähr (ad loc.) regards it as identical with the *ἀκινάκης*, but this is impossible, since it is mentioned as a distinct weapon in Book iv. (ch. 70). The expression, *ἀξίνας σαγάρις*, in Book vii. (ch. 64) seems to point to the battle-axe, which is called *sacr* in Armenian. (Compare the Latin *securis*.)

[The *σάγαρις* is in all probability the *khanjar* of modern Persia, a short, curved, double-edged dagger, almost universally worn. The original form of the word was probably *svagar*.—H. C. R.]

[2] Both the Ural and the Altai mountains abound in gold. The richness of these regions in this metal is indicated (Book iv. ch. 27) by the stories of the gold-guarding Grypes, and the Arimaspi who plunder them (Book iii. ch. 116). Altai is said to be derived from a Tatar word signifying gold (Rennell's Geogr. of Herodot., p. 136). The present productiveness of the Ural mountains is well known. Gold utensils are frequently found in the tumuli which abound throughout the steppe region. The arms are always of brass.

[3] So Ovid says of the Persians—

"Placat equo Persis radiis Hyperiona cinctum,
Ne detur celeri victima tarda Deo."

Xenophon ascribes the custom both to them (Cyrop. viii. iii. § 24), and to the Armenians (Anab. iv. v. § 35). Horse sacrifices are said to prevail among the modern Parsees.

APPENDIX TO BOOK I.

ESSAY I.

ON THE EARLY CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY OF LYDIA.

1. Date of the taking of Sardis by Cyrus—according to the common account, B. C. 546. 2. According to Volney and Heeren, B. C. 557. 3. Probable actual date, B. C. 554. 4. First or mythic period of Lydian history—dynasty of the Atyadæ. 5. Colonisation of Etruria. 6. Conquest of the Mæonians by the Lydians—Torrhebia. 7. Second period—dynasty of the Heraclidæ, B. C. 1229 to B. C. 724—descent of Agron. 8. Scantiness of the historical data for this period. 9. Lydiaca of Xanthus. 10. Insignificance of Lydia before Gyges. 11. Third period, B. C. 724–554—legend of Gyges—he obtains the throne by favour of the Delphic oracle. 12. Reign of Gyges, B. C. 724–686—his wars with the Greeks of the coast. 13. Reign of Ardys, B. C. 686–637. 14. Invasion of the Cimmerians. 15. Reign of Sadyattes, B. C. 637–625. 16. Reign of Alyattes, B. C. 625–568—war with Miletus. 17. Great war between Alyattes and Cyaxares, king of Media—eclipse of Thales, B. C. 610 (?). 18. Peaceful close of his reign—employment of the population in the construction of his tomb. 19. Supposed association of Crœsus in the government by Alyattes. 20. Reign of Crœsus, B. C. 568–554—his enormous wealth. 21. Powerful effect on the Greek mind of his reverse of fortune—his history becomes a favourite theme with romance writers, who continually embellish it.

1. The early chronology of Lydia depends entirely upon the true date of the taking of Sardis by Cyrus. Clinton, Grote, Bähr, and most recent chronologers, following the authority of Sosicrates[1] and Solinus. place the capture in the third year of the 58th Olympiad, B.C. 546. As

[1] Although Sosicrates is referred to by Mr. Grote (vol. iv. p. 264, note [2]) and by Mr. Clinton, under the year B. C. 546, as an authority for placing the capture of Sardis in that year, yet the passage in Diogenes Laertius, to which reference is made (i. 95), produces, according to Clinton's own showing (Appendix, xvii., vol. ii. p. 361), not the year B. C. 546, but the following year, B. C. 545. It is, perhaps, more important to observe that Sosicrates says nothing at all of the taking of Sardis, but only affirms that Periander died in the last year of the 48th Olympiad, forty-one years *before Crœsus*. He can scarcely have meant, as we should naturally have understood from the passage, before the *death* of Crœsus; but it is quite possible that he may have meant to refer to his accession. The following synopsis of the dates given in ancient writers for the accession of Gyges will show the uncertainty of the chronology even of the third Lydian dynasty :—

	B. C.
Dionysius Halicarnas. (in one passage)	718
Certain authors referred to by Pliny	717
Sosicrates (?)	715
Pliny and Clemens Alexandr.	708
Eusebius	699
Dionysius Halicar. (in another passage)	698

Sosicrates flourished in the 2nd century B.C., and Solinus in the time of the Antonines, no great value, as Mr. Grote allows,[2] can be attached to their evidence. It is certainly confirmed, in some degree, by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who, in one passage,[3] expresses himself in a way which would seem to show that he regarded the event as having occurred only two years earlier. But it must not be forgotten that from another passage of this writer,[4] it might be gathered that he would have placed the capture seventeen years later, in the year B.C. 528. The date of Solinus also is confirmed or copied by Eusebius, who gives the year B.C. 546 for the end of the Lydian monarchy.[5]

2. Volney,[6] on the contrary, maintains, against Solinus and Sosicrates, that the true date of the capture must be many years earlier. He proposes B.C. 557 as the most probable year, and his conclusions have been adopted by Heeren.[7]

The following objections seem to lie against the date usually assigned :—

The conquest of Astyages by Cyrus is determined by the general consent of chronologers to fall within the space B.C. 561-558. This event can hardly have preceded the taking of Sardis by from twelve to fifteen years; at least if Herodotus is to be regarded as a tolerable authority even for the general connexion of the events of this period. For Herodotus says that the defeat of Astyages determined Crœsus to attack Cyrus before he became still more powerful; and that he *immediately* began the consultation of the oracles,[8] on which, it would seem, the war followed within (at most) a year or two. It was the object of Crœsus to hurry on the struggle, and two or three years (the former is the period assigned by Volney) would probably have been time enough for all the necessary preparations, including the negotiations with Sparta, Egypt, and Babylon.[9] No one can read the narrative in Herodotus and imagine that he meant to represent more than a very few years as intervening between the conquest of the Medes by Cyrus, and Crœsus's invasion of

[2] History of Greece, part ii. ch. xxxii. (vol. iv. p. 265, note).

[3] De Thucyd. Charact. c. 5. Ἡρόδοτος—ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Λυδῶν δυναστείας, μέχρι τοῦ Περσικοῦ πολέμου κατεβίβασε τὴν ἱστορίαν, πάσας τὰς ἐν τοῖς τεσσαράκοντα καὶ διακοσίοις ἔτεσι γενομένας πράξεις—περιλαβών. As Herodotus concludes his history with the year B. C. 479, the commencement of the Lydian history would be, according to this passage, B. C. 718, which would give (718–170) B. C. 548 for the end of the monarchy.

[4] Epist. ad Cn. Pompeium, c. 3 (p. 773). Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Λυδῶν βασιλείας ἀρξάμενος—διεξελθών τε πράξεις Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων ἔτεσιν ὁμοῦ διακοσίοις καὶ εἴκοσι, κ. τ. λ.

[5] At least according to the Armenian version. Chronic. Canon. Pars ii. p. 333.

[6] Recherches sur l'Histoire Ancienne, vol. i. pp. 306–9.

[7] Manual of Ancient Hist., book i. p. 29 (Eng. Translation, Talboys), and Appendix.

[8] Ἡ Ἀστυάγεος τοῦ Κυαξάρεω ἡγεμονίη καταιρεθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω, καὶ τὰ τῶν Περσέων πρήγματα αὐξανόμενα, πένθεος μὲν Κροῖσον ἀπέπαυσε· ἐνέβησε δὲ ἐς φροντίδα, εἴ κως δύναιτο, πρὶν μεγάλους γενέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, καταλαβεῖν αὐτῶν αὐξανομένην τὴν δύναμιν. Μετὰ ὦν τὴν διανοίαν ταύτην αὐτίκα ἀπεπειρᾶτο τῶν μαντηΐων, κ. τ. λ. (Herod. i. 46.) So Strabo says, Πέρσαι ἀφ' οὗ κατέλυσαν τὰ Μήδων εὐθὺς καὶ Λυδῶν ἐκράτησαν (xv. p. 1044).

[9] Herod. i. 69 and 77.

Cappadocia. The twelve or thirteen years required by the commonly adopted date are contradicted *expressly* by his narrative. For the whole reign of Crœsus is but fourteen years; and if we assign even twelve of these to the period of preparation for the Persian war, we leave but two years for all the earlier events of his reign, a single one of which, the mourning for his son, is stated to have occupied that full period of time.[1] It may be argued, indeed, that just as the conquests of Crœsus and his interview with Solon were (according to some writers[2]) anterior to the fourteen years of his reign as sole king, occurring during a period in which he reigned jointly with his father, so the dream, the coming of Adrastus, and the marriage and death of Atys, may have preceded the decease of Alyattes; but even though the former view should be allowed, the latter suppositions are rendered impossible, both by the general tone of the narrative, and by the fact that Crœsus was but thirty-five at the death of his father,[3] which would prevent his having a marriageable son till some years afterwards.

The following is the arrangement of the Lydian dynasties according to the ordinary chronology:—

			B.C.
1st Dynasty	Atyadæ		anterior to 1221
2nd Dynasty	Heraclidæ	B.C.	1221 to 716
3rd Dynasty	Mermnadæ—		
	1. Gyges ..	B.C.	716 to 678
	2. Ardys ..	"	678 to 629
	3. Sadyattes	"	629 to 617
	4. Alyattes	"	617 to 560
	5. Crœsus	"	560 to 546

According to the chronology of Volney, which is adopted by Heeren, the several dates will be as follows:—

[1] Herod. i. 46.

[2] Larcher. Note on Herod. i. 27 (vol. i. p. 210). Clinton F. H. vol. ii. pp. 362–6. It will be proved in its proper place that there are no sufficient grounds for believing that Alyattes associated Crœsus in the government, or that any of the events ascribed by Herodotus to the fourteen years of Crœsus belong to the reign of Alyattes. The following would seem to have been the view taken by Herodotus of the reign of Crœsus:—

Year of Crœsus.	
1.	Crœsus, at 35 years of age (ch. 26), succeeds his father. (His son Atys might be 10 or 12 years old.) Attacks and takes Ephesus (ch. 26).
2–6.	Continues the war with the Greeks of the coast, and afterwards conquers the whole country within the Halys (chaps. 27, 28). Atys takes part in some of these wars (ch. 37).
7.	Visit of Solon (ch. 29).
8.	Crœsus's dream. Marriage of Atys at the age of 18 or 20 (chaps. 34–5). Atys killed by Adrastus (chaps. 36–45).
9–10.	Crœsus mourns for Atys (ch. 45, end). Hears of the defeat of Astyages (ch. 46).
11–12.	Crœsus sends to Delphi and the other oracles (chaps. 46–56).
13.	Alliances concluded with Sparta, Babylon, and Egypt (chaps. 69 and 77).
14.	Crœsus crosses the Halys, and attacks Cyrus. Sardis taken by Cyrus.

[3] Herod. i. 26.

				B.C.
1st Dynasty	Atyadæ			anterior to 1232
2nd Dynasty	Heraclidæ		B.C.	1232 to 727
3rd Dynasty	Mermnadæ—			
		1. Gyges ..	B.C.	727 to 689
		2. Ardys ..	„	689 to 640
		3. Sadyattes ..	„	640 to 628
		4. Alyattes ..	„	628 to 571
		5. Crœsus ..	„	571 to 557

3. The dates assumed in the present work are slightly different from these last. The accession of Crœsus is regarded as having happened in the year B.C. 568, and the fall of Sardis in B.C. 554. This is in part the necessary consequence of an alteration of the date of Cyrus's victory over Astyages, which Volney and Heeren place in B.C. 561. As the astronomical canon of Ptolemy fixes the death of Cyrus to B.C. 529, and Herodotus ascribes but twenty-nine years to the reign of that prince, it has been thought best to regard B.C. 558 as the first year of Cyrus in Media.[4] In order, therefore, to preserve the same interval between the defeat of Astyages and the fall of Sardis, which Volney gathers from the narrative of Herodotus, the latter event would have to be assigned to the year B.C. 555. It is here placed one year later on the following grounds:—A space of two years does not seem to be sufficient time to allow for all Crœsus's consultations with the oracles, and negotiations with powers so distant as Egypt and Babylonia. Volney's theory crowds the incidents unnecessarily.[5] And further, if the fall of Sardis were assigned to the year B.C. 555, the negotiations would fall into the year B.C. 556. But at this period Labynetus (Nabonadius) did not occupy the throne of Babylon. His accession is fixed by the astronomical canon to B.C. 555. Thus the negotiations could not be earlier than B.C. 555, nor the fall of Sardis than B.C. 554. This synchronism, which escaped the notice of Volney, seems to be conclusive against his scheme, which, starting on sound principles, a conviction of the worthlessness of such authorities as Solinus and Sosicrates, and a feeling that the ordinary chronology, based upon their statements, was irreconcilable with Herodotus, advanced to false conclusions because the fixed points of contemporary history, which alone could determine the true dates, were either forgotten or misconceived. By correcting Volney's error and supplying his omission, the scheme, adopted in the text, and exhibited synoptically at the end of this chapter, has been constructed. It places the events of Lydian history seven years earlier than the ordinary chronology, four years

[4] The length of Cyrus's reign is variously stated at 29, 30, and 31 years. I regard the authority of Herodotus as so much higher than that of the writers who give the other numbers—Justin, Dinon (ap. Cic. Div. i. 23), and Eusebius give 30, Severus and the ecclesiastical writers generally, 31 years—that I feel no hesitation in preferring his statement. Apart, however, from the mere consideration of authority, the other numbers would be open to suspicion. *Round* numbers are always suspicious; and the fact that "the ecclesiastical writers," who were always seeking to bolster up a system, are the sole authority for the 31 years (Syncellus, p. 497), is a strong argument against its being the truth.

[5] See his Recherches, Chronologie des Rois Lydiens, pp. 307–8.

later than the system of Volney and Heeren. It is, in brief, as follows:—

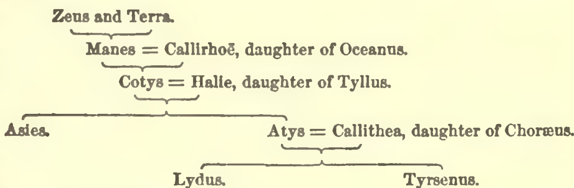
			B.C.
1st Dynasty	Atyadæ		anterior to 1229
2nd Dynasty	Heraclidæ	B.C.	1229 to 724
3rd Dynasty	Mermnadæ—		
	1. Gyges ..	B.C.	724 to 686
	2. Ardys ..	„	686 to 637
	3. Sadyattes ..	„	637 to 625
	4. Alyattes ..	„	625 to 568
	5. Crœsus ..	„	568 to 554[6]

4. With regard to the first period of Lydian history, anterior to the accession of the dynasty called by Herodotus Heraclidæ, it seems rightly termed by Volney and Heeren,[7] "uncertain and fabulous." The royal genealogies of the Atyadæ (as it has been usual to call them), beyond which there is scarcely anything belonging to the period that even claims to be history, have the appearance, with which the early Greek annals make us so familiar, of artificial arrangements of the *heroes eponymi* of the nation. The Manes, Atys, Lydus, Asies, Tyrsenus of Herodotus and Dionysius, and even the Torybus (or Torrhebus) and Adramytes of Xanthus Lydus, stand in Lydian history where Hellen, Pelasgus, Ion, Dorus, Achæus, Æolus, stand in Greek. Only two names are handed down in the lists of this period, which are devoid to all appearance of an ethnic character, the names of Meles and Cotys. Manes, the first king after Zeus, according to the complete genealogy preserved in Dionysius,[8] may

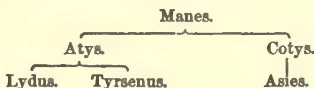
[6] The Parian marble, in the only date bearing on the point which is legible, that of the embassy sent from Crœsus to Delphi (lines 56–7), very nearly agrees with this view. The embassy is placed in what must clearly be the 292nd year of the Marble, which is the first year of the 56th Olympiad, or B. C. 556. The scheme adopted in the text would place the first embassy to Delphi in B. C. 557, the last in the year following.

[7] Heeren's Manual of Ancient Hist., Appendix, iii. (p. 478, Eng. translation, Talboys).

[8] Antiq. Rom. i. 28. This genealogy may be thus exhibited in a tabular form:—



The three notices in Herodotus (i. 7, i. 94, and iv. 45) harmonise perfectly with this genealogy, except in a single point. In book i. ch. 94, Atys is made the son instead of the grandson of Manes. This may be an inaccuracy on the part of Herodotus, or possibly he would have drawn out the tree thus:—



It is curious that Freret should positively assert (Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscr.,

fairly be considered, as was long ago observed by Freret, the eponymus of the Mæonians.[9] Atys gives his name to the royal race of Atyadæ, Lydus to the Lydians, Asies to the continent of Asia, Tyrrhenus to the distant Tyrrhenians, Torrhebus, or Torybus, to the region of Lydia called Torrhebia, or Torybia, Adramytes to the town of Adramyttium. And the complete genealogy referred to above, of which the notices in Herodotus seem to be fragments, is, if not an additional proof of the mythical character of these personages, yet a sufficient indication of the feeling of antiquity with respect to them. Manes, the first king, the son of Zeus and Terra, marries Callirhoë, a daughter of Oceanus, and becomes thereby the father of Cotys. Cotys, removed one step further from divinity, is content with an earthly bride, and takes to wife Halie, daughter of Tyllus, by whom he has two sons, Asies, who gives name to Asia, and Atys, his successor upon the throne. Atys marries Callithea, daughter of Choræus, and is father of Tyrsenus and Lydus.

5. The few facts delivered in connexion with these names are, for the most part, as mythical as the personages by whom they were borne. The legend which has handed down to us the name of Meles [1] is perhaps scarcely less entitled to rank as history than the tradition which ascribed the origin of the great Etruscan nation to a colony which Tyrrhenus, son of Atys, led into Italy from the far-off land of Lydia. Xanthus, the native historian, it must never be forgotten, ignored the existence of Tyrrhenus, and protested against the tradition (which he must have known) not merely, as is often said,[2] by the negative testimony of silence, but by filling up the place of Tyrrhenus with a different personage, Torybus or Torrhebus, who, instead of leading a colony into Etruria, remained at home and gave his name to a district of his native land.[3] The arguments of Dionysius,[4] deemed worthy of the valuable praise of Niebuhr,[5] have met with no sufficient answer from those who, notwithstanding, maintain the Lydian origin of the Etruscans. It

tom. v. p. 307), and Grote maintain as probable (vol. iii. p. 300, note), that Dionysius gives the complete genealogy *from Xanthus*. This is quite impossible, since Dionysius contrasts the opinion of Xanthus with that of the persons who put forward this mythical genealogy, in which moreover the name of Tyrsenus occurs (not Torrhebus, as Grote says, misquoting Dionysius); a name of which Xanthus, according to the same writer, made no mention at all.

[9] Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. v. p. 308.

[1] Herod. i. 84. I regard the Meles of Herodotus, whose wife gave birth to a lion, as a very different and far more ancient personage than the Meles of Eusebius who reigned shortly before Candaules. Both kings are noticed by Nicolaüs Damascenus (Frag. Hist. Gr., vol. iii. p. 371 and 382).

[2] Larcher, Histoire d'Hérodote, note on i. 94 (vol. i. p. 352): "On pourrait répondre cependant que ce n'est qu'un argument négatif, qui n'a aucune force contre un fait positivement énoncé par un historien grave," &c. Creuzer, in Symb. ii. p. 828, not. Bähr's Herod. Excurs. ii. ad Herod. i. 94.

[3] Xanthus ap. Dionys. Hal. Ἄτυος δὲ παῖδας γενέσθαι λέγει Λυδὸν καὶ Τόρυβον, τούτους δὲ μερισαμένους τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχὴν, ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καταμεῖναι ἀμφοτέρους, καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὧν ἦρξαν, ἐπ' ἐκείνων φησὶ τεθῆναι τὰς ὀνομασίας, λέγων ὧδε· ἀπὸ Λύδου μὲν γίνονται Λυδοὶ, ἀπὸ δὲ Τορύβου, Τόρυβοι. Cf. Steph. Byz. in voc. Τόῤῥηβος. Τόῤῥηβο πόλις Λυδίας, ἀπὸ Τοῤῥήβου τοῦ Ἄτυος.

[4] Ant. Rom. lib. i. (vol. i. pp. 21–24, Oxf. Ed.)

[5] History of Rome, vol. i. pp. 38–39 (Engl. translation, edition of 1831).

remains certain, both that the Lydians had no such settled tradition, and that even if they had had any such, "it would have deserved no credit by the complete difference of the two nations in language, usages, and religion."[6] All analysis of the Etruscan language leads to the conclusion that it is in its non-Pelasgic element altogether *sui generis*[7] and quite unconnected, so far as appears, with any of the dialects of Asia Minor. The Lydians, on the other hand, who were of the same family with the Carians,[8] who are called Leleges,[9] must have spoken a language closely akin to the Pelasgic; and the connexion of Lydia with Italy, if any, must have been through the Pelasgic, not through the Italic element in the population.

Indeed, if the tradition conceal any fact (and perhaps there never yet was a wide-spread tradition that did not), it would seem to be this, that a kindred population was spread in early times from the shores of Asia Minor to the north-western boundary of Italy. Nothing is more unlikely than the sudden movement of a large body of men, in times so remote as those to which the tradition refers, from Lydia to the Etruscan coast. Nothing, on the other hand, is more probable, or more agreeable to the general tenor of ancient history,[1] than the gradual passage of a kindred people, or kindred tribes, from Asia Minor to western Europe.

It may also well be, as Niebuhr thinks,[2] that there is another entirely distinct misconception in the story, as commonly narrated. The connexion of race, which the original mythus was intended to point out, may have been a connexion between the ancient Pelasgic population of Italy on the one hand, and the *Mæonians*, not the Lydians, on the other. The Lydians may have been, probably were, a distinct race from the Mæonians, whom they conquered; and the mythus may represent the

[6] History of Rome, vol. i. p. 109. It has been said (Creuzer, in Symb.) that Xanthus might have concealed intentionally what was discreditable to his countrymen; but could the founding of so great a nation as the Etruscan be viewed in that light? Xanthus must have known the story, which Herodotus received from certain Lydians (φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ Λυδοὶ, i. 94), and understood it, as Herodotus himself undoubtedly did, to assert the Lydian origin of the existing Etruscan people. It seems now to be tolerably certain that Niebuhr's attempted distinction between the words Tyrrhenian and Etruscan is etymologically unsound (Donaldson's Varronianus, ch. i. § 11); and so the tradition, literally taken, could mean nothing but the Lydian origin of the *Etrusci*. Against this I understand Xanthus to protest. He need not be considered as pronouncing against the connexion, spoken of below, between the Pelasgi whom the Etruscans conquered, and the Mæonians whom the Lydians drove out.

[7] The attempt made by Mr. Donaldson, in his Varronianus (pp. 101–136), to connect the Etruscan with the other Italic languages, is not generally regarded by comparative philologers as successful.

[8] Lydus was a brother of Car (Herod. i. 171).

[9] Κᾶρες—τὸ παλαιὸν ἐόντες Μίνω τε κατήκοοι καὶ καλεόμενοι Λέλεγες.—Herod. ib. Cf. Strabo, vii. p. 495.

[1] See Appendix to Book vi., "On the Traditions concerning the Pelasgi."

[2] History of Rome, vol. i. p. 108. Niebuhr seems to consider that the Lydians and the Mæonians were races as unconnected and opposed, as the old Pelasgic inhabitants of Italy and their Etruscan conquerors. I regard all the tribes of the West coast of Asia Minor as akin to the Pelasgi. See the chapter on the Pelasgi, in the Appendix to Book vi.

flight of the Mæonians westward on the occupation of their country by the Lydians. But then it should be remembered that Tyrrhenus and Lydus are own brothers, both sons of Atys and Callithea; that is, the two tribes, though distinct, are closely allied, perhaps as near to each other as the Greek tribes of Dorians and Ionians, to which Xanthus, in his version of the story, compared them.[3] For we must not think that there is any more of exact historic truth in the tale of Xanthus than in that of Herodotus. Xanthus, too, must be expounded mythically. He is to be regarded as telling another portion of the truth, omitted from the Herodotean mythus, namely, that at the time when one part of the Mæonians moved westward, another part remained in Asia, and, under the name of Torrhebi, continued to inhabit a district of their ancient country, as subjects of their Lydian conquerors. Here, too, Lydus and Torrhebus are brothers. This misconception, therefore, if such it be, would ethnically be of very little moment.

6. One or two facts seem at length to loom forth from the mist and darkness of these remote ages; and these facts appear to comprise the whole that can be said to be historic in the traditions of the first dynasty. First, the country known to the Greeks as Lydia, was anciently occupied by a race distinct, and yet not wholly alien from the Lydian, who were called Mæonians.[4] This people was conquered by the Lydians, and either fled westward across the sea, or submitted to the conquerors; or possibly, in part submitted, and in part fled the country. Secondly, from the date of this conquest, or at any rate, from very early times, Lydia was divided into two districts, Lydia Proper, and Torrhebia, in which two distinct dialects were spoken, differing from each other as much as Doric from Ionic Greek. It is highly probable that the Torrhebians were a remnant of the more ancient people, standing in the same relation to the inhabitants of Lydia Proper as the Welsh to the English, or, still more exactly, as the Norwegians to the Swedes.

7. In entering on Herodotus's second period, with respect to which he seems to have believed that he possessed accurate chronological data, it must be at once confessed that we do not find ourselves much nearer the domain of authentic history. The genealogy of Agron, first king of the second dynasty, is scarcely less mythic than that of Lydus himself. Hercules, Alcæus, Belus, Ninus—the four immediate ancestors of Agron—form an aggregate of names more contradictory, if less decidedly mythological, than the list in which figure Zeus and Terra, Callirhoë, the daughter of Ocean, and Asies, who gave name to the Asiatic continent. While Hercules, with his son Alcæus, and the name Heraclidæ, applied by Herodotus to the dynasty, take our thoughts to Greece, and indicate a Greek or Pelasgic origin to this line of monarchs, Belus, the Babylonian god-king, and Ninus, the reputed founder of Nineveh,[5]

[3] Xanthus in Dionys. Hal. *τούτων* (sc. *Λυδῶν καὶ Τορύβων*) *ἡ γλῶσσα ὀλίγον παραφέρει, καὶ νῦν ἔτι συλοῦσιν ἀλλήλους ῥήματα οὐκ ὀλίγα, ὥσπερ Ἴωνες καὶ Δωριεῖς.*

[4] The fact, so often noted, that Homer makes no mention of Lydia or Lydians, while he names Mæonians in conjunction with Carians (Iliad. ii. 864–867) is a strong confirmation of the assertion of Herodotus.

[5] It is true that Herodotus nowhere makes express mention of Ninus as founder

summon us away to the far regions of Mesopotamia, and suggest an Assyrian conquest of the country, or possibly a Semitic origin to the Lydian people. Among the wide range of fabulous descents with which ancient authors have delighted to fill their pages, it would be difficult to find a transition so abrupt and startling, as that from Alcæus, son of Hercules, to Belus, father of Ninus.[6] It seems necessary absolutely to reject one portion of the genealogy or the other, not only as untrue, but as unmeaning; for the elements refuse to amalgamate. Accordingly we find that writers, who, as Larcher,[7] accept without hesitation the descent from Hercules, pass by the names of Ninus and Belus, as though there were nothing remarkable in them; while those who are struck, like Niebuhr,[8] with the importance of such names in such a position, and from the fact of their occurrence conclude the dynasty to be Assyrian, are obliged to set aside, as insignificant, the descent from Alcæus and Hercules. This portion of the genealogy can certainly in no case be regarded as historical, and at most cannot mean more than that the dynasty was Pelasgic, or in other words native; but the other part might possibly be very simple history, and if so, it would be history of the most important character. It might indicate the very simple fact which Volney has drawn from it, that Ninus, the founder of the Assyrian empire, conquered Lydia, and placed his son Agron upon the throne.[9] And this would derive confirmation from the celebrated passage of Ctesias, where Lydia is included among the conquests of the great Assyrian.[1] But on the whole the balance of the evidence seems to be against any Assyrian conquest, or indeed any early connexion of Assyria with Lydia. Herodotus expressly limits the empire of the Assyrians to Asia above (*i. e.* to the east of) the Halys,[2] and no trustworthy author extends their dominion beyond it. Ctesias is a writer whose authority is always of the weakest, and in the passage referred to he outdoes himself in boldness of invention.[3] Again: there is nothing Semitic, either in the names or in the government of the kings of this dynasty, nor indeed are any traces to be found of Semitic conquest or colonisation in this region.[4] Further, the Cuneiform inscriptions, so far as they have been hitherto decyphered, are silent as to any expeditions of the Assyrians beyond the Halys, entirely agreeing with Herodotus in representing their influence in this quarter as confined to the nations immediately bordering

of Nineveh, but we can scarcely be mistaken in considering that this name, occurring as it does in connection with that of Belus, indicates that personage, so generally regarded by the Greeks as the first monarch of Assyria.

[6] It does not greatly elucidate this mysterious connexion to learn, on the authority of Julius Pollux, that "Ninus, son of Belus, gave his own son the name of Agron, because he was born in the country" (ἐν ἀγρῷ).—Larcher on Herod. i. 7, note 21.

[7] Histoire d'Hérodote, vol. i., notes on book i. ch. vii.

[8] Kleine Schriften, p. 371.

[9] Recherches, &c., Chronologie d'Hérodote, vol. i. p. 419.

[1] In Diod. Sic. ii. 2. [2] Book i. ch. 95.

[3] Ctesias includes among the conquests of Ninus, besides Lydia, the whole of Asia Minor, Armenia, Media, Susiana, Persia, Babylonia, Cœlesyria, Phœnicia, Egypt, and Bactria!

[4] This point is discussed below, in the chapter "On the Ethnic Affinities of the Nations of Western Asia."

upon Armenia.[4a] Moreover the narrative of Herodotus is inconsistent with the notion founded upon it, that Ninus conquered Lydia and placed his son Agron upon the throne. For Herodotus represents the Heraclidæ as previously subjects of the Atyadæ, put by them in offices of trust, and so seizing the supreme power, like the Mayors of the Palace under the Merovingian line of French kings. And they finally obtain the kingdom, not by conquest, but by an oracle.[5] Herodotus may possibly have conceived of Belus and Ninus as going forth from Lydia in the might of their divine descent to the conquest of Mesopotamia, but he certainly did not conceive of Ninus as coming from Mesopotamia to the conquest of Lydia, and establishing his son Agron there as king in his room. On the whole it must be concluded that the remarkable genealogy—Hercules, Alcæus, Belus, Ninus, Agron—contains no atom of truth or meaning, and was the clumsy invention of a Lydian, bent on glorifying the ancient kings of his country, by claiming for them a connexion with the mightiest of the heroes both of Asia and of Greece.

8. The meagre account which Herodotus proceeds to give of his second Lydian dynasty presents but few opportunities for remark or criticism. Agron, according to him, was followed by a series of twenty-one kings, each the son of his predecessor, whose names, except the last two, he omits to mention, and whose united reigns made up a period of five hundred and five years. On what data this calculation was based it is impossible to say. The manifest inconsistency of the years with the generations has been observed by many writers,[6] and Larcher, in his translation, went so far as to change the number of generations from twenty-two to fifteen; but it seems better to leave the discrepancy, one proof among many of the extreme uncertainty of this early history. Of Myrsus,[7] the last king but one, and Candaules, the last king of this dynasty, whom the Greeks called Myrsilus,[8] Herodotus relates nothing except the tale concerning the destruction of the latter, for which he appears to have been indebted to the Parian poet, Archilochus.[9]

9. It is probable that the Lydiaca of Xanthus, had they escaped the ravages of time, would have in a great measure filled up the blanks left by Herodotus, in this, if not even in the preceding period. But it may

[4a] See the Commentary on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria, by Col. Rawlinson, published in 1851.

[5] Herod. i. 7. *παρὰ τούτων δὲ Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἐπιτραφθέντες ἔσχον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ θεοπροπίου.* Compare ch. 13.

[6] Larcher (note 25 on Herod. book i.), Dahlmann (Herod. p. 99), Volney (Suppl. à l'Hérod. de Larcher), Bähr (Herod. vol. i. p. 23).

[7] It has not always been observed that Myrsus must, by the narrative of Herodotus, have been king. Eusebius places Meles immediately before Candaules (Chron. Canon. part. ii. Ol. 13, 2). Grote appears to regard Myrsus as a Greek, not a Lydian, appellative, when he thus expresses himself:—"The twenty-second prince of this family was Candaules, *called by the Greeks Myrsilus, the son of Myrsus*" (Hist. of Greece, vol. iii. p. 296). Herodotus says twice over, "Candaules was the son of Myrsus;" and adds, "by the Greeks he was called Myrsilus."

[8] A curious patronymic, but analogous in a great measure to the Latin forms, Servius, Servilius; Manius, Manilius; Quinctius, Quinctilius, &c., seeming to show that the *l* of the Latin *filius* was not altogether unknown to the inhabitants of the western Asiatic coast.

[9] Herod i. 12, end.

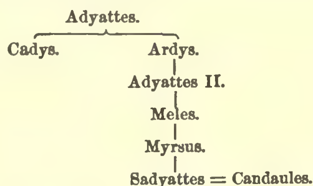
be questioned whether history would have been greatly the gainer, if we may take the fragments of Xanthus which remain as fair samples of the general tenor of his narrative. Xanthus told of a King Cambles, Cambes, or Camblitas, of so ravenous an appetite, that one night, when he was asleep, he ate his wife, and in the morning found nothing left of her but her hand, which remained in his mouth. Horrified at his own act, he drew his sword and slew himself.[1] Xanthus told also of another king, Aciamus, who by his general Ascalus, made war in Syria, and founded Ascalon![2] If such were the staple of his history, we need not greatly regret its loss.[3]

10. One conclusion may be drawn alike from the silence of the foreign, and the fictions of the native historian—that the Lydians of the fifth century B. C. possessed no authentic information concerning their ancestors further back than the time of Gyges, the first king of the race called Mermnadæ. From this we may derive, as a corollary, the further consequence of the insignificance of Lydia in times anterior to his date. Previously to the accession of the last dynasty, Lydia was, it is probable, but one out of the many petty states or kingdoms into which Low-

[1] This passage is preserved by Athenæus (x. 8, p. 17).

[2] Xanth. ap. Steph. Byz. in voc. Ἀσκάλων. Ascalon, be it remembered, was an important town at the time of the coming of the Israelites into the Holy Land (Judg. i. 18). That a Lydian army ever proceeded eastward of the Halys before the time of Crœsus is in the highest degree improbable. Ascalon was undoubtedly one of the most ancient cities of the Philistines. It may be to the account given by Xanthus of this distant expedition that we owe the narrative in Athenæus (viii. 37, p. 277) of the drowning of Atergatis or Derceto, the Syrian Venus, in a lake near Ascalon by Mopsus, a Lydian.

[3] Nicolas of Damascus, in one of his recently discovered fragments (Frag. Hist. Gr., vol. iii. pp. 380–6), professes to give something of a complete account of the latter kings of the second dynasty. He traces the line of descent through five monarchs to the king slain by Gyges, whom, instead of Candaules, he calls Sadyattes. These five monarchs are Adyattes, Ardys, Adyattes II., Meles, and Myrsus. In the order, and in the names of four of these, Adyattes, Ardys, Adyattes II. and Meles, he agrees with Eusebius, who gives "Ardysus Alyattæ, annis 36; Alyattes, annis 14; Meles, annis 12" (Chron. Can. part i. c. xv.), as the immediate predecessors of Candaules. In the fifth name he agrees with Herodotus, from whom Eusebius differs, since he entirely omits Myrsus. These coincidences seem to entitle the list to some consideration. It may possibly have come from Xanthus, or from Dionysius of Mytilene, who wrote histories in Xanthus's name (Athen. xii. xi., p. 415). The following is the genealogical tree according to this authority:—



But few facts are narrated of these kings in the fragment. It is chiefly occupied with an account of the feud between the Heraclidæ and the Mermnadæ, which will be spoken of hereafter, and with a long story concerning Ardys, how he lost his crown and recovered it, and reigned 70 years, and was the best of all the Lydian kings next to Alcimius.

er Asia was parcelled out, and was far from being the most important of the number. Lycia, which gave kings to the Greek colonies upon the coast,[4] and maintained its independence even against Crœsus,[5] must have been at least as powerful, and the really predominant state was the central kingdom of the Phrygians, who exercised a greater influence over the Greeks of the coast than any other of the Asiatic peoples with whom they came in contact,[6] and whose kings were the first of all foreigners to send offerings to the oracle at Delphi.[7] Lydia, until the time of Gyges, was a petty state which made no conquests, and exercised but little influence beyond its borders.

11. Concerning the destruction of Candaules, the last king of the second dynasty, and the accession of Gyges, the first king of the third, several very different legends appear to have been current. One is found related at length in Herodotus, another in Nicolas of Damascus, a third in Plato.[8] In all, amid the greatest diversity of circumstantials, what may be called the historic outline is the same. Gyges, a subject of the Lydian king, conspires against him, destroys him in his palace, obtains the throne, and becomes the husband of the queen.[9] These data

[4] Herod i. 147.

[5] Ibid. c. 28.

[6] See, for proofs of this, Grote's History of Greece, part ii. ch. xvi. (vol. iii. pp. 284–291).

[7] Herod. i. 14.

[8] Repub. ii. § 3. Mr. Grote well sums up this legend :—"According to the legend in Plato, Gyges is a mere herdsman of the king of Lydia : after a terrible storm and earthquake, he sees near him a chasm in the earth, into which he descends and finds a vast horse of brass, hollow and partly open, wherein there lies a gigantic corpse with a golden ring. This ring he carries away, and discovers unexpectedly that it possesses the miraculous property of rendering him invisible at pleasure. Being sent on a message to the king, he makes the magic ring available to his ambition: he first possesses himself of the person of the queen, then with her aid assassinates the king, and finally seizes the sceptre."—History of Greece, vol. iii. p. 298.

[9] The legends of Plato and Herodotus agree yet further, that it was with the connivance of the queen, and by her favour, that the assassination took place. Nicolaüs, however, represents the queen as indignant at the advances of Gyges, and as complaining to her husband of his insolence. In other respects the narrative of Nicolaüs is more consistent than Plato's with Herodotus. Gyges is one of the king's bodyguard, and a special favourite. The *peculiar* feature of the tale in Nicolaüs is, that it exhibits the retributive principle as pervading the whole history, and *accounts*, as it were, for the curious declaration of the oracle, "Vengeance shall come for the Heraclides in the person of the *fifth* descendant from Gyges." The Mermnadæ, we are told, were a family of distinction in the days of Ardys, son of Adyattes. Dascylus, son of Gyges, was then chief favourite of the reigning king. Jealous of his influence, and fearing for the succession, Adyattes, son of Ardys, secretly contrived the assassination of Dascylus. Ardys, ignorant who was the murderer, laid heavy curses on him, whoever he might be, before the public assembly of the nation. This was the origin of the feud. For this crime, committed in the reign of Ardys, and unpunished at the time, vengeance came *in the person of his fifth descendant*. During the reigns of Adyattes II., Meles, and Myrsus, the feud continued, the descendants of Dascylus living in exile. A vain attempt was made by Meles to expiate the sin, but it was not accepted by the injured party. Meles went for three years into voluntary banishment, and Dascylus, the son of the murdered man, was invited to return, but he refused. At length, in the fifth generation (Ardys, Adyattes, Meles, Myrsus, Sadyattes), the vengeance came. Gyges, about to be put to death on account of the insult which he had offered to the virgin queen, whom he had been sent to conduct from the court of her father, Arnossus, king of Mysia, recalls the memory

seem to have furnished materials to the Greek poets of the existing or following times, which they worked up into romances, embellishing them according to their fancy.

The change of dynasty was not effected without a struggle. The Heraclidæ had their partisans, who took arms against the usurper, and showed themselves ready to maintain in the field the cause of their legitimate sovereigns. Gyges was unwilling to trust the event to the chance of a battle, and had address enough to obtain the consent of the malcontents to a reference, which, while it would prevent any effusion of blood, was unlikely to injure his pretensions.[1] The Delphic oracle, now for the first time heard of in Lydian history, but already for some years an object of veneration to the purely Asiatic population of the peninsula,[2] was chosen to be the arbiter of the dispute, and gave the verdict which had, no doubt, been confidently anticipated by the *de facto* king, when he consented to the reference—in favour of the party in possession. The price of the reply was, perhaps, not settled beforehand, but, at any rate, it was paid ungrudgingly. Goblets of gold, and various rich offerings in the same precious metal, besides silver ornaments, such as no other individual had presented to the days of Herodotus,[3] attested the gratitude, or the honesty, of the successful adventurer.

12. The reign of Gyges is dispatched by Herodotus in a single sentence, valuable alike for what it contains and for what it excludes. We learn from it the important fact that this king engaged in war with the Greeks of the coast, who had hitherto, so far as we can gather from the scanty notices which remain to us, preserved friendly relations with the native inhabitants of the country on which they had planted their settlements.[4] Like the Phœnicians in Spain and Africa, and our own countrymen for some considerable space of time in India and America, the early Greek settlers in Asia, engaged in commerce for the most part, appear to have been received with favour by the natives, and, with few exceptions, to have maintained with them unbroken amity.[5] Gyges was the first to

of his ancestral wrongs, and the curses of Ardys on his own race, collects a band of followers, enters the palace, and slays the monarch in his bridal-chamber. Then, when the reference is made to the oracle, the announcement falls with peculiar fitness: "Vengeance shall come for the Heraclides *in the person of the fifth descendant.*"

[1] Mr. Grote says, "A *civil war ensued*, which both parties *at length* consented to terminate by reference to the Delphian oracle." But Herodotus implies that there was no actual war, the convention being made before the two parties came to blows. (*ὡς οἱ Λυδοὶ δεινὸν ἐποιεῦντο τὸ Κανδαύλεω πάθος, καὶ ἐν ὅπλοισι ἦσαν, συνέβησαν οἵ τε τοῦ Γύγεω στασιῶται καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Λυδοί*, i. 13.) That the oracle was open to pecuniary influence is evidenced by Herodotus himself (v. 63, vi. 66).

[2] Herod. i. 14.

[3] i. 14. *Γύγης τυραννεύσας ἀπέπεμψε ἀναθήματα ἐς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ὀλίγα· ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν ἀργύρου ἀναθήματα ἔστι οἱ πλεῖστα ἐν Δελφοῖσι· πάρεξ δὲ τοῦ ἀργύρου, χρυσὸν ἄπλετον—καὶ κρητῆρες οἱ ἀριθμὸν ἓξ χρύσεοι ἀνακέαται.*

[4] The Greeks took Lycian kings (Herod. i. 147). The Lycians are said to have taken even their name from a Greek (ibid. 173). In most of the Greek towns the population seems to have been mixed, partly Greek, partly Asiatic. The best-evidenced case is that of Teos (Pausan. VII. iii. § 3; Boeckh's Corp. Ins., No. 3064).

[5] Of course the colonies were not originally established without bloodshed. (See Herod. i. 146; Mimnerm. ap. Strabon. xiv. p. 634, where the violence employed at

introduce a new policy. Jealous of the increasing power of the foreigners, who had occupied the whole line of coast, or simply ambitious of extending his dominion, he commenced hostilities against the Ionians, ravaged the lands, and probably laid siege to the cities of Smyrna and Miletus, and even succeeded in capturing the town of Colophon.[6] This, however, as Herodotus tells us in the same passage, was the utmost extent of his achievements.[7] He did *not*, we may be sure, for the love of Magnes, attack either Magnesia, much less effect the capture of a second Grecian city, or we should never have been told by Herodotus that, "besides taking Colophon and making an inroad on Miletus and Smyrna, he did not perform a single noble exploit."[8] Neither is it possible that he could have possessed himself of the whole Troad, as Strabo affirms,[9] or exercised such influence over the Milesians, as to have a voice in the establishment of their colonies. After ages delighted to magnify the infancy of a dynasty, which attained in the end a degree of power and prosperity far beyond aught that had been seen before within the limits, or in the neighbourhood of Lower Asia, and loved to throw back to the hero-founder of the race the actions and the character of the most illustrious among his descendants.[1]

the founding of Miletus and Colophon is noticed.) But instances of their being attacked afterwards by the natives are exceedingly rare. The attack of the Carians upon Priene, in which Androclus was slain, is perhaps the only recorded exception. This must be accounted for, partly by the sense which the natives entertained of the advantages they derived from the commerce of the Greek towns, partly by the readiness of the Greeks to intermix with the Asiatic tribes.

[6] I agree with Bähr on the sense of Herodotus in the passage *ἐσέβαλε μὲν νῦν στρατίην ἔς τε Μίλητον καὶ ἐς Σμύρνην, καὶ Κολοφῶνος τὸ ἄστυ εἶλε* (i. 14, end). The contrast is between the *territories* of Smyrna and Miletus, and the *town* itself of Colophon. In the construction *ἐσέβαλε στρατίην ἐς Μίλητον*, the word *Μίλητον* can only stand for *Μιλησίην*. Mr. Grote seems to prefer the more usual explanation, that *ἄστυ* is the town, *minus* the citadel (Hist. of Greece, vol. iii. p. 300).

[7] Herod. i. 14. *ἀλλ' οὐδὲν μέγα ἔργον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλο ἐγένετο, βασιλεύσαντος, κ. τ. λ.*

[8] Mr. Grote (Hist. of Greece, vol. iii. p. 300) accepts as something more than myth the tale found in Nicolas of Damascus, of the beautiful youth, Magnes, whom Gyges loved, and who turned the heads of all the women wherever he went; whom at last the men of Magnesia resolved to disgrace, and reduce to the level of common humanity, by disfiguring his countenance, and depriving him of his flowing locks: in revenge for which outrage on his favourite, the lover made war upon the offending city, and persevered until he took the place (Nic. Damasc. p. 52 Orell.). But the expression of Herodotus, quoted above, seems to be conclusive against the authenticity of this history. Were it otherwise, the authority of Nicolaüs Damascenus, unsupported by any corroborating testimony, is quite insufficient to entitle a narrative to belief. It is true that he was acquainted with the writings of Xanthus, and sometimes follows them without mentioning his authority, as in his account of the voracity and death of Cambles; but it is also evident that in many cases he cannot be following Xanthus. A writer who makes Sadyattes the son of an *Alyattes*, who brings a *Sibyl* to the assistance of Crœsus upon the pyre, and who ascribes the Persian respect for Zoroaster, and religious regard for the element of fire, to the circumstance of this miraculous escape of the Lydian king, is not to be quoted as authority, where he stands alone, without the strongest expression of distrust. At any rate, Mr. Grote seems open to the censure which he himself bestows on Ottfried Müller, that he occasionally "gives '*Sagen*' too much in the style of real facts" (vol. iii. p. 240, note).

[9] Strabo, xiii. p. 590.

[1] This tendency in all legendary history to throw back and repeat events and

13. Of Ardys, the son and successor of Gyges, who reigned, according to Herodotus, within a year of half a century,[2] the two facts which alone are recorded, are important, as showing that he inherited from his father that line of aggressive policy, which became the settled system of the Mermnad princes, and which was particularly directed against the Greek cities of the coast. He renewed the attack upon Miletus, and took the town of Priêné.[3] Probably he would have signalised his reign by further successes, but for the invasion of the Cimmerians, a terrible visitation, which we shall best understand by regarding it as closely parallel to the Gallic irruption into Italy in the fourth century B. C., or to the first invasions of the Roman Empire by the Goths and Huns.

14. Who the Cimmerians were, whence they came, with what races they were ethnically connected, will be considered hereafter, in the notes to the Fourth Book. With regard to their occupation of Asia Minor at this time, it is important to observe, that whereas Herodotus, throughout his whole history,[4] regards the invasion in the reign of Ardys as the first, and indeed the only Cimmerian irruption into these countries; other writers speak of repeated attacks, covering a long period of time, in which moreover the Cimmerians were accompanied and assisted by Thracian tribes, and came into Asia Minor, apparently, from the west rather than the east. Strabo expressly states that they made several

circumstances has been noticed by Niebuhr in his Roman history, and is certainly one of the most striking characteristics of such records. As Romulus is an earlier Tullus, and Ancus a second Numa, so even in more historic times we find the undoubted acts of the second Tarquin almost all anticipated in the first. As the later sovereign was certainly master of Latium, so the earlier must "subdue the whole Latin name" (Liv. i. 38); as he built the magnificent temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, so his progenitor and prototype must vow it and lay its foundations (ibid. 38 and 55); as the great sewers and the massive stone seats in the Circus Maximus were undoubtedly the works of the one, so must they also, or works of a similar character, be ascribed to the other (ibid. 35 and 38). In the same way is assigned to Ninus the whole series of conquests made by subsequent Assyrian kings (Ctesias ap. Diod. Sic. ii. 2). Sometimes an entire war is repeated, as that with Fidenæ in the fourth book of Livy (Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 452). Possibly, the war between Sparta and Messenia is a case in point. Almost all the events of what is called the first war recur in the second.

[2] Eusebius limited his reign to 38 years (Chron. Canon. Pars Post. p. 325, ed. Mai.).

[3] Herod. i. 15. I know not on what grounds Mr. Grote observes that "this possession cannot have been maintained, for the city appears afterwards as autonomous" (Hist. of Greece, vol. iii. p. 303), unless it be on the expression of Herodotus, that "before the sovereignty of Crœsus all the Greeks were free." (i. 6.) But this only seems to mean that no Greek country—neither Ionia, Æolis, nor Doris—had been reduced to subjection.

Mr. Grote has another mysterious remark in the next sentence of his work. "His (Ardys') long reign was signalised by *two* events, *both* of considerable moment to the Asiatic Greeks,—the invasion of the Cimmerians, and *the first approach to collision* (at least the first of which we have any historical knowledge) *between the inhabitants of Lydia and those of Upper Asia under the Median kings*." What is this "*first approach to collision*" in the reign of Ardys? The collision came, as he notices a few pages after (p. 310), in the time of Alyattes, grandson of Ardys. What "historical knowledge" have we of any collision or "approach to collision" earlier than this?

[4] Herod. i. 6, 15–16, 103; iv. 1, 11–12; vii. 20.

distinct incursions,[5] and seemingly brings them into Asia across the Thracian Bosphorus. To some of these incursions he gives a high antiquity.[6] In this he is followed or exceeded by Eusebius, who places the first Cimmerian invasion of Asia three hundred years before the first Olympiad (B. C. 1076).[7] The silence of Herodotus, and still more the way in which he speaks, on *first* mentioning the subject, of *the* Cimmerian incursion,[8] are weighty arguments against those who hold that there were a long series of such attacks, covering, without any considerable intervals, a space of two hundred and sixty years.[9] Still it would be rash to reject altogether the distinct assertions of Strabo, confirmed as they are by the fact, of which there is ample evidence, that in the minds of the Greeks upon the coast, Cimmerians and Treres were confounded together, which can only be accounted for on the supposition of invasions in which both people took part. The Cimmerians, who before their country was wrested from them by the Scythian nomads, were neighbours of the Thracians, may well have joined with them in plundering expeditions from time to time, and may have been in the habit of passing into Asia by the Thracian Bosphorus. But from all these occasional incursions, which Herodotus may have regarded as Thracian, not Cimmerian ravages, the one great Cimmerian invasion, of which he so often speaks, is to be distinguished. In this, if it came, according to the undoubting conviction of our author, from the east, no Thracians would participate.[2] It would have a right to be called

[5] Strab. i. p. 90 (Oxf. ed.). *οἵ τε Κιμμέριοι οὓς καὶ Τρήρωνας ὀνομάζουσιν, ἢ ἐκείνων, τί ἔθνος, πολλάκις ἐπέδραμον τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη τοῦ Πόντου, καὶ τὰ συνεχῆ αὐτοῖς, ποτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ Παφλαγόνας, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ Φρύγας ἐμβαλόντες.*

[6] Strab. i. p. 9. (Oxf. ed.). *οἱ Κιμμέριοι καθ' Ὅμηρον ἢ μικρὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ μέχρις Ἰωνίας ἐπέδραμον τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐκ Βοσπόρου πᾶσαν.* And again, iii. p. 200: *καθ' Ὅμηρον ἢ πρὸ αὐτοῦ μικρὸν λέγουσι τὴν τῶν Κιμμερίων ἔφοδον γενέσθαι τῶν* (l. *τὴν*) *μέχρι τῆς Αἰολίδος καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίας.*

[7] Chron. Canon. Pars Post (p. 303, ed. Mai).

[8] Herod. i. 6. *πρὸ δὲ τῆς Κροίσου ἀρχῆς πάντες Ἕλληνες ἦσαν ἐλεύθεροι. τὸ γὰρ Κιμμερίων στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἀπικόμενον—οὐ καταστροφὴ ἐγένετο τῶν πολίων, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἁρπαγή.*

[9] Clinton's Fasti Hell. vol. i. p. 214. Ol. 40, 4.

[1] The contemporary poet, Callinus, spoke both of Treres and of Cimmerians (Strabo, xiv. p. 927, Oxf. Ed.). Callisthenes said that the Treres and Lycians took Sardis (Strab. xiii. p. 627.) Strabo, in a passage quoted above, uses the words, *Κιμμερίους, οὓς καὶ Τρήρωνας ὀνομάζουσιν.* Cf. also Eustath. ad. Hom. Od. xi. 14.

[2] I cannot accept Niebuhr's theory, that the Cimmerians on this occasion came by the western side of the Euxine, and across the Thracian Bosphorus, against the distinct and repeated declarations of Herodotus. It seems to me impossible that the direction in which the enemy came should have been forgotten by the people of the country, even in the space of two hundred years; especially as there were contemporary writers, Callinus, Archilochus, and others, some of whom, we know, spoke of the Cimmerian attack. With regard to the alleged difficulties of the route, we may grant the impracticability of the coast line, between the western edge of the Caucasus and the Euxine; but why may we not suppose the Cimmerians to have entered Asia by the Caucasian gates, through which the great military road now runs from Mosdok to Tiflis? This must always have been a very practicable route, and was probably that followed by Mithridates when he passed through the *κλεῖθρα Σκυθῶν* on his flight from Pompey (Appian. de Bell. Mithr. p. 400). With respect to the passage of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, it must be remembered that waggons could always cross in winter upon the ice (Herod. iv. 28).

"*the* Cimmerian attack." It would be a thing *sui generis.* The Greeks in general, long accustomed to confound Treres and Cimmerians, might speak, according to habit, of both as having been concerned in this, as well as in other inroads;[3] but an accurate writer, like Herodotus, whose inquiries had convinced him that these Cimmerians entered Asia Minor from the Caucasus, would know that here there was no place for Treres, who lay so far out of the route, and that however true it might be that Cimmerians had at other times joined in the forays of the Treres in Asia, yet on no other occasion had there been a real Cimmerian inroad, and he would therefore be perfectly correct in speaking of this as "*the* invasion of the Cimmerians."

The Cimmerians were fugitives, driven out of their native country by the Scythians, but not the less formidable on that account. Niebuhr surmises that the Gauls who sacked Rome and overran Italy, were fugitives from the Spanish peninsula, retiring before the increasing strength of the Iberian race.[4] The barbarians who destroyed the Western Empire had for the most part been dispossessed of their own countries by nations of superior strength. On their first arrival in Asia Minor the Cimmerians seem to have swept before them all resistance. Like the bands of Gauls,[5] which at a later date ravaged these same regions in the same ruthless way, the Cimmerian invaders carried ruin and devastation over all the fairest regions of Lower Asia. Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Ionia, Phrygia, even Cilicia, as well as Lydia, were plundered and laid waste; in Phrygia, Midas, the king, despairing of any effectual resistance, on the approach of the dreaded foe, is said to have committed suicide;[6] in Lydia, as we know from Herodotus, they took the capital city, all but the acropolis; in Ionia, they ravaged the valley of the Cayster, besieged Ephesus, and, according to some accounts, burnt the temple of Diana in its vicinity;[7] after which they are thought to have proceeded southward

[3] Callinus appears to have done so (Strabo, l. s. c.).

[4] History of Rome, vol. i. pp. 506–509. (Engl. transl.)

[5] Livy, xxxviii. 16. It will appear hereafter that these two great invasions of Asia Minor proceeded from the same identical race. (See Appendix to Book iv. Ch. i. "On the Cimmerians of Herodotus and the Migrations of the Cymric Race.")

[6] Eustath. ad Hom. Od. xi. 14. This is the event alluded to in Euseb. Chron. Can. Pars Post. Ol. 21, 2 (p. 324), and by Strabo, i. p. 90 (Oxf. ed.).

[7] Hesych. in voc. *Λύγδαμις.* *Λύγδαμις οὗτος ἔκαυσε τὸν ναὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος.* The well-known passage in Callimachus's Hymn to Diana (ver. 251–261) has thrown some doubt on this. It seems, however, quite conceivable that a poet, whose subject was the praise of Diana, should ignore, without denying, so unpleasant a fact. Callimachus may even be understood in the sense adopted by Bouhier: "Callimaque a prétendu que ce fut en punition du sacrilége qu'ils avaient commis en mettant le feu au temple de Diane." (Dissertations, &c. ch. vi. p. 56.) That the Cimmerians excited the hatred of the Ionians by the plunder of their temples, was attested, according to Eustath. (Comment. ad Hom. Od. xi. 14) by many writers. If they invested Ephesus, as we should certainly gather from Callimachus, they could scarcely fail to take the temple, which was nearly a mile from the city (Herod. i. 26). Mr. Grote supposes that "the Goddess protected her town *and sanctuary*" (Hist. of Greece, vol. iii. p. 335). But he rests this only on the passage of Callimachus, which is at least ambiguous. Spanheim (Comment. ad Callimach. Hymn. v. 251–260, in the edition of Ernesti, vol. ii. p 354) regards Herod. i. 6 as conclusive against Hesychius, where he certainly must forget the situation of the temple.

into the plain of the Mæander, and to have sacked the city of Magnesia.[8] One body, under a leader whom the Greeks called Lygdamis, even penetrated as far as Cilicia, and there sustained a terrible reverse at the hands of the hardy mountaineers.[9] The Greeks regarded this as the vengeance of Artemis,[1] for Lygdamis had been the leader in the attack on Ephesus. Still the strength of the invaders was not broken by this defeat. It was only in the third generation that the Lydian princes were able to expel them from the territories under their dominion. Even then, it is a mistake to say that they were driven out of Asia.[2] Just as the Gallic marauders of later times, when the chances of war turned against them, found a refuge in the strong position called thenceforth Galatia, so their kindred, the Cimmerians, long after the time of their expulsion from Lydia by Alyattes, maintained themselves in certain strongholds, as Antandrus, which, according to Aristotle,[3] they occupied for a hundred years, and Sinope, where, Herodotus informs us, they made a permanent settlement.[4]

15. The history of Lydia during the time of their supremacy was almost a blank. At what period in the long reign of Ardys they entered Asia there is indeed nothing positively to show. The synchronism dependant upon the notion of their having been *pursued* by the Scythians, who are said to have entered Media in the reign of Cyaxares, is extremely doubtful from the improbability of the supposed fact. The utmost that

[8] It is very doubtful whether this event really belongs to the great Cimmerian invasion. Eustathius appears to have thought so. Τῶν Κιμμερίων ἀπόμοιρα λέγεταί ποτε (Τρῆρες δέ φασιν ἐκαλοῦντο) πολλὴν τῆς Ἀσίας καταδραμεῖν, καὶ τὰς Σαρδεῖς ἑλεῖν· καὶ τῶν Μαγνήτων δὲ πολλοὺς ἀνελεῖν τῶν κατὰ τὸν Μαίανδρον· ἐμβάλλειν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Παφλαγόνας καὶ Φρύγας· ὅτε καὶ Μίδας λέγεται αἷμα ταύρου πιὼν εἰς τὸ χρεὼν ἀπελθεῖν. (Comment. ad Hom. Od. l. c. s.) But if Callinus was contemporary with the taking of Sardis mentioned by Herodotus, as I agree with Mr. Grote in considering to be nearly certain (Hist. of Greece, vol. iii. p. 333, note [2]), the fall of Magnesia must, on the authorities of Strabo (xiv. p. 928) and Clemens Alex. (Strom. i. p. 333), have been subsequent. To me also the fact that the sack of Magnesia is so uniformly ascribed to the Treres, is a strong argument that it does not belong to this invasion of the Cimmerians. (Cf. Eustath. in loc. s. c., and Strab. xiv. p. 927.)

[9] Strabo, i. p. 90.

[1] Callim. Hymn. ad Dian. 248–260.

εὐρὺ θέμεθλον,
Τῷ ῥα καὶ ἠλαίνων ἀλαπαζέμεν ἠπείλησε
Λύγδαμις ὑβριστὴς, ἐπὶ δὲ στρατὸν ἱππημολγῶν
Ἤγαγε Κιμμερίων, ψαμάθῳ ἶσον, οἵ ῥα παρ' αὐτὸν
Κεκλιμένοι ναίουσι βοὸς πόρον Ἰναχιώνης.
Ἆ δειλὸς βασιλέων ὅσον ἤλιτεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔμελλεν
Οὔτ' αὐτὸς Σκυθίηνδε παλίμπετες, οὔτε τις ἄλλος
Ὅσσων ἐν λειμῶνι Καϋστρίῳ ἔσταν ἅμαξαι,
Νοστήσειν· Ἐφέσου γὰρ ἀεὶ τεὰ τόξα πρόκειται.

[2] Κιμμερίους ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐξήλασε (Herod. i. 15). As Lydia was still confined within its original limits, a Lydian prince would have neither the wish nor the power to do this. There is also distinct proof that they continued in possession of parts of Asia. See the following notes

[3] Ap. Steph. Byz. in voc. Ἄντανδρος. Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶ ταύτην ὠνομάσθαι . . . Κιμμερίδα, Κιμμερίων ἐνοικούντων ἑκατὸν ἔτη.

[4] Herod. iv. 12. Φαίνονται δὲ οἱ Κιμμέριοι φεύγοντες ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τοὺς Σκύθας, καὶ τὴν Χερσόνησον κτίσαντες, ἐν τῇ νῦν Σινώπη πόλις Ἑλλὰς οἴκισται.

can be gathered from it is that the Cimmerian invasion was regarded by Herodotus as only a little preceding the accession of Cyaxares (B. C. 633), which would make it fall late in the reign of Ardys. At any rate, we may be sure that it followed in fact, as it does in the order of the narrative in Herodotus,[5] both the capture of Priêné by Ardys, and his attack upon Miletus. Still its date cannot be fixed within a quarter of a century. Sadyattes, the son and successor of Ardys, appears, during the earlier portion of his reign, to have remained in the same state of inaction which had characterised the latter years of his father's rule. Probably it required all the energies of monarch and people to protect the kingdom against the Cimmerian ravages. We may gather, however, from what is recorded of this king, that towards the close of his reign the power of the Cimmerians began to decline, and Lydia became once more free to pursue her policy of aggression. Sadyattes renewed the war with Miletus in the seventh year of his reign, and carried it on until his death. Whether either of the great victories mentioned by Herodotus[6] were gained by him, it is impossible to determine. All that we know is that he did not bring the war to a close, but bequeathed it to his successor upon the throne, his son by his own sister,[7] Alyattes.

16. This prince, the most celebrated of his house, except Crœsus, is said by Herodotus to have bent his whole energies to the prosecution of this war during the first six years of his reign. The circumstances of the contest, which Herodotus relates at length,[8] and on which no other ancient writer throws any additional light, need not be here repeated. The designs of Alyattes were baffled, and Miletus, the foremost city of Asiatic Greece, which had been attacked in succession by every monarch of the house of the Mermnadæ, succeeded in maintaining her independence for half a century longer.

The order of the other events of the reign of Alyattes cannot be determined with any certainty. Besides his war with Miletus, he was engaged (we know) in four separate contests. He drove the Cimmerians beyond his boundaries, attacked and took Smyrna, made an attempt upon Clazomenæ, but was defeated with great loss, and carried on a protracted contest against the combined powers of Media and Babylonia. He is also said to have invaded Caria, but by a writer who, unless where we have good reason to believe he is following Xanthus, is of no authority.[9] The last war, if it took place at all, happened late in his reign,

[5] Herod. i. 15. [6] Ibid. 18. τρώματα μεγάλα διφάσια Μιλησίων ἐγένετο.

[7] Here the authority of Nicolas of Damascus is supported by that of Suidas (in voc. Ἀλυάττης) and Xenophilus (ap. Anon, quoted in the Frag. Hist. Gr., vol. i. p. 42). Marriages with *half*-sisters have been frequent in the East from the days of Abraham downwards. The cases of Abraham himself (Gen. xx. 12; there is no evidence to show that Sarah was Iscah, as assumed by Clinton, F. H. vol. i. App. ch. v. p. 290, note), of Cambyses (Herod. iii. 31), and Herod Agrippa (Juv. vi. 157) are well known.

[8] Herod. i. 17–22. Mr. Grote says that Sadyattes carried on this war for *seven*, and Alyattes for *five* years; but Herodotus divides the war as above. ἐπολέμεε ἔτεα ἕνδεκα . . . τὰ μὲν νῦν ἕξ ἔτεα τῶν ἕνδεκα Σαδυάττης ὁ Ἄρδυος ἔτι Λυδῶν ἦρχε, ὁ καὶ ἐσβάλλων τηνικαῦτα ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην τὴν στρατίην· τὰ δὲ πέντε τῶν ἐτέων τὰ ἑπόμενα τοῖσι ἓξ Ἀλυάττης ἐπολέμεε . . . τῷ δὲ δυωδεκάτῳ ἐτεϊ, κ. τ. λ.

[9] Nicolas of Damascus. The question of his credibility has been treated above (p. 288, note [5]).

after Crœsus was grown to manhood.[1] The date of the struggle with the Medes depends on that of the eclipse of Thales, which is still undetermined.[2] Perhaps the most probable date is that which has been adopted by Mr. Grote and others, chiefly on astronomical considerations, viz. B. C. 615–610. The other wars, that which ended in the expulsion of the Cimmerians, and those with the Greeks of the coast, may have taken place either before or after the Median contest.

17. This last event, beyond all question the most important in the reign of Alyattes, is regarded by Herodotus as brought about by what appears an insignificant cause. A band of Scythians, who had been in the service of Cyaxares, the Median king, upon a disgust quitted Media, and took refuge with Alyattes. Cyaxares demanded the surrender of the fugitives and met a refusal, upon which he declared war against Lydia, and the contest began. Now although undoubtedly the passage of nomadic hordes from one government in the East to another has frequently been the occasion of war between adjoining states,[3] yet the flight of a mere *band* of men (εἴλη ἀνδρῶν) who had been useful as hunters, would scarcely have been motive sufficient to produce the invasion of a kingdom not even adjoining, but separated from the Median empire by the intervening country of Phrygia. It is besides exceedingly improbable that at this particular period there were any Scythians on such terms of friendly subjection to Cyaxares, as the story supposes. Not long before the accession of Alyattes, Cyaxares had, we know, been engaged in a fierce struggle with Scythic hordes, and such of them as submitted to his sway must have felt themselves under the yoke of an oppressor. A portion of his Scythic subjects may no doubt have revolted, and when hard pressed by his troops, may have fled for protection to Alyattes, and have offered to take service with him. They may have been readily received, and Cyaxares may, on learning it, have demanded their surrender: and when the demand was refused, have thereupon commenced hostilities. It is however very unlikely that this was the cause, although it may possibly have been the pretext, of the expedition. The Lydian war of Cyaxares, was part undoubtedly of that great monarch's system of conquest, which carried him at one time to the confines of Babylonia, at another to the shores of the Ægean. The enterprising prince, who had subverted the old Assyrian monarchy, and had then by a series of victories

[1] Crœsus in the tale is represented as already governor of Thebé and Adramyttium. As he was only thirty-five years of age at his father's death (Herod. i. 26) the Carian war of Alyattes, if a reality, must belong to the last ten or twelve years of his life. Mr. Grote well observes, against Clinton, that there is nothing in Nicolaüs Damascenus to imply that Alyattes *conquered* Caria. (Nic. Dam. p. 54, ed. Orelli; Clinton's F. H. vol. ii. p. 363; Grote's Hist. vol. ii. p. 343.)

[2] Volney considered the eclipse to have taken place B. C. 625 (Recherches, &c., vol. i. p. 342). Clinton places it B. C. 603 (F. H. vol. i. p. 419). Ideler considers that no eclipse about this period fulfils the necessary conditions except that of B. C. 610 (Handbuch der Chronologie, vol. i. p. 209). Mr. Hind and Mr. Airy have recently suggested the late date of B. C. 585 (Bosanquet, Fall of Nineveh, p. 14). It may be doubted whether astronomical science has yet attained to such exactness as to justify the adoption of its results as the basis of a chronological system.

[3] See Mr. Grote's History of Greece, vol. iii. p. 310. In a note Mr. Grote brings forward a number of modern instances.

brought under subjection the whole of Upper Asia as far as the banks of the Halys,[4] might well conceive the design of adding to his empire the further tract of country between the Halys and the Ægean sea. What alone excites our wonderment in this portion of history is his failure. The war continued for six years, and in the course of it, we are told, "the Medes gained many victories over the Lydians, and *the Lydians also gained many victories over the Medes*."[5] And the advantage remained with neither side. Considering the extent and power of the Median empire at this period—that it contained, besides Media Magna and Media Atropatene, the extensive and important countries of Persia, Assyria, Armenia, and Cappadocia—reaching thus from the mouth of the Persian Gulf to the shores of the Euxine—it seems extraordinary that the petty kingdom of Lydia could so successfully maintain the contest. The wonder is increased if we take into consideration the probability, almost amounting to a certainty, that the armies of the Babylonians accompanied Cyaxares to the field.[6] That Lydia maintained her independence, and terminated the war by an honourable peace, can only be accounted for by supposing that as the attack menaced the whole of Western Asia, the several nations who felt themselves endangered made common cause, and united under a single head. And an indication of this union of the Western Asiatics against the ambition of the Medes is found in the fact that the king of the warlike and powerful Cilicia, which maintained its independence even against Crœsus, appears in the narrative standing in the same relation towards Alyattes in which Labynetus, the Babylonian monarch, stands towards Cyaxares—the relation of subordinate ally. It is probable that both Labynetus and the Cilician prince were present at the engagement, and took *immediate* advantage of the religious dread inspired by the eclipse to effect a reconciliation of the principals in the contest. The interposition of good offices by great powers at a distance from the scene, especially by powers so remote and so little connected with one another as Cilicia and Babylonia, at this period, is inconceivable under the circumstances of the ancient world. Labynetus, at least, must have been upon the spot, and if so, then the presence of Syennesis seems to follow as a matter of course; and his presence would indicate the probable presence of the other minor powers of Western Asia, the Pamphylians, the Phrygians, the Lycians, the Carians,—perhaps also the Paphlagonians and Bithynians, whose liberties would certainly have been more endangered by the success of the attack than those of the hardy and valiant occupants of the mountainous Cilicia, whom even Cyrus does not appear to have reduced to subjection. It seems therefore probable that the invasion of Lydia by Cyaxares was but the continuation of his long course of aggressions upon his neigh-

[4] Herod. i. 103. [5] Ibid. i. 74.

[6] I cannot conceive it possible that a monarch, whose dominions lay a thousand miles off, would have felt himself sufficiently interested in the result of a contest in so remote a region, to interpose his mediation between the courts of Sardis and Ecbatana in the modern diplomatic sense of the phrase. The words of Herodotus (i. 74) are ambiguous, but I conceive we are to understand an immediate mediation upon the spot, implying the presence of the two princes, and their participation in the previous strife.

bours, and that whatever his pretext may have been, his real object in crossing the Halys was to add the whole of Lower Asia to his dominions. The warlike inhabitants united to resist him, and maintained for six years a doubtful and bloody struggle. At length, when both parties were growing weary of the protracted contest, accident afforded an opportunity, of which advantage was taken, to bring the war to a close. The two armies had once more come to an engagement, when, in the midst of the fight, an eclipse of the sun took place. Alarmed at the portent, the soldiers suspended the conflict, and manifested an inclination for peace. Probably the leaders of both armies participated in the general sentiment. Under these circumstances, the principal commander of allied troops on either side came forward and proposed a reconciliation between the chief contending powers. The proposals were favourably entertained, and led not merely to the establishment of peace, but to an alliance between Media and Lydia, which was cemented by the marriage of a daughter of the Lydian prince with the heir-apparent of the Median monarchy. Henceforward friendly relations subsisted between the great powers of Asia until the ambition of Cyrus, half a century later, rekindled the strife.

18. After the conclusion of this peace, Alyattes reigned, according to the chronology which we have preferred, forty-three years. It may have been during these years that he drove the Cimmerians beyond his borders, and engaged in war with the Greeks of Smyrna and Clazomenæ. The latter portion of his reign seems, however, to have been a period of remarkable tranquillity. The supposition that towards the close of his life he conquered Æolis and Caria,[7] founded upon a single passage in Nicolas of Damascus, which does not even bear out the deductions made from it,[8] and contradicted by the express words of Herodotus, who ascribes these conquests to his son,[9] seems scarcely worth considering. We may grant it possible that there was an inva-

[7] Clinton's Fasti Hell., vol. ii. p. 363. (Appendix, ch. xvii.)

[8] Nicolaüs Damascenus says that Crœsus, who had already been made governor of Adramyttium and the plain of Thebé, accompanied his father in an expedition into Caria. From this Mr. Clinton makes two deductions, 1. that Æolis must have been already subjected; and, 2. that Caria was conquered in this campaign. The latter he calls an assertion of Damascenus, which is untrue (see Nic. Damas. ed. Orelli, pp. 55–57). The former proceeds upon the notion that Adramyttium and Thebê were in Æolis, which is not the fact. They lay within the limits usually assigned to the province of Mysia (Rennell's Geography of Western Asia, vol. i. p. 371), but it seems probable that from a very early date they had formed a part of the dominions of the Lydian kings. The boundaries between the several provinces of Asia Minor were at no time very exactly determined, and Adramyttium seems to have been one of the most ancient of the Lydian towns. At least there were authors who ascribed its foundation to an ancient king, Adramys or Hermon, probably the same person as the Adramytes of Xanthus (Frag. 19, Didot.) who must belong to the second, if not even to the first dynasty (see Steph. Byz. and Hesychius in voc. 'Αδραμύττειον). Aristotle certainly spoke of its having been founded by an Adramytes, *son of Alyattes and brother of Crœsus* (Fr. 191); but of this person, who cannot be the ancient *King* of Xanthus, we have no other mention in history. The very fact that Adramyttium is supposed to have a *heros eponymus* for its founder seems to throw back its foundation to very early times.

[9] Herod. i. 28.

sion of Caria about this time, but even that is in the highest degree uncertain. The probability is that Alyattes, now an aged man,[1] was chiefly employed in the construction of his sepulchre, a work which Herodotus, who had seen it, compares for magnificence with the constructions of Egypt and Babylon,[2] and which must therefore, like those massive buildings, have employed the labour of the great bulk of the population for a number of years. If the measurements of Herodotus are accurate, and modern travellers appear to think that they do not greatly overstep the truth,[3] the tomb of Alyattes cannot have fallen far short of the grandest of the Egyptian monuments. Its deficiency as respects size must have been in height, for the area of the base, which alone our author's statements determine, is above *one-third greater* than that of the Pyramid of Cheops.[4] As, however, the construction was of earth and not of stone, a barrow and not a pyramid, it would undoubtedly have required a less amount of servile labour than the great works of Egypt, and would indicate a less degraded condition of the people who raised it than that of the Egyptians in the time of the pyramid-builders. Still the view of Strabo is most certainly correct, that " the multitude

[1] If we allow Alyattes to have been twenty-one years old when he ascended the throne, he would be sixty-three in the year B. C. 583, the earliest date which the age of Crœsus will allow us to fix for the expedition spoken of by Nicolas.

[2] Herod. i. 93.

[3] See Chandler's Travels, vol. i. p. 304. " The barrow of Alyattes is much taller and handsomer than any I have seen in England. The mould which has been washed down conceals the stone-work, which, it seems, was anciently visible. The apparent altitude is diminished, and the bottom rendered wider and less distinct than before. Its measurements, which we were not prepared to take, deserve to be ascertained and compared with those given in Herodotus." Mr. Hamilton says, " One mile south of this spot we reached the principal tumulus generally designated as the tomb of Halyattes. It took us about ten minutes to ride round its base, which would give it a circumference of nearly half a mile. . . It rises at an angle of about 22°, and is a conspicuous object on all sides." (Researches in Asia Minor, &c., vol. i. pp. 145–6). The more exact measurements of M. Spiegenthal agree remarkably with this rough estimate. (See note on Book i. ch. 93.)

[4] Dr. Chandler alters the measurements of Herodotus by a conjectural emendation of the text in the true spirit of a critic of the eighteenth century. He presumes that Herodotus would not have omitted the height of the monument: but our author, in default of any trustworthy information concerning the height, would be likely to confine himself to such points as came within his own observation. He could measure the greatest width and the circumference, but he could only have made a rough guess at the height. He therefore preferred to omit the height altogether—an omission which may be remarked also in his dimensions of the temple of Belus. The measures which he gives are 3800 feet (Greek) for the circumference and 1300 feet for the (greatest) diameter. From these proportions it would follow that the base of the monument was not a circle, but either an ellipse or a parallelogram. In the latter case its area would have been 780,000 square feet (Greek), whereas the area of the Great Pyramid of Gizeh is determined to be no more than 588,939 square feet (English). See Perring's Diameters of the Pyramids of Egypt. But 588,939 square feet (English) are only equal to about 574,564 square feet (Greek). So that the area of the Great Pyramid is to that of the sepulchre of Alyattes (supposing the base of the latter to be a parallelogram) in the proportion of (about) 19 to 26. If the base were oval or elliptical, the difference would be still more in favour of the Lydian monument; at present the base appears to be, as nearly as possible, circular.

of the city" must have been employed upon it.[5] It was an artificial mountain, and perhaps owed its small celebrity, as compared with the constructions of Egypt and Babylonia, not so much to any absolute inferiority as to the character of the district in which it was placed. While the colossal works in those countries have the advantage of standing upon extensive plains, stretching out in all directions as far as the eye can reach, the Lydian monument is dwarfed by the towering mountain-chains which on both sides encompass the narrow valley of the Hermus.

Engaged in this work,[6] the Lydian king abstained in all probability from warlike enterprises. The arts of war and peace rarely flourish together; and the hands which, if he had engaged in wars, would have been required to draw the sword and pull the bow, were wanted for the homelier occupations of digging and wheeling soil. The expulsion of the Cimmerians, and the alliance with the Medes, had secured him from molestation on the part of those distant powers whose attacks might have been formidable; the weakness of his neighbours allowed him to fear nothing from them. Not being naturally an ambitious prince, and having received but small encouragement from fortune in his attempts upon the independence of the Greek towns on the coast, Alyattes appears to have given himself up without reluctance to a life of inactivity.

19. It has been supposed by some writers of high repute[7] that fifteen years before his decease, Alyattes associated his son Crœsus in the government, but the chronological arguments on which this view is based are wholly inconclusive, and the direct evidence which is brought forward in its support, signally fails of establishing any such conclusion. Herodotus, in the passage relied on by Mr. Clinton,[8] and understood in the same sense both by Bähr and Wesseling, is not speaking of any such strange and unwonted event[9] as the association in the government

[5] Strabo, xiii. p. 899. τὸ πλῆθος τῆς πόλεως.

[6] The supposition of Chandler that Crœsus raised this monument to his father, (Travels in Asia Minor, vol. i. p. 304), is contrary to the whole tenor of ancient history, which furnishes no instance of such filial piety. Monarchs built their own tombs not only in Egypt, but through the East generally (cf. Herod. i. 187, on the sepulchre of Nitocris). There can be no doubt, from the inscription upon it, that Darius built his own tomb at Nakhsh-i-Rustam (Colonel Rawlinson's Cuneiform Inscriptions, vol. i. p. 290).

[7] Larcher, vol. i. p. 211. "On sait que la plupart des Princes de l'Orient associoient au trône leur fils aîné. Quoique nous n'ayons aucune preuve directe qu'Alyattes ait associé Crésus, on doit cependant le présumer."

Clinton's Fast. Hell. vol. ii. p. 362. "Although Crœsus reigned only fourteen years, yet it seems probable that he was associated in the government by his father, as Larcher argues at large. During this period of joint government many of those things might have been transacted which are ascribed to Crœsus *king* of Lydia."

Bähr and Wesseling were of the same opinion. (See Bähr's Herodotus, note upon i. 92; and Wesseling's Herodotus, note on i. 30.)

[8] Herod. i. 92.

[9] Notwithstanding the calmness with which Larcher assumes the frequency of this practice ("*on sait* que *la plupart* des Princes de l'Orient associoient au trône leur fils aîné"), I am inclined to think it was of exceedingly rare occurrence. In Egypt association was undoubtedly very frequent, as the monuments testify, and possibly the exaggeration of numbers in the dynasties of Manetho may depend mainly

of the heir-apparent by the reigning monarch, but of that very ordinary proceeding on the part of an eastern sovereign who anticipates his own demise, the nomination of a successor.[1] It appears that, as the reign of Alyattes plainly approached its close, intrigues commenced among his sons, and a strong party was formed in favour of the prince Pantaleon, one of the half-brothers of Crœsus, which caused no little alarm to the legitimate heir. Under these circumstances, it became especially desirable, in order to avoid a disputed succession, that the king should distinctly confer the crown on one or other of his sons. This is the act to which Herodotus alludes in the passage whose meaning has been misconceived; the expression which he uses is identically the same with that which occurs later in the book (ch. 208), in reference to a similar event, the nomination of Cambyses as his successor by Cyrus, on the eve of his attack upon the Massagetæ.[2]

20. The order of events in the reign of Crœsus has been already considered. The events themselves receive but little light from sources extraneous to Herodotus.[3] With respect to the enormous wealth for which this king was chiefly famous among the Greeks, it may be observed that he probably owed it in part to the gold washings of Pactôlus and the mines of the same precious metal which probably existed in the neighbouring mountains,[4]—in part to the tribute which he derived from the subject nations,—in part to the confiscation of the estates of a political opponent,—but chiefly to the careful husbanding of the national revenues by his father during the long period of peace which preceded his own accession.[5] Its reality cannot be questioned, for Herodotus had

on the great extent to which it was practised. But among the early Oriental nations I know of only a single well authenticated instance (that of Belshazzar; see the Essay "On the History of the later Babylonians") of the association of a son in the government during the lifetime of his father, a custom which belongs to countries and times where the succession is very precarious, and certainly not to those states in which it is regarded as a right inherent in the reigning monarch to nominate a successor from among his sons, as is the case usually in the East. Mr. Grote, with the correct appreciation of the probable which distinguishes him, understands the passage aright (vol. iii. p. 344).

[1] Of this there are two clear instances even in Herodotus. Cyrus nominates Cambyses to succeed him (i. 208), and Darius nominates Xerxes (vii. 3). In connexion with the latter case Herodotus speaks of the practice as "a law of the Persians" (*κατὰ τὸν Περσέων νόμον*). It has always prevailed in the East. See 1 Kings i. 12–40 (where, however, there is something more like an installation than is usual in such cases), and Ockley's History of the Saracens (Bohn's edit.), pp. 138, 430, 452.

[2] In the first passage (i. 92) Herodotus says, *δόντος τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐκράτησε τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ Κροῖσος*; in the second (i. 208), *Κῦρος δὲ Κροῖσον ἐς τὰς χεῖρας ἐσθεὶς τῷ ἑωυτοῦ παιδὶ Καμβύσῃ, τῷπερ τὴν βασιληΐην ἐδίδου . . . διέβαινε, κ. τ. λ.* This *gift* of the crown is beyond a doubt the same as the *appointment* spoken of in the case of Xerxes—*ὡς δεῖ μιν, ἀποδέξαντα βασιλέα, κατὰ τὸν Περσέων νόμον, οὕτω στρατεύεσθαι . . . . ὁ Δαρεῖος βασιλέα μιν ἀπέδεξε* (vii. 2–3).

[3] Ælian (V. H. iii. 26), Suidas (in voc. Ἀρίσταρχος), and Polyænus (vi. 50) have certain tales which admit of being introduced into the history of the reign of Crœsus as delivered by Herodotus; but their authority is too slight, and the tales are too insignificant, to require more than this cursory notice.

[4] Strabo, xiii. p. 897.

[5] The offerings at Delphi and at the shrine of Amphiaraüs are declared by Her-

himself seen the ingots of solid gold, six palms long, three broad, and one deep (the size of a tall folio volume, of about the usual thickness), which, to the number of one hundred and seventeen, were laid up in the treasury at Delphi,—proof at once of the riches and of the munificence of the princely donor. He had also beheld in various parts of Greece the following offerings, all in gold, which had been deposited in the Greek temples by the same opulent monarch: a figure of a lion, probably of the natural size; a wine bowl of about the same weight as the lion; a lustral vase; a statue of a female, said to be Crœsus's baking-woman, four feet and a half high; a shield and spear; a tripod; some figures of cows, and a number of pillars; and a second shield, in a different place from the first, and of greater size.[6] Nor is there any improbability in the tradition which he has mentioned, that the offerings of Crœsus, to the oracular shrine at Branchidæ, which had been carried off by the Persians on the occasion of the Ionian revolt, were similar in character and equal in value to the gifts at Delphi.[7]

21. The wealth of Crœsus, therefore, must be regarded as an established fact. The same historical character attaches to his conquests, his alliances, his consultation of the Greek oracles, and particular satisfaction with those of Delphi and Amphiaraüs, his invasion of the dominions of Cyrus and its consequences, the fall of Sardis, and his own captivity. The narrative, however, into which these materials have been worked up, is altogether of a poetic character. It seems as if the imagination of the Greeks had been struck with peculiar force by the spectacle of that great reverse of fortune whereof the Lydian king was the victim. The tragedy had been acted, as it were, under their eyes; and it was a sight altogether new to them. They had seen the rapid rise and growth of a magnificent empire upon their borders, and had felt its irresistible might in opposition to themselves: they had been dazzled by the lavish display of wealth exceeding all that their poets had ever fabled of Colchis or Hesperia: they had no doubt shared in the confident expectation of further conquests with which the warrior-prince, at the head of his unvanquished bands, had crossed the Halys to attack his unknown enemy. And they had been spectators of the result. Within a few weeks, the prosperous and puissant monarch, master of untold treasures, ruler over thirteen nations, lord of all Asia from the Halys to the sea, was a captive and a beggar, the miserable dependant upon the will of a despot whose anger he had provoked. Such a catastrophe had in it something peculiarly calculated to excite the feel-

odotus to have been wholly from this source, and may in some degree indicate its amplitude. They were the *first-fruits* (ἀπαρχή) of his inheritance; the *entire* sum obtained by confiscation was laid out in offerings, and from hence were derived the gifts at Branchidæ, at Ephesus, and at the temple of Jupiter Ismenius in Thebes (Herod. i. 92).

[6] See Herod. i. 50–51 and 92.

[7] τὰ ἐν Βραγχίδῃσι τῇσι Μιλησίων ἀναθήματα Κροίσῳ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἴσα τε σταθμὸν καὶ ὅμοῖα τοῖσι ἐν Δελφοῖσι (Herod. i. 92). They were of such value that, at the breaking out of the Ionian revolt, it was thought by one of the wisest of the Greeks, Hecatæus the Milesian, that the success of the struggle depended on their being applied to military purposes (Herod. v. 36).

ings of the Greeks. Accordingly the story of Crœsus seems to have become to the romancers[8] of the period what the old heroic tale of Œdipus was to the tragedians,[9] the type of human instability. On the original historic facts were engrafted from time to time such incidents as the fancy of each writer deemed appropriate, and the whole gradually took the perfect form which delights us in Herodotus. The warning of Solon; even, it may be, his visit to Sardis; the coming of the Phrygian prince Adrastus,[1] the death of Atys,[2] the profound grief of the father, the marvellous answers of the oracles, the recovery of speech by the dumb son, the scene upon the funeral pyre, the reproaching of Apollo and his reply,—all these seem to be subsequent additions to the original historic outline, whereby it was filled up in accordance with Greek conceptions of the fitness of things. Nor did the romancers stop at the point of greatest perfection, that, namely, to which the tale had reached in the days of Herodotus, or which perhaps it owed to his good taste and true poetic feeling. In after times the same inventive spirit was at work, and later authors continued to embellish with further details and fresh incidents, the story of the fall of Crœsus. A fragment of such an improved version of the tale remains in Damascenus, by which we may learn something of the mode in which the Herodotean legend was formed. [A.]

[Note A.]

The tale in Damascenus runs as follows:—

"Cyrus pitied Crœsus, but the Persians were angry with him and raised a mighty funeral pyre at the foot of a lofty hill, from which they intended to behold the spectacle of his suffering. The royal train came forth from the palace-gate and the king himself was in the midst, and all around strangers and citizens were flocking to see the sight. A little while and the officers appeared leading their prisoner in his chains, and with him twice seven Lydians; then there burst from the multitude of the city a piercing cry—men and women alike weeping and beating their breasts. The lamentation when

[8] Although the λογοποιοὶ of the Greeks may not exactly correspond to the romancers of the middle ages or of more recent times, since they certainly affected somewhat more of an historic character, yet the notices which remain to us seem to indicate that their writings in reality partook far more of the nature of romances than of historic narratives. (See Thucyd. i. 21.)

[9] Note the correspondency between the lines with which Sophocles concludes the Œdipus Tyrannus and the words of warning addressed by Solon to Crœsus (Herod. i. 32).

[1] Phrygia, at the time when Adrastus flies to Sardis for protection, is already a province of the Lydian empire (Herod. i. 28). The story makes it independent. Adrastus is a purely Greek name, which a Phrygian prince is not likely to have borne.

[2] The name Atys is enough to cause suspicion. Apart from its supposed significance (see Mure's Lit. of Greece, vol. iv. p. 326), it is a name belonging to the purely mythic period, the period of the so-called first dynasty. None of the names of that period seem to have been in use among the Mermnadæ.

the town was taken was not to be compared with this for bitterness; he must have been hard of heart who could have stood by and not pitied the calamity of the fallen prince or admired the love of his people to him, for all gazed upon him as if he had been their father, and at the sight some rent their garments and others tore their hair, and there was a great multitude of women who led the way with wailing and beating of the breast; he himself went forward without a tear, but with a grave, sad countenance. All this time Cyrus did not interfere, but let things take their course, in hopes that some touch of compassion would move the heart of the Persians. Now when Crœsus came opposite to the place where Cyrus sat, he cried to the king with a loud voice entreating to be allowed to see his son—it was his son who had been dumb and had recovered his speech whom he wished to see—who now spake readily and was a youth of sense and feeling. Cyrus ordered him to be brought, and presently he arrived with a goodly company of his companions following after him. Then Crœsus was no longer himself, but for the first time began to weep. The youth, with many tears and cries, fell on his father's neck, and said, sobbing, 'Alas! father, for thy piety! will the gods never succour us?' Then, addressing himself to the Persians, he exclaimed, 'Take me also, I beseech you, and burn me with him on the pyre: I was not a whit less your enemy than he.' But Crœsus rejoined, 'Thou sayest not true, son; 'tis I alone who am to blame for beginning the war, not thou, nor thy companions, nor any of the rest of the Lydians. It is just, therefore, that I should bear the punishment.' But the youth clung closely to his father and would not let go all the while uttering the saddest cries, so that all were filled with pity, and exhorting the Persians to take them both together to the pyre. 'For,' said he to Crœsus, 'be sure I will not survive thy death, my father. If they will not let me die with thee now, expect me shortly. Have I any hope in life —I, who from my birth have been nothing but a burden both to myself and thee? When thou wert prosperous I was fain to avoid thy sight, through the shame I felt at my infirmity. It was not till calamity overtook us that I found a voice, which the gods seem only to have bestowed on me that I might be able to bewail our misfortunes.' The father answered, 'At thy age, my son, it cannot but be wrong to despair; many years of life are before thee; even I have not laid aside all hope of some help from heaven.' As he was speaking, there came up a train of female slaves, who brought costly dresses and all manner of rich ornaments, which the Lydian women had sent to adorn the funeral-pyre of their king. Then Crœsus embraced his son and the Lydians who stood near, and mounted the pile. The youth, with hands outstretched towards heaven, prayed thus:—'Oh! King Apollo, and all ye gods whom my father was wont to honour, descend now to our aid, lest all religion perish from the earth together with Crœsus.' With this he sought to cast himself also upon the pyre, but his friends laid hold of him and prevented him. In the mean time, just as Crœsus was going up, the Sibyl was observed descending from an eminence and coming towards the place to see what was happening. Straightway a murmur ran through the crowd that the prophetess was approaching, and they were all agape to hear if she would deliver any divine message about Crœsus. She did not disappoint them, but after a brief space thus exclaimed, in an earnest and impassioned tone:—

> "Wretches, wherefore so hot upon mischief that will not be suffered?
> Jove the supreme, and Phœbus forbid it, and Amphiaraüs.
> Hark to the truth-speaking voice of the seer, and beware of offending
> Heaven by your folly, for so ye will bring on you swift destruction."

Cyrus heard what she said, and immediately sent heralds to spread the oracle among the Persians, but they suspected that the Sibyl had been practised upon, and came for the express purpose of saving Crœsus. He the while sate

upon the pyre, and with him the twice-seven Lydians, and the Persians with burning torches stood around and set the pyre alight. Then there was a silence, in the midst of which Crœsus was heard to groan deeply and thrice utter the name of Solon. Cyrus wept at the sound, bethinking himself how greatly he was angering the gods by yielding to the will of the Persians, and burning a prince his equal in rank, and, once, in fortune. And now some of the Persians left Crœsus and gathered around their king, and, seeing how sorrowful he was, entreated him to have the flames extinguished. So Cyrus sent his orders to put out the fire; but the pile was by this time in a blaze, and burnt so fiercely that no one could venture to approach near to it. Then it is said that Crœsus looked up to heaven and besought Apollo to come to his aid, since his very enemies were now willing to save him, but lacked the power. It was a gusty day, with a strong east wind blowing, but as yet there had been no rain. As Crœsus prayed, the air grew suddenly dark and clouds collected together from all quarters, with much thunder and lightning, and such a storm of rain burst forth, that, while it completely extinguished the blazing pyre, it almost drowned those who were seated thereupon; so the Persians speedily stretched a purple awning over Crœsus, and great fear fell upon them all. Terrified by the darkness and the violent wind, and still more by the thunder, and struck by the hoofs of the horses, which were rendered restive by the storm, they trembled with affright; and as they thought of the warning of the Sibyl and of the oracles of Zoroaster, they called yet more loudly upon Cyrus to spare Crœsus, and, prostrating themselves upon the ground, besought the gods to pardon them. Some say that Thales had foreseen, from certain signs which he had observed, that there would be a storm, and expected it exactly at the time it happened. Thenceforth the Persians began to observe the law of Zoroaster, which forbade the burning of dead bodies, or any other pollution of the element of fire; and so the ancient ordinance, which had been neglected, was established among them. Cyrus after this took Crœsus with him to his palace, and comforted him, and spake friendly words to him, for he thought that he was the most religious of men; he also exhorted him, if he had any request to make, not to be afraid to speak out boldly and tell it. Then said Crœsus, ‘Oh! my lord, since thou art so gracious to thy servant, permit me, I beseech thee, to send these gyves to Delphi, and to ask the God what I ever did to him that he should entice me by deceiving oracles to make war on thee in the confident hope of victory, only to gain such first-fruits as these’(here he pointed to his fetters), ‘and wherefore there is such forgetfulness of benefits on the part of the Grecian gods?’ Cyrus granted his request with a smile, and promised him equal success when he should ask greater favours. In a little time the two princes became close friends, and Cyrus gave Crœsus back his wives and children, and took him with him when he went away from Sardis. Some say he would have made him governor of the place if he had not been fearful of his rebelling.”

LYDIAN EMPIRE.

—	B. C.	Kings, according to Herodotus.	Kings, according to other Authors.	EVENTS.
MYTHIC PERIOD— Dynasty of the Atyadæ.		1. Manes. 2. Atys (his son). 3. Lydus (his son). * * *	1. Manes. 2. Cotys. 3. Atys. 4. Lydus. } Anon. ap. Dionys.	Colonisation of Tyrrhenia. (Herod.) Division of Lydia into Lydia Proper and Torrhebia. (Xanthus.)
		Meles. * * *	Meles. Moxus. } Xanthus. Cambles of Xanthns?	The wife of Meles gives birth to a lion, which, according to the advice of the Telmessians, is carried round Sardis, to make the town impregnable. (Herod.)
SEMI-MYTHIC PERIOD— Dynasty of the Heraclidæ, 505 years.	1229	1. Agron.		
	ab. 1205	2. —— (his son).		
	— 1182	3. —— (his son).		
	— 1159	4. —— (his son).	Alcimus,	
	— 1136	5. —— (his son).		
	— 1113	6. —— (his son).	Aciamus,	
	— 1090	7. —— (his son).	} of Xanthus?	Expedition of Alcimus into Syria, and founding of Ascalon by his general, Ascalus. (Xanthus.)
	— 1067	8. —— (his son).	and	
	— 1044	9. —— (his son).		
	— 1021	10. —— (his son).	Arimus.	
	— 998	11. —— (his son).		
	— 975	12. —— (his son).		
	— 952	13. —— (his son).		
	— 929	14. —— (his son).		
	— 906	15. —— (his son).		
	— 883	16. —— (his son).		
	— 860	17. —— (his son).	Adyattes.	
	— 837	18. —— (his son).	Ardys.	
	— 814	19. —— (his son).	Adyattes? } Of Nic. Damasc.	Feud for five generations between the Heraclidæ and the Mermnadæ. (Nic. Damasc.)
	— 791	20. —— (his son).	Meles.	
	— 768	21. Myrsus (his son).	Myrsus.	
	— 745	22. Candaules (his son).	Sadyattes.	

LYDIAN EMPIRE—*continued.*

—	B. C.	Kings, according to Herodotus.	Kings, according to other Authors.	EVENTS.
Historic Period— Dynasty of the Mermnadæ. 170 years.	724	1. Gyges.	. .	Commencement of aggressions upon the Greeks. Capture of Colophon. Sieges of Miletus and Smyrna.
	686	2. Ardys (his son).	. .	War with Miletus renewed. Fall of Priene. Irruption of the Cimmerians.
	637	3. Sadyattes (his son).	. .	
	625	4. Alyattes (his son).	. .	B.C. 631. } War with Miletus resumed. War continued.
				— 620. Peace concluded with Miletus.
				— 615. } Cyaxares invades Lydia. War continued.
				— 610. Alliance made with Cyaxares. Year of the great eclipse. Astyages married to Aryenis, daughter of Alyattes.
				— 608. Birth of Crœsus. Expulsion of the Cimmerians? Fall of Smyrna? Attack on Clazomenæ?
				ab. 576. War with Caria. (Xanthus.)
	568	5. Crœsus (his son).	. .	— 568. Siege of Ephesus.
				— 567. } — 562. } Reduction of the Asiatic Greeks, and other conquests of Crœsus.
				— 561. Visit of Solon.
				— 560. Marriage and death of Atys.
				558. Defeat of Astyages by Cyrus.
				557. } 556. } Crœsus consults the oracles
				555. Alliances made with Sparta, Egypt, and Babylon.
				554. Crœsus invades Cappadocia. Fall of Sardis.

ESSAY II.

ON THE PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF ASIA MINOR.

1. Physical Geography of Asia Minor—Shape, dimensions, and boundaries. 2. Great central Plateau. 3. Division of Plateau—Lake region—Northern flat—Rivers which drain the latter—(i.) The *Yechil-Irmak*, or Iris—(ii.) The *Kizil-Irmak*, or Halys—(iii.) The *Sakkariah*, or Sangarius. 4. Coast tracts outside the Plateau: (i.) Southern—(ii.) Northern—(iii.) Western. 5. Its rivers. 6. Its general character. 7. Political Geography. 8. Fifteen nations: (i.) Phrygians—(ii.) Matiêni—(iii.) Cilicians—(iv.) Pamphylians—(v.) Lycians—(vi.) Caunians—(vii.) Carians—(viii.) Lydians—(ix.) Greeks—(x.) Mysians—(xi.) Thracians—(xii.) Mariandynians—(xiii.) Paphlagonians—(xiv.) Chalybes—(xv.) Cappadocians. 9. Comparison of Herodotus with Ephorus.

1. Asia Minor, or the Peninsula of *Anatolia*, is in form an irregular parallelogram, facing the four cardinal points, in length from west to east about 650 miles, in average breadth from north to south 350 miles. It is bounded on the north by the Euxine (*Black Sea*) and Propontis (Sea of *Marmora*); on the west side by the Ægean; on the south by the Mediterranean; on the east by an imaginary line, bearing N.N.E. from the north-eastern angle of the gulf of Issus (*Iskenderoun*) to *Ordou* (long. 37° 50′, lat. 40° 55′) on the Euxine.[1] Its size is somewhat more than half that of France.

2. The greater part of the peninsula consists of a high plateau or table-land, enclosed by the range of Taurus on the south, and on the north by another line of mountains of less elevation, which branches from the Georgian Caucasus, and under various names runs across the peninsula from east to west, at an average distance of 50 or 60 miles from the shore, joining the Mysian Olympus, between Nicæa (*Isnik*) and Dorylæum (*Eski Shaher*), in lat. 40°, long. 30°. A lateral ridge, rising but slightly above the level of the plateau, connects Mount Taurus with the Mysian Olympus, and forms the western boundary of the elevated tract in question. This ridge may be regarded as commencing near *Burdoor* (lat. 38°, long. 30° 10′), and running in a direction a little west of north to *Kudshalak*, a small village about half-way between Prusa (*Brussa*) and Cotyæum (*Kutahiah*). On the east the plateau stretches up to the roots of Anti-Taurus, Paryadres, and other divergent branches from the great mountain-cluster of Armenia.

[1] It has been customary to reckon the isthmus as lying between the gulfs of Issus and Amisus (*Samsoun*); but recent observations have shown that the shortest line from sea to sea is from the north-east angle of the gulf of Issus to some point between *Fatsa* and *Kerasunt*, in the ancient country of the eastern Chalybians. According to the maps, *Ordou* seems to be about the nearest point. (See Rennell's Geography of Western Asia, vol. i. p. 337, and the Maps of Mr. Hamilton.)

The length of this plateau may be estimated at 500, its average breadth at 250 miles. Thus it occupies above one-half of the peninsula.

3. It must not be supposed that the whole of this region forms a single plain. On the south-east and south, numerous high ridges, with a direction for the most part from south-east to north-west, isolate from the more northern portion of the plateau tracts of considerable size, the waters of which do not flow to the sea, but, like those of Thibet, Candahar, and central Persia, form rivers which end in lakes that have no outlet.[2] Such are the plains of *Egerdir*, *Ak-Shehr*, *Ilgún*, *Kóniah*, *Bei-Shehr*, *Erkle*, *Karahissar*, &c.[3] Such again is the great central plain, wherein is situated the vast salt lake of *Touz-Ghieul*, the ancient Palus Tattæa. The breadth of this lake-region is from 80 to 130 miles. Above it the land is more level, varied only by hills of moderate height, and occasionally expanding into enormous flats, particularly towards the centre or axis of the peninsula.[4] The dip of the plateau above the lake-region is to the north, and the whole tract is drained by three great rivers, which force their way through narrow gorges in the northern mountain-chain, and discharge their waters into the Euxine. These are the *Yechil-Irmak* (the ancient Iris), the *Kizil-Irmak* (or Halys), and the *Sakkariah* (or Sangarius).

(i.) The *Yechil-Irmak* is the most eastern of the three, and drains a

[2] Col. Leake thus describes one of these tracts, the plain of Iconium (*Kóniah*): "Soon after we had quitted this spot, we entered upon a ridge branching eastward from the great mountains on our right, and forming the northern boundary of the *plain of Kónia*. On the descent from this ridge we came in sight of the vast plain around that city, and of the lake which occupies the middle of it; and we saw the city with its mosques and ancient walls, still at a distance of 12 or 14 miles from us. To the north-east nothing appeared to interrupt the vast expanse but two very lofty summits covered with snow, at a great distance. They can be no other than the summits of Mount Argæus above Kesaría, and are consequently *a hundred and fifty miles* distant from us, in a direct line. To the south-east the same plains extend as far as the mountains of Karaman (Taurus). . . . We were much struck with the appearance of a remarkable insulated mountain called Karadagh. . . . It is about 60 miles distant, and beyond it are seen some of the summits of the Karaman range, which cannot be less than *ninety miles* from us."—Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor, p. 45.

Afterwards he observes: "A characteristic of these Asiatic plains is the exactness of the level, and the peculiarity of their extending, without any previous slope, to the foot of the mountains, which rise from them like lofty islands out of the surface of the ocean" (p. 95).

[3] Colonel Leake travelled along this lake country from *Bulwudún* to *Karamán*, a distance of above 150 miles, through the plains of *Ak-Shehr*, *Ilgún*, *Kóniah*, and *Kassabá*, to the northern foot of Taurus, near *Karamán*. He found reason to believe that the same sort of country extended to the north-east as far as Mount Argæus (*Erdjish*), and to the west as far as *Burdoor*. (See his map, prefixed to the Travels in Asia Minor.) The latter opinion has been confirmed by more recent travellers. (See Fellows's Asia Minor, p. 160; Hamilton's Travels, vol. ii. pp. 284–313.)

[4] Sir C. Fellows thus describes the country near Cotyæum: "We continued the ascent for an hour, and I fully expected to find myself on a barren summit; but what was my surprise, on reaching the top, at seeing before me meadows and cultivated land for *twenty miles!*" (pp. 125–6.) These table-lands continued nearly to Lake Ascania (pp. 130, 150, 155, &c.). Colonel Leake *saw* similar tracts towards the north, on his road from *Bulwudún* to *Karamán* (Travels in Asia Minor, pp. 45, 96, 97, &c.).

district of far less extent than either of the others. It is formed of three principal streams, the largest of which, the ancient Lycus, descends from the Armenian mountains, and does not belong properly to the region under consideration. The other two, the central one, regarded by the ancients as the upper Iris, and the western, which was called the Scylax, carry off the waters from a tract which lies, as it were, within the basin of the *Kizil-Irmak*, being a portion of the ancient Cappadocia. Of this region very little is known; compared to the central and western portions of the plateau, it seems to be rough and mountainous.[5]

(ii.) The *great* river of Asia Minor is the *Kizil-Irmak*,[6] or ancient Halys. Its real source is in Armenia, near the city of *Siwas* (Sebaste), whence it flows with a western or south-western course, receiving many tributaries on its way, as far as *Kesariah* (the ancient Cæsarea-Mazaca), in long. 35° 20′. Soon after it turns to the north-west, and receives the streams which flow from the northern flank of the range of hills which, branching from Mount Argæus, near *Kesariah*, passes to the north of Lake Tatta, and there sinks into the plain. The augmented stream then proceeds northward by a bold sweep towards the west, and, forcing its way through the northern range near *Osmanjik*, runs into the Euxine within about 40 miles of the *Yechil-Irmak*. The basin drained by this stream is thus about 300 miles in its greatest width, and 175 miles from north to south, between *Mount Argæus* and the gorge at *Osmanjik*.

(iii.) The third river, the *Sakkariah*, or Sangarius, like the Iris, has three principal branches. The easternmost, called at present the *Enguri Su*, rises beyond Ancyra (*Enguri*), but a few leagues from the banks of the Halys. After running about 70 miles with a course nearly due west, it joins the central stream, which is regarded by the Turks as the main river, and called the *Sakkariah*. This branch springs from the flanks of the great mountain, *Emir Dagh*, near *Bulwudún*, and flows north-east to the point of junction. From thence, until its union with the third stream, the *Pursek*, or ancient Thymbrias, the course of the Sakkariah is very imperfectly known. Its general direction is still to the west, but after receiving the *Pursek* it turns northward, making (like the *Kizil-Irmak*) a bold westerly sweep, and pierces the northern mountain-chain near *Shughut*, after which it runs with almost a straight course into the Euxine. The tract of country which it drains is an oblong, about 200 miles across from the hills east of Ancyra to the mountains west of Cotyæum, and 100 miles from north to south, between the range of *Emir-Dagh* and the Bithynian Olympus.

4. Outside the high central plateau, which has been described, on three sides, southward, westward, and northward, lie strips of territory. These tracts require separate consideration.

(i.) The range of Taurus, which bounds the central plateau on the side of the Mediterranean, like the European mountain-ranges whose direction is the same, presents its steep side to the south. From the summit of the chain, distant in general about 60 or 70 miles from the

[5] Hamilton's Travels in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia (vol. i. pp. 344–365).

[6] Called also the *Atoe*, or *Atoe-Su*. *Kizil-Irmak* is merely "Red River."

coast, the descent into the valleys of Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia, is rapid and precipitous. These valleys, which are narrow and numerous, and have a general direction from north to south, are separated from each other by lateral spurs from the great chain, of an elevation very little inferior to that of Taurus itself.[7] In two places only along the whole southern coast do the valleys expand into plains—at *Adalia* (the ancient Attalia) in Pamphylia, and near *Tersoos* (or Tarsus), where the vast alluvium, formed by the three streams of the Cydnus, the Sarus (*Sihoon*), and the Pyramus (*Jyhoon*), has created the extensive flat which gave to the eastern portion of Cilicia the name of Cilicia *Campestris*.[8] Elsewhere, along the whole line of coast, the mountains descend abruptly into the Mediterranean, except where the small streams, which carry off the waters from the south side of Taurus, reach the sea.

The principal of these streams is the Calycadnus, or *Ghiuk-Sooyou*, which has formed at its mouth a delta of considerable extent. Unlike the other streams of Cilicia and Pamphylia, this river flows from west to east, or more strictly from N.W. by W., to S.E. by E. A spur from Taurus,[9] which leaves the main ridge in long. 32° 15′, and projects towards the coast in a direction at first south, then south-east, and finally east, leaves between Taurus and itself a large tract which can only be drained by a water-course with this bearing. The whole region is mountainous in the extreme, forming a portion of the ancient Cilicia *Trachëa*. Numerous valleys from the flanks of Taurus, and others from the spur itself, the ancient Imbarus (?), converge, and their several streams uniting above *Selefke* (Seleucia) form the Calycadnus, which at present reaches the sea about ten miles below that city. No other river along the entire south coast, except, perhaps, the Pyramus, is to be compared with this either for size or volume.

Such are the principal features of the southern tract, a narrow and somewhat winding strip of territory, extending from the Gulf of Issus on the east, to that of *Mandelyah* (Iassus) on the west, a distance of nearly 500 miles, and varying in breadth from 20 to 70 miles.

(ii.) Opposite to this tract, upon the north, lies a strip of territory, somewhat broader and far less mountainous, 650 miles from east to west,

[7] The elevation of Mount Taurus is not very great. The highest peaks are said to be about nine or ten thousand feet above the level of the sea. Leake even (p. 104) calls a summit between six and seven thousand feet high "one of the highest in the range of Taurus." Many peaks in the lateral ranges have been found by observation to be nearly 5000 feet. Mount Takhtalu, a continuation of Climax, on the eastern coast of Lycia, is 7800 feet. (See Beaufort's Karamania, p. 57.)

[8] The *Jyhoon* (Pyramus) falls now into the Gulf of Issus, and may seem therefore to have had nothing to do with the formation of the great alluvial plain of *Adana* (the ancient Campus Aleïus). But the fact is that the river has, in comparatively modern times, changed its course. Anciently it ran through the middle of the Campus Aleïus, and reached the sea to the west of the promontory of *Karadash* (Megarsus), as Kiepert rightly shows upon his map. (Pamphylia, Kilikia, und Kypros. Compare Beaufort's Karamania, pp. 285–8.)

[9] Called incorrectly by Major Rennell a *second* ridge, *parallel* to Taurus (Geography of Western Asia, vol. ii. pp. 78–9). Kiepert's map exhibits the true nature of the ridge, which breaks away from the main chain in long. 30° (East from *Paris*) or 32° 15′ (East from *Greenwich*).

and from 40 to 100 miles across. Of this district, with the exception of its western portion, the ancient Mysia and Bithynia, modern Europeans have but a very scanty knowledge. It appears, from such notices as are procurable, to be, in its central parts, between the Iris and Sangarius, a level and fertile country, well-watered and well-wooded, but not possessing any very marked or striking features. Eastward of the Iris, and westward of the Sangarius, the character of the region is somewhat different. The rivers run in narrow valleys, or ravines, and the intermediate country is wild and rocky, scarcely admitting of cultivation. Westward of the Sangarius, there are a few alluvial plains, on the borders of the great lakes, which now only occupy a portion of their original beds.

(iii.) The third tract, which lies westward of the plateau, intervening between it and the Ægean, is in form nearly a triangle, of which the coast-line forms the base, while its apex is near *Sandookli*, above the head-streams of the Mæander. The base extends about 160 miles, from the Gulf of Adramyttium to that of *Mandelyah*, and the apex is distant about 190 miles from the coast. The upper part of the triangle, near the apex, partakes of the character of the central plateau. It contains extensive plains at a high elevation above the sea, as those of *Ushak*, *Göbek*, *Deenair*, *Menzil*, &c. These great flats are barren, and are traversed by streams, which for the most part form for themselves in the soft soil deep gullies, at the bottom of which they run, often 500 feet below the surface of the plain. About half-way between the apex and the coast, the general level of the country sinks, and several important mountain-ranges break away from the elevated table-land, dividing the lower portion of the triangle into the four great valleys of the Caïcus, the Hermus, the Caÿster, and the Mæander. These mountain-ranges are the *Kestaneh-Dagh*, or Messogis, which separates between the Mæander and the Caÿster; the *Kisilja-musa-Dagh*, or Tmolus, which divides the basin of the Caÿster from that of the Hermus; and the extension of the Demirji range, known to the ancients as Pitnæus and Sardênê, which intervenes between the basins of the Hermus and the Caïcus. The general direction of these mountain-ranges, and also of the four great streams which they separate, is from east to west. To the north and south the triangle is enclosed by the *Demirji-Dagh*, or Temnus, and the *Baba-Dagh*, or Cadmus, both branches from the transverse ridge which connects Taurus with the northern mountain-chain.

5. Of the four streams which have been mentioned, two, the Mæander and the Hermus, are of a size far exceeding that of the others. Both have their sources on the flanks of the great plateau, and each is formed by the confluence of a large number of streams of nearly equal magnitude. Four rivers, the *Kopli Su*, the *Banas Chai*, the *Sandookli Chai*, and the *Deenair* river, unite to form the Mæander (*Mendere*), which then receives on its way to the sea the waters of three considerable[1] and numerous smaller tributaries. The Hermus (*Kodús*, or *Ghiediz Chai*) is

[1] These are the *Tchoruk Su* or Lycus, the *Kara Su* or Harpasus, and the *Cheena Chai* or Marsyas.

formed by the confluence of three rivers, the *Demirji Chai*, the *Aineh Chai*, and the *Ghiediz Chai*, and is afterwards augmented by the two great streams of the Cogamus, and the Hyllus or Phrygius.[2] The Caÿster and the Caïcus, the latter above the Hermus, the former between it and the Mæander, are minor streams, and receive no tributaries of consequence.

6. This portion of Asia Minor is famous for its rich and fertile plains.[3] These are almost entirely along the courses of the principal rivers, especially where they receive a tributary, or disembogue into the sea. At the mouths of the Mæander and the Hermus are vast alluviums, which have grown immensely since the time of Herodotus, and which every year augments.[4] The Caÿster and the Caïcus have large though less extensive deltas. The valleys, too, in which the rivers run, are broad and noble, and contain many plains of great note, as that called by the ancients the plain of the Hermus, which is at the junction of that stream with the Phrygius; that of Sardis, where the Cogamus joins the Hermus; that of Pergamus, where the Ceteius unites with the Caïcus; and that of the Caÿster, where that river receives the Phyrites, near Ephesus. Modern travellers remark the peculiar beauty and flatness of these plains, from which the mountains rise suddenly, like islands from the surface of the ocean.[5] Still the greater portion, even of the lower region, is barren and unfruitful, being occupied by the mountain-ranges already spoken of; and the upper country, towards the apex of the triangle, is even less adapted for cultivation. The middle region, which abounds in traces of volcanic action (the ancient Catakecaumené), is a more fertile and productive territory.

7. Such are the chief features in the physical geography of Asia Minor. An outline of its political geography, according to the showing of Herodotus, has now to be given.

8. Asia Minor contained anciently, according to Herodotus, fifteen races or nations. Of these four occupied the southern region; namely, the Cilicians, the Pamphylians, the Lycians, and the Caunians;[6] four lay to the west of the great table-land, either upon or very near the coast, the Carians, the Lydians, the Mysians, and the Greeks; four bordered on the Euxine, the Thracians, Mariandynians, Paphlagonians, and Cappadocians; three, finally, dwelt in the interior, the Phrygians, the Chalybes, and the Matiêni.

(i.) The boundaries of these several tribes cannot be settled with ex-

[2] Sometimes a larger stream than the Hermus before the junction. See Fellows's Asia Minor, p. 20.

[3] Strabo, xiii. 901–2.

[4] Herodotus notices the increase of land at the mouth of the Mæander (ii. 10). Pliny mentions the growth at the mouth of the Hermus (H. N. v. 29). Chandler remarks the further accumulation of soil in both places (vol. i. pp. 86 and 201–206), and speculates on future changes of a still more extraordinary character (ib. p. 88 and p. 207). Sir C. Fellows follows in the same track (Asia Minor, p. 16).

[5] Fellows's Asia Minor, p. 26.

[6] The Caunians are mentioned as a distinct people in ch. 172. In the enumeration (ch. 28) they are omitted, being considered (perhaps) as included in the Lycians, to whom they in fact belonged. (See note to book i. ch. 172.) Scylax, however, reckons Caunus to Caria. (Peripl. p. 92.)

act accuracy. The high table-land, westward of the Halys, seems to have constituted the country of the Phrygians, but their limits did not exactly coincide with its natural barriers. The Halys was their eastern boundary, as Herodotus expressly testifies;[7] and there is no reason to doubt that their limits northwards and southwards coincided nearly with the chain of Taurus and the continuation of the Olympian mountain-range; but towards the west it would seem that they extended beyond the transverse ridge so often alluded to, occupying a considerable portion of the tract which lies westward of that watershed, and is drained by the head-streams of the Hermus and the Mæander. Colossæ, on the Lycus before its junction with the Mæander, is reckoned to Phrygia;[8] and Strabo even places the boundary yet further to the west.[9] The Catakecaumené is, however, always regarded as beyond the Phrygian territory.[1]

(ii.) The table-land, immediately east of the Halys, appears to be assigned by Herodotus to the Matiêni, a people not mentioned among the inhabitants of the peninsula by the geographers, but occasionally alluded to by writers of the age of Herodotus.[2] The Halys has the Matiêni on the right, while it has the Phrygians on the left, and does not reach Cappadocia until it touches the country of the Paphlagonians.[3]

(iii.) The strip of territory south of the table-land belonged to the Cilicians, the Pamphylians, and the Lycians, or Termilæ. Cilicia extended indeed considerably to the north of Taurus, unless we regard Herodotus as altogether mistaken with respect to the course of the upper Halys.[4] It occupied the eastern portion of the south coast, *opposite Egypt.*[5] Its western boundary is not fixed by Herodotus, but we know that in after times it was placed at Coracesium[6] (*Alaya*). On the East the Euphrates divided Cilicia from Armenia.[7]

(iv.) Pamphylia lay west of Cilicia. Herodotus does not fix any of its boundaries, but the geographers[8] agree with respect to the coast-line,

[7] Herod. i. 72. [8] Xenoph. Anab. I. ii. 6.

[9] At Carura, below the junction of the Lycus with the Mæander (xii. p. 837).

[1] The doubt was whether it belonged to Mysia or Lydia. See Strabo, xiii. p. 900.

[2] Hecatæi Fragm. 188, 189. Xanthi Fragm. 3. Ephorus did not mention them in his enumeration of the inhabitants of the peninsula (Frag. 80).

[3] Herod. i. 72. Elsewhere, however, Cappadocia appears to *include* the Matiêni. The road from Sardis to Susa passed through Lydia, Phrygia, *Cappadocia*, and Cilicia. No Matiêni are mentioned upon this part of the route (v. 52).

[4] The upper Halys flows διὰ Κιλίκων (i. 72). If we regard Herodotus as acquainted with the real course of the river, this expression will extend Cilicia to the 39th parallel, a whole degree north of the Taurus range. Modern geographers have supposed that Herodotus was unacquainted with the main source of the Halys, and imagined the stream to flow from the northern flanks of Taurus, and to run during its whole course nearly from south to north. To excuse this ignorance, they have maintained the existence of a great stream, easily mistaken for the real Halys, in these regions, and with this direction. (Bähr ad Herod. i. 72; Rennell's Geography of Western Asia, vol. i. p. 352.) Mr. Hamilton's travels have shown that there is no such river. The range of hills which extends from Cæsarea (*Kesariah*) to the north of Lake Tatta (*Touz Ghieul*) is nowhere above 30 miles from the Halys, and no stream from the south pierces it. (Compare note [6] to book i. ch. 6.)

[5] Herod. ii. 34. [6] Strabo, xiv. p. 953. [7] Herod. v. 52.

[8] Rennell's Western Asia, vol. ii. p. 71.

that it extended from Coracesium to Phasêlis (*Tekrova*), at the foot of Mount Climax. Herodotus appears to have regarded Pamphylia as bounded on the east by Cilicia, on the west by Lycia, and on the north by Phrygia. He is not acquainted with the Pisidia of more recent writers,[9] which was a mountain-tract, lying inland, and separating Pamphylia from Phrygia, thus bounding Pamphylia to the north. Probably he reckoned this tract partly to Phrygia, partly to Pamphylia.

(v.) Lycia lay next to Pamphylia upon the south coast. It extended from Phasêlis on the east to the valley of the Calbis on the west, where the territory of the Caunians bounded it. Inland it reached to the mountain-ranges of Taurus and Dædala. It appears to have been divided into three portions—Lycia Proper, or the country of the Troës and Termilæ, which included the whole of the coast, being the tract lying south of Dædala, Massicytus, and the range which connects Massicytus with Mount *Takhtalu;* Milyas, the high plain about Lake *Avelan*, in which stands the large town of *Almali;* and Cabalia, the central plain of *Satala* (called now *Satala Yeeilassy*), which is enclosed by Taurus, Massicytus, and a low range of hills separating it from the more eastern plain of *Almali*, or Milyas.

(vi.) The western coast was occupied anciently by the three native races of the Carians, the Lydians, and the Mysians. Between Lycia and Caria intervened the small state of Caunus, the coast-line of which cannot have extended further than from the Calbis (*Dollomon Chai*) to the Rhodian Chersonese. Inland the Caunians may have reached to the mountain-ranges of Lida and Salbacon, beyond which was certainly Caria. No writer but Herodotus speaks of the Caunians as a distinct people.

(vii.) Caria was anciently the whole country from Caunus on the south to the mouth of the Mæander on the west coast. It extended inland at least as far as Carura, near the junction of the Lycus with the Mæander. The chain of Cadmus (*Baba Dagh*) formed, apparently, its eastern boundary. In process of time the greater part of the coast was occupied by the Greeks. The peninsula of Cnidus, with the tract above it known as the Bybassian Chersonese, was colonised by Dorians, as was the southern shore of the Ceramic Gulf, from Myndus to Ceramus. More to the north the coast was seized upon by the Ionian Greeks, who seem to have possessed themselves of the entire seaboard from the Hermus to the furthest recess of the Sinus Iassius. Still the Carians retained some portions of the coast, and were able to furnish to the navy of Xerxes a fleet of seventy ships.

(viii.) Above Caria was Lydia, bounded by the Mæander on the south, and extending northwards at least as far as the Elæitic Gulf,[1]

[9] The Pisidians seem to be first mentioned as a distinct people by Xenophon (Anab. X. ii. 1, &c.). Ephorus reckoned them an *inland* people (Frag. 30).

[1] The early Greek settlers seem to have extended Mysia as far south as the promontory of Canê, and probably this was true of the time when they made their settlements. Mysia, however, was on the decline from that period; and there is reason to think that, by the age of Crœsus, Lydia had extended itself as far north as the Gulf of Adramyttium. Adramyttium is spoken of uniformly as a *Lydian* city. (Nic. Damasc. p. 54, Orelli. Aristot. ap. Steph. Byz. in voc. Ἀδραμύττειον.)

where it adjoined on Mysia. Eastwards it bordered on Phrygia, but the line of demarcation between the two countries cannot be fixed. The ancients themselves regarded it as a matter of uncertainty.[2] There is almost equal difficulty in separating between Lydia and Mysia. The *Demirji* range, with its continuation, the low line of hills which separates the basin of the Caïcus from that of the Hermus, is conjectured rather than proved to be the boundary.[3]

(ix.) The coast-line of this region seems to have been almost entirely in the possession of the Greeks, the Ionians extending continuously from the Mæander to Smyrna, and again to the north of the Hermus, occupying the Phocæan peninsula, while the Æolic Greeks were settled at Smyrna itself, and thence extended due north,[4] as far as the Bay of Adramyttium. The Lydians furnished no ships to the navy of Xerxes.

(x.) Mysia lay north of Lydia. The Ægæan washed it on the west, the Hellespont and Propontis upon the north. Its eastern boundary was probably the range of hills which forms the watershed between the Sangarius and the Rhyndacus (*Tauschanli Chai*). Here it bordered on Bithynia. It formed the western extremity of the strip of territory lying north of the great plateau, or table-land. The Greeks occupied the entire sea-board, with the exception of a small tract near Adramyttium (*Adramytti*).

(xi.) Eastward of Mysia was Bithynia, or (according to Herodotus) Asiatic Thrace, inhabited (as he maintains) by two tribes, the Thynians and the Bithynians. These were immigrants, as he tells us,[5] from Europe. The Thynians are said to have possessed the peninsula which lies between the Euxine and the Gulf of *Izmid* (Nicomedia),[6] while the Bithynians dwelt chiefly in the interior. The limits of Bithynia to the east are variously stated. Arrian makes the Parthenius, Pliny the Billæus, Xenophon the city of Heraclea, the boundary. Herodotus apparently differs from all; for as the Mariandynians lay between the Sangarius and Heraclea, the Bithynia of Herodotus must be regarded as confined on the east within the limits marked out by that river. Southward it extended to the range of Olympus, the northern limit of the central table-land.

(xii.) The Mariandynians beyond the Sangarius were an unimportant tribe, probably of Thracian origin.[7] They appear to have extended but a little way inland, not reaching to the mountain-chain, but separated from it by the Bithynians, who stretched across from the Propontis to the upper streams of the Billæus (or *Filyas*), intervening between the

[2] Strab. xiv. p. 967.

[3] See Rennell's Geography of Western Asia, vol. i. p. 363.

[4] Their occupation of the *coast* was interrupted at the Phocæan peninsula; but they appear to have had a connected territory *inland*, extending from Smyrna across by Temnus to Cymé, and thence along the coast far into the Gulf of Adramyttium. (See note on book i. ch. 149.)

[5] Herod. vii. 75.

[6] So Rennell (Geography of Western Asia, vol. ii. p. 114); but I have failed to find any authority for the assertion. Pliny (H. N. v. 32) makes the Thynians the inhabitants of the whole sea-coast of Bithynia: "Tenent *oram omnem* Thyni, interiora Bithyni."

[7] Strab. vii. p. 427.

Mariandynians and Phrygia. Their eastern boundary was Cape *Baba* (Posideium) near *Eregli* (Heracleia Pontica).

(xiii.) Paphlagonia succeeded, extending from Cape *Baba* to the mouth of the Halys, a distance of 230 miles. The boundaries were the Billæus on the west, the Euxine on the north, the Halys on the east, and on the south the range of hills which bounds the central plateau, and here forms the watershed between the upper streams of the Sangarius and the *Ghieuk Irmak* or *Costambol Chai* (the ancient Amnias), an important tributary of the Halys, flowing into it from the low level, with a course nearly due east.

(xiv.) It is within this district that we must seek for the country of the Chalybes. Three authors only besides Herodotus seem to be aware of the existence of Chalybes to the west of the Halys. These are Pomponius Mela, Scymnus Chius, and Ephorus. Mela mentions Chalybes as dwelling in the vicinity of Sinope,[8] while Ephorus and Scymnus speak of them, in an enumeration of the nations of the *peninsula* (τῆς Χεῤῥονήσου), as situated in the interior.[9] Hence they seem rightly placed by Kiepert and Ritter near Sinope, between the Amnias and the coast, but not *upon* the coast.[1]

(xv.) West of the Halys, yet still within the peninsula, Herodotus places but two nations, the Matiêni and the Cappadocians. The situation of the Matiêni has been already determined. Above them, reaching to the coast, were the Cappadocians, or Syrians,[2] the Leuco-Syrians of Strabo.[3] They extended eastward to Armenia, southward to Cilicia and the country of the Matiêni. To the west their boundary was the Halys. Thus they occupied most of the eastern portion of the great plateau, and the whole of the lower level between the plateau and the sea, from beyond *Ordou* to the mouth of the great river. The country afterwards called Pontus was the maritime portion of this region.

9. Such were the political divisions of Asia Minor recognised by Herodotus. A century later Ephorus made an enumeration which differs from that of Herodotus but in two or three particulars. "Asia Minor," he said, "is inhabited by sixteen races, three of which are Greek, and the rest barbarian, not to mention certain mixed races which are neither the one nor the other. The barbarian races are the follow-

[8] Mela. i. 21.

[9] Scymn. Ch. 938. Ephor. ap. Strab. xiv. p. 966. Strabo blames him on this account. Ἐφόρου γὰρ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀπαιτεῖν ἔχρην, τί δὴ τοὺς Χάλυβας τίθησιν ἔντος τῆς Χεῤῥονήσου, τοσοῦτον ἀφεστῶτας καὶ Σινώπης καὶ Ἀμισοῦ πρὸς ἕω; Strabo is only aware of the *eastern* Chalybians.

[1] See the Atlas von Hellas, Blatt iii. Mr. Grote (vol. iii. p. 336) somewhat fancifully connects these Chalybes with the Cimmerians, who are said by Herodotus to have settled in the Sinopic Chersonese (iv. 12). But Herodotus says distinctly that the Cimmerians were afterwards *expelled from Asia* (i. 16) by Alyattes. Even if it be granted that this passage may be an over-statement, there is nothing beyond the vicinity to Sinope connecting the Chalybes of Herodotus and the Cimmerians. Χάλυβος Σκυθῶν ἄποικος (Æsch. Sept. c. Theb. 729) may refer to the eastern Chalybes, and at any rate it connects Chalybes not with Cimmerians but with Scythians. The Greeks do not appear to me to have made the confusion, which Mr. Grote imagines, between these two nations.

[2] Herod. i. 72; vii. 72.

[3] Strab. xii. p. 788.

ing:—Upon the coast, the Cilicians, the Lycians, the Pamphylians, the Bithynians, the Paphlagonians, the Mariandynians, the *Trojans*, and the Carians; in the interior, the *Pisidians*, the Mysians, the Chalybians, the Phrygians, and the *Milyans*."[4] This catalogue is identical with that of Herodotus, excepting that it includes the Trojans, Pisidians, and Milyans, while it omits the Matiêni, the Cappadocians, the Caunians, and the Lydians. The omission of the Lydians, well objected to by Strabo,[5] can be nothing but an oversight; that of the Cappadocians, and (possibly) of the Matiêni, arises from the fact that Ephorus regards the peninsula as equivalent to Asia within the Halys. A different principle causes the omission of the Caunians and the mention of the Trojans, the Pisidians, and the Milyæ. Ephorus is dividing the inhabitants of Asia Minor, not politically, but *ethnically*. Herodotus himself informs us that the Milyæ were a distinct race from the Lycians (Termilæ[6]), and a peculiar ethnic character may have attached to the Trojans and Pisidians. By the Trojans are probably intended those inhabitants of Lycia who were neither Milyæ nor Termilæ, the Troûoûes of the Lycian inscriptions, and the Trojans (Troës) mentioned in the Iliad as brought from Lycia by Pandarus.[7] This race, though Lycian, had its peculiar characteristics.[8] The ethnic difference between the Pisidians and their neighbours may have been even greater, for there is reason to believe that they were an ancient and very pure Semitic race.[9] On the other hand, the Caunians were perhaps too nearly akin to the Troës to be distinguished from them; or they may have been omitted on account of their insignificance. The subjoined table will show more distinctly the harmony of Herodotus and Ephorus.

NATIONS OF ASIA MINOR, WITHIN THE HALYS.

Herodotus.	Ephorus.
Cilicians	Cilicians.
Pamphylians	Pamphylians. Pisidians.
Lycians Caunians	Lycians. Trojans. Milyans.
Carians	Carians.
Lydians	*omitted accidentally.*
Mysians	Mysians.
Thracians (Thynian, Bithynian)	Bithynians.
Mariandynians	Mariandynians.
Paphlagonians	Paphlagonians.
Chalybes	Chalybes.
Phrygians	Phrygians.
Greeks (Æolians, Ionians, Dorians)	Greeks (Æolians. Ionians. Dorians.)

[4] Ap. Strab. xiv. p. 966.
[5] Book xiv. p. 967.
[6] Herod. i. 173.
[7] Hom. Il. ii. 824–7.
[8] See Sir C. Fellows's Coins of Ancient Lycia, pp. 5–6.
[9] See the last Essay of the Appendix—"On the Ethnic Affinities of the Nations of Western Asia."

ESSAY III.

ON THE CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY OF THE GREAT MEDIAN EMPIRE.

1. Arian origin of the Medes. 2. Close connexion with the Persians. 3. Original migration from beyond the Indus. 4. Medes occupy the tract south of the Caspian. 5. First contact between Media and Assyria—Conquest of Sargon. 6. Media under the Assyrians. 7. Establishment of the independence: (i.) Account of Ctesias—(ii.) Account of Herodotus. 8. Cyaxares the real founder of the monarchy. 9. Events of his reign: (i.) His war with the Scyths—(ii.) Conquest of Assyria—(iii.) Conquest of the tract between Media and the river Halys—(iv.) War with Alyattes—(v.) Aid given to Nebuchadnezzar. 10. Reign of Astyages—uneventful. 11. His supposed identity with "Darius the Mede." 12. Media becomes a Persian satrapy. 13. Median chronology of Herodotus—its difficulties. 14. Attempted solution.

1. That the Medes were a branch of the great Arian family, closely allied both in language and religion to the Persians, another Arian tribe, seems now to be generally admitted. The statement of Herodotus with regard to the original Median appellation,[1] combined with the native traditions of the Persians which brought their ancestors from Aria,[2] would, perhaps, alone suffice to establish this ethnic affinity. Other proofs, however, are not wanting. The Medes are invariably called Arians by the Armenian writers;[3] and Darius Hystaspes, in the inscription upon his tomb, declared himself to be "a Persian, the son of a Persian, an Arian, of Arian descent."[4] Thus it appears that the ethnic appellative of Arian appertains to the two nations equally; and there is every reason to believe that their language and religion were almost identical.[5]

[1] Herod. vii. 62. Οἱ δὲ Μῆδοι ἐκαλέοντο πάλαι πρὸς πάντων Ἄριοι.

[2] In the first Fargard of the Vendidad, the primeval seat of the Persians, whence their migrations commence, is called *Airyanĕm vaējo*, "the source or native land of the Arians." (Cf. Prichard's Natural History of Man, p. 165; Müller's Languages of the Seat of War, p. 29, note.)

[3] See Mos. Chor. i. 28, and cf. Quatremère's Histoire des Mongols, tom. i. p. 241, note 76.

[4] See Col. Rawlinson's Memoir on the Persian Cuneiform Inscriptions in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. x. part iii. p. 292.

[5] It may be thought that the recent discoveries militate against the notion of an identity of language, since undoubtedly the (so-called) Median tablets are written not only in a different language from the Persian, but in a language of a completely distinct family. It is, however, now pretty generally allowed that the term *Median*, as applied to this particular form of language, is a misnomer, retained in use at present for convenience' sake. The language in question is not Medic but Scythic, and inscriptions were set up in it, not for the benefit of the Medes, but of the Scythic or Tâtar tribes scattered over the Persian empire. (See Col. Rawlinson's Commentary on the Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia, p. 75.)

It may be added that the Median names of men and places admit almost univer-

2. This consideration will help us to understand many facts and expressions, both in sacred and profane writers, which would be altogether inexplicable if, as has sometimes been supposed,[6] the Medes had been of an ethnical family entirely distinct from the Persians, a Semitic, for instance, or a Scythic race. The facility with which the two nations coalesced, the high positions held by Medes under the Persian sway,[7] the identity of dress remarked by Herodotus,[8] the precedency of the Medes over all the other conquered nations, indicated by their position in the lists,[9] the common use of the terms "the Mede," "Medism," "the Median war," in connection with the Persian attacks upon Greece,[1] the oft-repeated formula in the book of Daniel "according to *the law of the Medes and Persians*, which altereth not,"[2]—these and similar expressions and facts become instinct with meaning, and are no longer strange but quite intelligible when once we recognise the ethnical identity of Medes and Persians, the two pre-eminent branches of the Arian stock. We see how natural it was that there should be an intimate union, if not an absolute fusion, of two peoples so nearly allied; how it was likely that the name of either should apply to both; how they would have one law and one dress as well as one religion and one language, and would stand almost, if not quite upon a par, at the head of the other nations, who in language, religion, and descent were aliens.

3. The great migration of the Arian race westward from beyond the

sally of being referred by etymological analysis to Zend roots, while the original language of the Persians is closely akin to the Zend.

Among the ancients, Nearchus and Strabo (xv. p. 1030, Oxf. ed.) maintained that the Median and Persian tongues only differed as two dialects of the same language.

[6] Bochart (Phaleg. iii. 14) and Scaliger, by proposing Hebrew or Arabic derivatives of the word Ecbatana, seem to imply that they look on the Medes as a Semitic race.

[7] Harpagus, the conqueror of the Asiatic Greeks, of Caria, Caunus, and Lycia, is a Mede (Herod. i. 162). So is Datis, the joint leader with Artaphernes of the army which fought at Marathon (ib. vi. 94.) So are Harmamithres and Tithæus, sons of Datis, the commanders of Xerxes's cavalry (ib. vii. 88.) In the inscriptions we find Intaphres, a Mede, mentioned as reducing Babylon on its second revolt from Darius (Beh. Ins. col. iii. par. 14). And Camaspates, another Mede, is employed to bring Sagartia into subjection (ibid. col. ii. par. 14). No foreigners except Medes are so employed.

[8] Herod. i. 135, and vii. 62.

[9] See Herod. vii. 62–80, and the inscriptions, *passim*. "Persia, Media, and the other provinces," is the usual formula. (See Behistun Inscription, par. 10, 11, 12, 14.) When there is a complete enumeration, Media either heads the entire list, as in the inscription on the tomb of Darius (Col. Rawlinson's Pers. Cun. Inscr. vol. i. p. 292), or at least one portion of it, as in that at Behistun. The only case in which any other province takes positive precedence of Media is in the list at Persepolis, where Susiana, whose chief city had become the capital, is placed first, Media second (ib. p. 280).

[1] Herod. i. 163; iv. 165, 197; vi. 64, &c. Thucyd. i. 14, 18, 23, &c. Æschyl. Pers. 787 (ed. Scholefield). Aristoph. Lysistr. 615. Thesm. 316. Pax, 108, &c.

[2] Dan. vi. 8, 12, 15. The precedency of the Medes over the Persians, which is found not only in this formula, but also in the prophetic announcement, "Thy kingdom is divided and given to the Medes and Persians" (Dan. v. 38), is peculiar to the book of Daniel, and is no doubt to be connected with the statement of the same book, that Darius the Mede reigned in Babylon *before* Cyrus the Persian.

Indus, simultaneous probably with the movement of a kindred people, the progenitors of the modern Hindoos, eastward and southward to the Ganges and the Vindhya mountain-range, is an event of which the most sceptical criticism need not doubt, remote though it be, and obscurely seen through the long vista of intervening centuries. Where two entirely distinct lines of national tradition converge to a single-point, and that convergence is exactly what philological research, in the absence of any tradition, would have indicated,[3] it seems impossible to suppose either coincidence or collusion among the witnesses. In such a case we may feel sure that here at length among the bewildering mazes of that mythic or semi-mythic literature in which the first origin of nations almost invariably descends to later ages, we have come upon an historic fact; the tradition has for once been faithful, and has conveyed to us along the stream of time a precious fragment of truth. What the date of the movement was we can only conjecture. The Babylonian story of a Median dynasty at Babylon above 2000 years before the Christian era,[4] although referring beyond a doubt to some real event, will yet aid us little in determining the time of the Arian emigration. For it is not unlikely that Berosus, in using the term "Mede," is guilty of a *prolepsis*, applying the name to the Scyths, who in the early times inhabited the region known in his own days as Media—just as if a writer were to call the ancient Britons *English*, or say that in the age of Camillus the *French* took and burnt Rome. Certainly the earliest distinct notice of the Arian race which is contained in the inscriptions hitherto discovered appears to indicate a far later date for this great movement of nations. When the monarch whose victories are recorded on the black obelisk first falls in with the Medes (about B. C. 880), he seems to find the emigration still in progress, and not yet complete.[5]

4. The Medes (*Mad*) occupy the region south of the Caspian, between the Kurdish mountains, which are in possession of the *Namri* (Scyths), and the country called *Bikni* or *Bikrat*,[6] which appears to be the modern Khorassan. Here, in the position to which the Arian race is brought in the first Fargard of the Vendidad,[7] the Medes are first found by authentic history, and here they continue, apparently, unmoved to a late period of the Assyrian empire. There is every reason to believe that the Medes

[3] See Prichard's Natural History of Man, p. 165. The Indian tradition is found in the Institutes of Menu (book ii. chaps. 17, 18), the Persian in the first Fargard of the Vendidad.

[4] Berosus ap. Polyhistor. (Euseb. Chron. Can. pars i. c. iv. p. 17, ed. Mai).

[5] See Col. Rawlinson's Commentary on the Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia, pp. 42–3. Although the emplacements there suggested are not regarded by Col. Rawlinson as certain, yet he justly remarks, "It would be difficult, according to any other explanation, to bring the tribes and countries indicated into geographical relation" (note, p. 43). The passage certainly furnishes very strong grounds for thinking that the Arian migration was only in progress at the time of the conquests recorded on the obelisk.

[6] Perhaps the *Vækeret* of the Vendidad. (Notes on Early History of Babylonia, p. 29, note [3].)

[7] In the list of the Vendidad no position west of Rhages (*Rhaga*) can be clearly identified. *Varene* may be the capital of Media Atropatené, which was called Vera, or Baris, by the Greeks; but this is very uncertain. (Ibid. p. 34, note [5].)

of history had not reached Media Magna *fifteen hundred years* after the time when the Medes of Berosus, probably a different race, conquered Babylon.

5. All that can be said, therefore, of the emigration is, that, at whatever time it commenced,[8] it was not completed much before B. C. 640. Probably there was a long pause in the movement, marked by the termination of the list of names in the Vendidad, during which the main seat of Median power was the country south of the Caspian. In the first portion of this period the Medes were free and unassailed; but from an early date in the 9th century B. C. they became exposed to the aggressions of the growing Assyrian empire. The first king[9] who menaced their independence was the monarch whose victories are recorded upon the black obelisk in the British Museum. This king, who was a great conqueror, having reduced to subjection the Scythic races which occupied Zagros, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign entered the territory of the Medes. He met apparently with little opposition, but it may be doubted whether his invasion was anything more than a predatory raid, or left any permanent impression upon the Median nation. At any rate his successors were for a long course of years continually engaged in hostilities with the same people,[1] and it was not till the time of Sargon, the third monarch of the Lower Empire, that something like a conquest of the Medes was effected. Sargon led two great expeditions into the Median territory, overran the country, and, to complete its subjection, in the seventh year of his reign (about B. C. 710), planted throughout it a number of cities, to which a special interest attaches from the circumstance that among the colonists wherewith he peopled them were at least a portion of the Israelites whom six years before he had carried into captivity from Samaria.[2] In the great palace which he built at Khorsabad, Media was reckoned by him among the countries which formed a portion of his dominions,[3] being represented as the extreme east, while Judæa was regarded as forming the extreme west of the empire. Media, however, does not seem to have ever been incorporated into Assyria, for

[8] As the Medes are not mentioned in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser I., who reigned about B. C. 1130, and warred in the countries east of Zagros, it is probable that they had not then reached central Persia.

[9] As this king does not tax the Medes with rebellion, it is probable that he was the first Assyrian monarch who received their submission.

[1] *Shamas-Iva*, the successor of *Shal-Manubara* (the black obelisk king), made an invasion of Media, and exacted a large tribute. Tiglath-Pileser II., the founder of the Lower Assyrian dynasty, was frequently engaged in wars with them.

[2] The king of Assyria who led Samaria into captivity (2 Kings xvii. 6, xviii. 11) appears to have been Sargon, not, as had generally been supposed, Shalmaneser. (Scripture does not give the name of Sargon in this connexion, but says simply "the king of Assyria:" Sargon, however, is mentioned elsewhere in a way which shows him to have warred in these parts about this time, Isa. xx. 1.) He is said in his annals to have conquered Samaria in his first, and reduced the Medes in his seventh year. The Israelites therefore must have been at first planted in Halah and Habor, but afterwards transferred to the new towns which Sargon built in the Median country.

[3] See Col. Rawlinson's Commentary, p. 61.

both Sennacherib and Esarhaddon speak of it as "a country which had never been brought into subjection by the kings their fathers."[4]

6. The condition of Media during this period, like that of the other countries upon the borders of the great Assyrian kingdom,[5] seems one which cannot properly be termed either subjection or independence The Assyrian monarchs claimed a species of sovereignty, and regarded a tribute as due to them; but the Medes, whenever they dared, withheld the tribute, and it was probably seldom paid unless enforced by the presence of an army. Media was throughout governed by her own princes, no single chief exercising any paramount rule, but each tribe or district acknowledging its own prince or chieftain.[6]

7. The duration of this period of semi-dependence is a matter of some doubt and difficulty. It is certain that the Medes after a while entirely shook off the Assyrian yoke, and became for a time the dominant power in Western Asia. But on the date of this revolution in their fortunes the most esteemed authorities are widely at variance.

(i.) According to Ctesias, the Median monarchy commenced 282 years before the accession of Astyages, or about the year B. C. 875.[7] According to Herodotus it began 167 years later, in B. C. 708.[8] Each writer goes into details, presenting us with a list of kings, amounting in the one case to nine, in the other to four,[9] the length of whose reigns and the events of whose history they profess to know with accuracy. It has generally been supposed, either that the two accounts are reconcilable and alike true, or at least that in one or the other we must possess the real Median history.

It is scarcely necessary to enter into an examination of the various attempts which have been made to reconcile the two Greek authors.[1]

[4] For Sennacherib, see Grotefend's Cylinder, line 34. For Esarhaddon, see British Museum Series, p. 24, l. 10, and p. 25, l. 22.

[5] Compare the condition of Judæa, from the reign of Hezekiah to the captivity, in its dependence, first on Assyria, and then on Babylon. See especially 2 Kings xviii. 13–21, xxiv. 1; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 13.

[6] Several of the chieftains are mentioned as giving tribute to Esarhaddon.

[7] Ctes. ap. Diod. Sic. ii. 32–4. The number 282 is the sum of the years assigned by Ctesias to the reigns of his several kings.

[8] Herod. i. 95–106.

[9] The list of Ctesias is as follows:—

	Years.
1. Arbaces	28
2. Mandaucas	50
3. Sosarmus	30
4. Artias	50
5. Arbianes	22
6. Artæus	40
7. Artynes	22
8. Astibaras	40
	282
9. Aspadas or Astyages	—

Herodotus gives:—

	Years.
1. Deioces	53
2. Phraortes	22
3. Cyaxares	40
4. Astyages	35

[1] Some writers, as Dr. Hales (Analysis of Chronology, vol. iii. p. 84–6), and

The statements of both are alike invalidated by the evidence of the monuments, and there is reason to believe that of Ctesias to have been a mere fabrication of the writer.[2] The account of Herodotus was derived no doubt from native sources, but Median vanity seems to have palmed upon him a fictitious narrative.

(ii.) Herodotus was informed that after the whole of Upper Asia had been for 520 years subject to the Assyrian kings, the Medes set the example of revolt. After a fierce struggle they established their independence, and, having experienced for some time the evils of anarchy, set up their first native king Deïoces, 179 years before the death of Cyrus.[3]

Mr. Clinton (F. H. i. p. 261), have supposed that the latter part of Ctesias' list is identical with the list of Herodotus, and the former an interpolation, or a list of tributary Median monarchs. Others, as Heeren (Manual of Ancient History, p. 27, E. T.), and Mr. Dickenson (Journal of Asiatic Society, vol. viii. art. 16), have argued that it is a distinct contemporary dynasty. The monuments lend no support to either view.

[2] The list of Ctesias bears fraud upon its face. The *recurrence* of numbers, and the predominance of *round* numbers, would alone make it suspicious. Out of the *eight* numbers given, *five* are decimal; and, with a single slight exception, each number is repeated, so that the eight reigns present, as it were, but the four sums, 22, 30, 40, and 50. These sums moreover are, all but one, derived from Herodotus. Their arrangement, too, is altogether artificial and unnatural. The following seems to have been the mode in which the dynasty was fabricated. First the years of the reigns of Cyaxares and Phraortes were taken, and assigned to two fictitious personages, Astibaras and Artynes. Then, to carry out the system of chronological exaggeration which is one of the points that specially distinguishes Ctesias from Herodotus, these reigns were repeated, and two new names, Artæus and Arbianes, were invented, who represent Cyaxares and Phraortes over again. In confirmation of this view, let it be noticed that the war with the Sacæ (Scyths) of Astibaras is a repetition of the Cadusian war of Artæus, and that both alike represent the Scythian war of Cyaxares. Next the reign of Deïoces, stated in round numbers at 50 years instead of 53, was assigned to a king Artias or Artycas, who was made to precede Arbianes; and the period of the interregnum, estimated at a generation (30 years), was given to another imaginary monarch, Sosarmus. This done, the process of iteration was again brought into play, and in Arbaces and Mandaucas we were given the duplicates of Sosarmus and his successor, Artycas. The number 28 was substituted for 30, as the length of the reign of Arbaces, to give somewhat more of an historical air to the catalogue, the fact of its occurrence in the Median history of Herodotus determining the variation in that direction and to that extent. The list of Ctesias is therefore formed from that of Herodotus, and is to be connected with it thus:—

Herodotus.		Ctesias.	
		Arbaces	
Interregnum	∞ years	Mandaucas	30 (28) years.
Deïoces	53 years	Sosarmus	50 years.
		Artycas	
		Arbianes	
Phraortes	22 years	Artæus	22 years.
Cyaxares	40 years	Artynes	40 years.
		Astibaras	
Astyages	35 years	Aspadas	∞ years.

[3] This number is obtained by adding together the years assigned by Herodotus to the kings in question:—

	Years.
Deïoces	53
Phraortes	22
Cyaxares	40
Astyages	35
Cyrus	29
	179

This would make their revolt a little anterior to B. C. 708.[4] But it has been shown already from the monuments that this was the very time when the subjection of the Medes to the Assyrians first began, and it cannot therefore possibly be the time when they recovered their independence. It would seem as if the Median informant of Herodotus, desirous of hiding the shame of his native land, purposely took the very date of its subjection, and represented it as that of the foundation of the monarchy.

There are strong grounds for suspecting that the establishment of the Median monarchy did not precede by any long interval the ruin of Assyria. The monumental annals of the Assyrian kings are tolerably complete down to the time of the son of Esarhaddon, and they contain no trace of any great Median insurrection, or of any serious diminution of the Assyrian influence. The movement by which a Median monarchy was established can therefore scarcely have been earlier than the latter half of the 7th century B. C.,[5] which is the time fixed by history for the accession of Cyaxares. According to this view, the Deïoces and Phraortes of Herodotus must share the fate of the kings in the catalogue of Ctesias, and sink into fictitious personages, indicating perhaps certain facts or periods, but improperly introduced into a dynastic series among kings who are strictly historical.

The improbability of the circumstances related to us of Deïoces, their thoroughly Greek character, and inconsistency with Oriental ideas, has been pointed out by a recent writer.[6] Another has noticed that the very name is suspicious, being a mere repetition of the term Astyages, and being moreover a mythic title under which the Median nation is likely to have been personified.[7] These objections do not apply to Phraortes, whose name is one that Medes certainly bore, and the events of whose life have nothing in them intrinsically improbable. But other suspicions attach to him. If Phraortes had really lived and established, as Herodotus represents,[8] a vast Median empire, Cyaxares would never have come to be regarded so universally[9] as the founder of the greatness of his family. Again, if the neighbouring country of Media had been governed for twenty years before the accession of Cyaxares by a great conquering monarch, *Asshur-bani-pal*, the contemporary king of Assyria, would hardly have spent the chief portion of his time

[4] The first year of Cambyses, according to the Astronomical Canon, and the general consent of the Greek writers, was B. C. 529. The calculations of Herodotus would thus place the accession of Deïoces in B. C. 708. (529 + 179 = 708.)

[5] *Asshur-bani-pal*, the son of Esarhaddon, reigned from about B. C. 660 to B. C. 640. His annals, which are copious, make no mention of the Medes.

[6] See Mr. Grote's Greece, vol. iii. pp. 307–8.

[7] See Col. Rawlinson's 'Notes on the Early History of Babylonia,' p. 30, note [2]. Astyages is *Aj-dahák*, "the biting snake;" Deïoces is *Dahák*, "the biting." Both terms are used in the Zendavesta to denote an enemy, probably the Scyths, with which the Arian invaders had a long and violent contest. When the Medes conquered the Scyths, and blended with them, they adopted the Scythic emblem. See Mos. Chor. i. 29. "Quippe vox Astyages in nostrâ linguâ draconem significat."

[8] Herod. i. 102.

[9] He was so regarded in Media, in Sagartia, and in Greece before the time of Herodotus. (See the next page.)

in hunting expeditions in Susiana.[1] Further, although Phraortes is a real Median name (appearing in the inscriptions under the form *Frawartish*), and not mythic or representative, yet there are circumstances connected with the name which confirm the view here taken of its unhistoric character in this place, since they account for its introduction. *Frawartish* was a Mede who raised the standard of revolt against Darius, and succeeded in maintaining himself for several months upon the throne of Media.[2] Herodotus appears to have confused the account which he heard of this event with the early history of the Medes as an independent nation. Frawartish did gain great advantages over the Persians at first, and this appears in Herodotus as the conquest of Persia by Media.[3] He also did fail at last, and came to an untimely end, though not in contending against the Assyrians but against the Persians. These coincidences can scarcely be accidental, and they render the very existence of the supposed king suspicious.

8. Upon the whole there are strong grounds for believing that the great Median kingdom was first established by Cyaxares, about the year B. C. 633. The earliest Greek tradition agrees with the general feeling of the East, and traces to this prince the origin of the Medo-Persian empire.[4] There is thus something more than a mere mistake of name in the misstatement of Diodorus,[5] "that according to Herodotus, Cyaxares founded the dynasty of Median kings." Cyaxares was regarded as the first king of the Medes, not by Herodotus, but by the Greeks generally, till his time; and the Orientals seem never to have entertained any other notion. When pretenders sought to disturb the Achæmenian monarchs in their rights of sovereignty, they rested their claim upon an assertion that they were descended from Cyaxares. Not only was this the case in Media,[6] but even in the distant Sagartia,[7] which lay east of the Caspian, towards Sogdiana and Bactria. No other king disputes with Cyaxares this pre-eminence.

The conclusion thus established brings the Median kingdom into much closer analogy with other Oriental empires than is presented by the ordinary story. Instead of the gradual growth and increase which Herodotus describes, the Median power springs forth suddenly in its full strength, and the empire speedily attains its culminating point, from which it almost as speedily declines. Cyaxares, like Cyrus, Attila,

[1] See Essay vii. § 33.

[2] Cf. Behistun Inscript., col. ii. par. 5–13.

[3] Herod. i. 102.

[4] The earliest Greek tradition is found in the famous lines of Æschylus (Persæ, 761–4):

> Μῆδος γὰρ ἦν ὁ πρῶτος ἡγεμὼν στρατοῦ,
> ἄλλος δ' ἐκείνου παῖς τόδ' ἔργον ἤνυσε·
> τρίτος δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Κῦρος, κ. τ. λ.

Diod. Sic., ii. 32.

[6] The claim of *Frawartish* to the Median throne was expressed in these words: "I am Xathrites, of the race of Cyaxares—I am king of Media." (Beh. Ins. col. ii. par. 5.)

[7] *Chitratakhma*, the Sagartian rebel, whom Darius chastised about the same time, put forward a similar plea. (Ibid. col. ii. par. 14.)

Genghis Khan, Timour, and other eastern conquerors, emerges from obscurity at the head of his irresistible hordes, and sweeping all before him, rapidly builds up an enormous power, which, resting on no stable foundation, almost immediately falls away. Whether the great Median prince began his career from the country about Rhages and the Caspian gates, where the Medes had been settled for two centuries, or led a fresh immigration from the regions further to the eastward, is a point that cannot be absolutely determined. The claim, however, set up by the Sagartian rebel *Chitratakhma*, is an argument in favour of the latter view, and goes far to justify the conjecture that Cyaxares and his followers issued from Khorassan,[8] and, passing along the mountain line south of the Caspian, proceeded due west into Media, where, after a fierce struggle, they established their supremacy over the Scyths, partly blending with them, and partly precipitating them upon the Assyrians, whose power was thereby greatly weakened, if not wholly overthrown.[9] This was probably the origin of that Scythian disturbance in Western Asia which Herodotus erroneously connects with the Cimmerian invasion of Asia Minor.

From the time of Cyaxares authentic Median history may be considered to commence, and from this period Herodotus may be accepted as a tolerably trustworthy guide. We must not indeed even here defer too implicitly to his unsupported authority; but where the events which he relates are probable, or where they have a sanction from independent writers, we may fairly regard them as in the main correctly stated. The general outline of facts, at any rate, could not but have been notorious, and from the time that the Medes came into contact with the Assyrians a contemporary literature would check the licence of mere oral tradition.

9. That Cyaxares, then, was engaged in a long contest with Scyths; that he besieged and took Nineveh, and destroyed the empire of the Assyrians; and that he penetrated as far west as Lydia, and warred there with Alyattes, the father of Crœsus; may be regarded as certain. The nature and duration of the struggle with the Scythians, the circumstances of the various wars, and even the order of their occurrence, are points to which no little doubt attaches. It is not altogether clear what order Herodotus, himself intends to assign to the several events,[1]—whether, for instance, he means to place the war with Alyattes before or after the taking of Nineveh; nor can we positively determine the order from other sources.[2] Probability is our best guide in the present,

[8] See the Notes on the Early History of Babylonia, p. 30, note [2]. Compare p. 38, *sub fin.*

[9] See below, Essay vii. § 34.

[1] Mr. Grote regards the language of Herodotus as marking his intention to place the war with Alyattes before even the first siege of Nineveh. (Hist. of Greece, vol. iii. p. 312, and note.) But this is certainly not correct. The notice of the Median war in Book i. ch. 103, is parenthetic, and nothing can be gathered from it with regard to the time when the war occurred.

[2] The date of the capture of Nineveh seems now to be pretty well determined to the year B. C. 625. That of the great battle with Alyattes has been considered fixed on astronomical grounds to the year B. C. 610. But all astronomical calculations are uncertain, since they assume the uniformity of the moon's motion, which

as in so many other instances, and this is the guide which will be followed in the sketch here attempted.

(i.) If Cyaxares was, as we have supposed, the successful leader who, at the head of a great emigration from the East, first established an Arian supremacy over the country known in history as Media, he must have been engaged during the early part of his reign in a struggle with Scyths. Scythic races occupied Media and the whole chain of Zagros until this period, and it was only by their being subdued or expelled that the Arians could obtain possession. It is possible that the Scythic war of Herodotus represents nothing but this struggle. It is possible, on the other hand, that the Scyths of Media received assistance from kindred tribes dwelling farther north, in the valleys of the Caucasus, or even in the regions beyond. Great doubt, however, rests upon the (so-called) Scythic domination in Western Asia from the absence of any trace of such an event in the records of contemporary nations. Neither the chronicles of the Jews nor the Egyptian monuments, which ought, if the account of Herodotus were true, to contain some notice of an incursion which threatened them in an especial way,[3] have any allusion to its occurrence; nor has the industry of commentators succeeded in discovering any confirmation, even apparent, of the events related beyond the fact that in later times there was a city of Syria called Scythopolis, which it is supposed may have been settled on this occasion. But the connexion which has been assumed between this city and the Scythic troubles of the time of Cyaxares rests purely on conjecture, and has not even a single ancient authority in its favour.[4] It is not certain that Scythopolis was really inhabited by Scyths,[5] and if it was, as this part of Asia swarmed with Scythic tribes,[6] they may have come in at any time and from any quarter. Thus this supposed confirmation fails, and the story of Herodotus must be regarded as resting entirely on his authority.

At any rate it is clear that Herodotus must have greatly exaggerated the importance of the Scythic troubles. They were either of short duration or of so mild a character as not to hinder the nations exposed to them from carrying on during their continuance important wars with one another.[7] Cyaxares, within eight or nine years of his accession,

is a very doubtful point. The latest lunar tables, calculated by Mr. Airy, are said to give B. C. 585 for the probable year of this eclipse. (See Bosanquet's Profane and Sacred Chronology, pp. 14, 15.)

[3] See Herod. i. 105.

[4] Pliny, who alone professes to give the origin of Scythopolis, ascribes its foundation to Bacchus! (H. N. v. 18.)

[5] Reland suggests that Σκυθόπολις is a corruption of Συκυθόπολις, and that the first element of the word is merely the Hebrew סֻכּוֹת (Succoth) in disguise.

[6] See below, Essay xi., 'On the Ethnic Affinities of the Nations of Western Asia,' § 5.

[7] If we allowed the period of twenty-eight years for the duration of the Scythic troubles, we should have to suppose that they interfered very little with the regular course of affairs among the more settled nations. In that case, analogies to the state of circumstances at the time might be found in the contemporary condition of Asia Minor under the Cimmerians, and in that of Italy from B. C. 385 to B. C. 325 under the Gauls.

laid siege to Nineveh, and, after a sharp struggle,[8] made himself master of the city.

(ii.) This event, the second of importance in his reign, and the first which can be accurately dated, took place in the year B. C. 625. The attack probably commenced some years earlier. Cyaxares was assisted in his operations by the whole force of the Babylonians,[9] who, under the chief known in history as Nabopolassar, took an active part in the siege, and mainly contributed to its successful issue. Nabopolassar, if we may believe Abydenus,[1] had been a general in the service of the Assyrian monarch, and was appointed by him to the command of the troops which he sent to oppose the progress of the enemy. Unluckily, he proved false, rebelled against his royal master, and went over to the side of the Median monarch, who gladly received his overtures, and consented to an alliance between his daughter Amyïtis (or Amyhia) and Nebuchadnezzar, the son of the rebel general.[2] The combined armies then invested the town, which, after a prolonged resistance, was taken and razed to the ground.

The details of the siege are nowhere authentically preserved to us. Beyond the brief notice of Abydenus already quoted, we have absolutely no mention by any ancient writer of repute of anything more than the bare fact that Nineveh was taken by the forces of the combined nations. That notice, however, brief as it is, by informing us positively of one circumstance—that the last king of Assyria burnt himself in his palace[3]—raises a suspicion that perhaps we may have in the perverted account of Ctesias no inconsiderable admixture of truth. As we find embodied in the narrative of Ctesias the single event connected with the capture which we learn from an independent and unsuspected source, it becomes probable that, with regard to the other events of the siege, the Cnidian physician has not drawn entirely upon his imagination, but has merely

[8] Infra, p. 328.

[9] It has been observed that Herodotus makes no mention of this alliance, and concluded from his silence that he conceived of the capture of Nineveh as accomplished by the Medes alone. (Grote's Greece, vol. iii. p. 304, note.) But the slight and sketchy way in which Herodotus treats the Assyrian history, which he designed to make the subject of a separate work, makes it rash to presume much from his mere silence. With respect to the positive argument founded on Book i. ch. 185, it may be observed that Herodotus is there speaking of the feelings of the Babylonians more than 50 years later.

The authorities for the statement in the text are Abydenus (ap. Euseb. Chron. p. i. c. ix.), Josephus (Antiq. X. v. § 1), and the book of Tobit (xiv. 15). The last is not really what it professes to be—a document of the time—but still it is a work of interest, probably of the Alexandrian age. It is not surprising that it should substitute the celebrated Nebuchadnezzar in the place of his more obscure father.

[1] The passage of Abydenus is given entire in the Essay on the Chronology and History of Assyria, § 34, note.

[2] This contract of marriage is mentioned also by Polyhistor (Euseb. Chron. p. i. c. v. § 3), who followed Berosus. (See Müller's Fragm. Hist. Gr. iii. p. 209.) Amyïtis is evidently the "Median princess" for whom Nebuchadnezzar is said to have created his hanging gardens. (Berosus, Fr. 14.) Her being called the daughter of Astyages (Asdahages) is of no consequence, for Astyages (*Aj-dahak*) is a title, not a name.

[3] "Re omni cognitâ, rex Saracus regiam Evoritam (?) inflammabat." (Abyd. l. s. c.)

amplified and adorned the real facts, which could scarcely have been unknown to him. Arbaces, according to this view, will represent the Cyaxares of history, Belesis will be Nabopolassar,[4] Sardanapalus will be Abydenus' Saracus. The main facts of the history will then have been correctly stated—the relative position of the two attacking powers, Media superior and Babylonia subordinate—the despair and death of the Assyrian king—the conflagration, and the after-effect of the conquest in establishing the independence of Babylonia,[5] and causing the complete destruction of the great city, so long the glory of Asia.[6] Possibly also the minor features in the story of Ctesias may be true. It is not unlikely that the Medes and Babylonians were at first repulsed with much loss by the Assyrian king; that after several defeats they were driven to the mountains, that is, to the great chain of Zagros;[7] that here they received an important reinforcement from Bactria, which enabled them to resume the offensive; that they attacked and routed the Assyrian army, which took shelter within the walls of the town; and that upon this they sat down before the place, and endeavoured to reduce it by blockade. The seige may then have continued two years;[8] and it is even possible that the ultimate success of the besiegers may have been owing to an extraordinary rise of the Tigris,[9] which washed away a great portion of the wall, and laid the city open to the enemy. Upon this the Assyrian monarch, seeing further resistance to be vain, may have burnt himself in his palace rather than fall into the hands of the enemy. Cyaxares may have then completed the destruction of the city by ruining the walls and public buildings.[1] These circumstances are all sufficiently probable, and chime in with known facts. It seems therefore far from unlikely that Ctesias, while distorting names and dates, may have preserved in his account of the fall of Nineveh a tolerably correct statement of the general outline of the event.

(iii.) The fall of Nineveh produced a complete revolution in the con-

[4] The only writer, so far as I am aware, who has in some degree anticipated this view, is Jackson. He, however, does not carry it out to any extent. (See his Chronological Antiquities, vol. i. p. 307.)

[5] Belesis indeed is represented as receiving the *satrapy* of Babylonia at the hands of Arbaces; but, as it is admitted that he was to pay no tribute, it is clear that he would really be an independent sovereign. (Diod. Sic. ii. 27.)

[6] Diod. Sic. ii. 7. *τῆς Νίνου κατεσκαμμένης ὑπὸ Μήδων ὅτε κατέλυσαν τὴν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλείαν.* And again (ii. 28): *τὴν πόλιν [ὁ Ἀρβάκης] εἰς ἔδαφος κατέσκαψεν.*

[7] Diodorus makes them fly to these mountains after their second defeat, but sends them, after their third, "to the mountains of Babylonia." The junction of the Bactrians contradicts this—and besides, Babylonia has no mountains.

[8] Diod. Sic. ii. 27.

[9] That Diodorus says "the *Euphrates*" can only be regarded as a proof of his own ignorance. His authority, Ctesias, probably said "the river." This remarkable circumstance in the siege seems to be obscurely hinted at in the prophecies of Nahum (see ch. ii. ver. 6, and ch. iii. ver. 13).

[1] The complete destruction and desolation of Nineveh is confirmed by the description of Ezekiel (ch. xxxi.). That it had ceased to exist in the time of Herodotus is indicated by an expression which he uses (*οἴκητο*, i. 193. See note *ad loc.*). When Xenophon passed its site, the very memory of the name was gone (Anab. III. iv. 10–12).

dition of Western Asia. Babylon became independent under a line of native kings, who in a short time raised their country to the highest pitch of prosperity. The Medes rapidly overran and conquered the entire region between Azerbijan and the Halys,[2] whence they proceeded to threaten Asia Minor. An intimate alliance was maintained between the two great powers, who each bore part in the expeditions undertaken for the aggrandisement of the other.[3] These were for the most part successful; but in one instance, that of Lydia, the assailants were baffled, and forced to conclude a peace which secured the independence of the menaced territory.

(iv.) The circumstances of the Lydian war of Cyaxares have been already described in the chapter upon the history of Lydia.[4] There can be little doubt that it was commenced subsequently to the conquest of Assyria,[5] for with that country unsubdued, and pressing as a thorn into the side of Media, it is impossible that she should have adventured on so distant and hazardous a struggle. Further, till then Babylon was subject to Nineveh, and at any rate could not have joined with Media in expeditions to the north-west when Assyria lay directly across her path. How many years intervened between the fall of Assyria and the commencement of the Lydian contest it is impossible to determine, but all the synchronisms are satisfied if the great battle be placed in or about the year B.C. 610. Without intending any special deference to the astronomical considerations which have been regarded as fixing that date with exactness,[6] or viewing it as more than an approximation to the truth, we may assume it here for convenience sake as certainly not involving any important error.

The war between the two great kingdoms of Media and Lydia lasted, according to Herodotus, for six years.[7] It was carried on with various success, and signalized by a night engagement, an unusual occurrence in ancient times. At length, in the sixth year, neither party having gained any decided advantage, the great battle took place which was terminated by an eclipse; and two subordinate princes, whom we must suppose

[2] Herod. i. 103. *Οὗτός [ὁ Κυαξάρης] ἐστιν ὁ τὴν Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ ἄνω Ἀσίην πᾶσαν συστήσας ἑωυτῷ.* These conquests would naturally precede the attack on Lydia.

[3] Nebuchadnezzar is said to have been assisted by the Medes in his expedition against Jehoiachim (Polyhist. Fr. 24).

[4] Essay i. § 17.

[5] The authority of Herodotus cannot be urged with justice against this view; for the parenthetic passage in Book i. ch. 103 determines nothing as to his notion of the order of events. Herodotus, I think, really conceived their order as I have stated it: since, 1. The circumstances to which he ascribes the breaking out of the Lydian war indicate a period later than the Scythic troubles, which were over before the fall of Nineveh; 2. The contract of marriage between the son of Cyaxares and the daughter of Alyattes marks a tolerably advanced period in the reigns of those kings; and 3. Herodotus cannot have conceived of Babylon as under an independent prince and in alliance with Cyaxares until after Nineveh had fallen (see i. 106, 178).

[6] By Volney (Recherches, vol. i. p. 342); Heeren (Manual of Ancient History, p. 478, E. T.); Grote (History of Greece, vol. iii. p. 312, note); Brandis (Rerum Assyriarum Tempora Emendata, p. 35); and others.

[7] Herod. i. 74.

present, Syennesis of Cilicia on the one part, and Labynetus[8] of Babylon on the other, took advantage of the occurrence to bring the long struggle to an amicable conclusion. Peace was made between the contending powers, and cemented by a marriage which united the Dragon race of Median monarchs with the ancient and wealthy Mermnadæ.

(v.) The only other event of importance which can be ascribed to the reign of Cyaxares is the assistance which, in a spirit of reciprocity, he lent to the Babylonians in their wars with their neighbours. Medes probably fought on the Babylonian side at the great batte of Carchemish against Necho,[9] and perhaps accompanied Nebuchadnezzar in his invasion of Egypt. At any rate it is distinctly stated by a writer of good repute,[1] that Nebuchadnezzar was aided by a Median contingent in his expedition against Jehoiachim, which took place in the eighth year of his reign,[2] or B. C. 597. A few years after this Cyaxares seems to have died, leaving his extensive dominions to his son Aspadas or Astyages.

10. With Cyaxares the history of Media as a great empire, or even as an independent nation, may be said both to begin and end. Of Astyages there is absolutely nothing known but his defeat by Cyrus, so completely have the authentic records of the time been superseded by the poetic legends, which, in all that even remotely concerns the great Persian conqueror, have taken the place of history. We are perhaps justified in concluding, from the all but universal silence of antiquity,[3] that the reign of Astyages, until the attack of Cyrus, was especially quiet and uneventful.[4] The nations of the Asiatic continent, about to suffer cruelly from one of those fearful convulsions which periodically shake the East, seem to have been allowed, before the time of suffering came, an interval of profound repose. The three great monarchies of the East, the Lydian, the Median, and the Babylonian, connected together by treaties and royal intermarriages, respected each other's independence, and levied war only against the lesser powers in their neighbourhood, which were absorbed without much difficulty. For a space of nearly half a century, from the conclusion of the peace with Lydia to the Persian outbreak, this tranquillity prevailed,—as in the natural, so in the political world, a calm preceding the storm.

11. One circumstance alone attaches interest to the name and person

[8] By Labynetus, in this place, Herodotus is thought to intend the *father* of the king conquered by Cyrus. That father and son bore the same name he states elsewhere (i. 188). This was not really the case, nor was the father of that Labynetus a king or personage of distinction. The real leader of the Babylonion division in the army of Cyaxares would be likely to be either Nabopolassar or Nebuchadnezzar.

[9] Josephus says, "Necho, the Egyptian king, collected an army and marched towards the Euphrates, to make war upon the Medes and the Babylonians, who had destroyed the empire of the Assyrians." (Antiq. X. v. § 1.)

[1] Polyhistor, ap. Euseb. Præf. Ev. c. (See Müller's Fragmenta Hist. Gr. iii. p. 229.) Cyaxares is called Astibaras, as by Ctesias (ap. Diod. Sic. ii. 34).

[2] 2 Kings xxiv. 12. Or the seventh year, B. C. 598, according to Jeremiah (lii. 28).

[3] See Note A. at the end of the chapter.

[4] Hence the assertion of Aristotle, that Cyrus despised Astyages, because his troops had seen no service, and he himself was sunk in luxury. (Pol. v. 8.)

of Astyages. It is thought that he may possibly be the monarch spoken of as Darius the Mede by the prophet Daniel. This was the opinion of Syncellus,[5] and it has the authority of the Septuagint in its favour.[6] It is confirmed also, in some degree, by the passage in the book of Daniel, which calls him the son of Ahasuerus,[7] for that name in the book of Tobit[8] unquestionably stands for Cyaxares. If this identification be regarded as sufficiently established, we must believe that Cyrus, when he conquered Astyages, did not deprive him of the name or state of king, but left him during his life the royal title, contenting himself with the real possession of the chief power. This would be the more likely if Astyages were, as Herodotus maintains, his grandfather. When the combined armies of Persia and Media captured Babylon, Astyages, whose real name may possibly have been Darius,[9] might appear to the Jews to be the actual king of Babylon—more especially if he was left there to exercise the kingly office, while Cyrus pursued his career of conquest. At his death Cyrus may have taken openly the royal title and honours, and so have come to be recognised as king by the Jews. The Babylonians, however, would understand from the first that Cyrus possessed the substance and Astyages only the semblance of power, and would therefore abstain from entering the name of Astyages (or Darius) upon their list of kings.[1] The most important objections that lie against this theory are, first, the silence of Herodotus, and indeed of all other ancient writers;[2] and, secondly, the age of Darius the Mede at his accession, according to the book of Daniel. As the fall of Babylon is fixed with much certainty to the year B. C. 538, and Darius Medus was then in his 62nd year,[3] he must have been born B. C. 600, which is only seven years before the latest date that can well be allowed for the accession of Astyages. If therefore Astyages be Darius Medus, he must have ascended the throne at the tender age of seven, which is in any

[5] Syncellus, p. 427. Syncellus indeed adds to this identification a further one, which is quite impossible. He considers Darius Astyages, as he calls him, to be identical with the Nabonadius of the Astronomical Canon, who is the Labynetus II. of Herodotus. But the two identifications are completely independent of one another.

[6] The passage is in the apocryphal portion of the book of Daniel. In the Vulgate it concludes the thirteenth chapter (the story of Susannah), but in the Greek copies, which our own version follows, it is attached to the narrative of Bel and the Dragon. There can be no doubt, I think, that the name Astyages represents the Darius Medus of the former part of the book.

[7] Dan. ix. 1. [8] Tobit xiv. 15.

[9] It is pretty nearly certain that Astyages could not have been his name. *Ajdahak*, "the biting snake," was a title which had been borne by all the old Scythic kings of the country, and from them it seems to have been adopted by the Median monarchs (see Mos. Chor. i. 25 and 29). But it would be a phrase of honour, and not a name. According to Ctesias, the king's real name was Aspadas; but the authority of Ctesias is very weak.

[1] On this view, the reign of Darius the Mede falls within the nine years assigned by the Astronomical Canon to Cyrus.

[2] Besides Herodotus, Xenophon (Cyropæd. vii. 5), Berosus (ap. Joseph. contr. Ap. i. 21), Polyhistor (ap. Euseb. Chron. Can. i. 5), Abydenus (ap. Euseb. Chron. Can. i. 10), and Megasthenes (ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. ix. 41), spoke of the capture of Babylon by Cyrus without any mention of a Median king.

[3] Dan. v. 31; Joseph. Antiq. Jud. x. 11.

case unlikely, while it is contradicted by the fact recorded in Herodotus, that he was married during his father's lifetime.[4] Even the supposition that he was only betrothed would not altogether remove the difficulty, for the espousals, whatever their nature, took place at the close of the Lydian war, which various considerations determine to about the year B.C. 610, ten years, that is, before the birth of Darius the Mede. These chronological difficulties seem to have led to the conjecture of Josephus, that Darius the Mede was, not Astyages himself, but his son, uncle to Cyrus.[5] For the existence of such a person, the only authority besides Josephus is Xenophon,[6] in that historical romance of which we cannot tell how much may not be fabulous. Upon the whole, it must be acknowledged that there are scarcely sufficient grounds for determining whether the Darius Medus of Daniel is identical with any monarch known to us in profane history, or is a personage of whose existence there remains no other record.

12. In any case, with Darius the Mede, whoever he was, perished the last semblance of Median independence. Media became a satrapy of the Persian empire, retaining, however, as was before observed, a certain pre-eminence among the conquered provinces, and admitted far more than any other to a share in the high dignities and offices of trust, which were, as a general rule, engrossed by the citizens of the dominant race. She was not, however, content with her position, and on two occasions made an effort to recover her nationality. Soon after the accession of Darius Hystaspes, Media seems to have stirred up the most important of all those revolts which occupied him during the earlier portion of his reign. A pretender to the crown arose, who asserted his descent from Cyaxares, and headed a rebellion, in which Armenia and Assyria both participated. After a protracted contest Darius prevailed, crucified the pretender, and forced the Medes to submit to him.[7] Again, in the reign of Darius Nothus the experiment was tried with the same ill success. A single battle decided the struggle, and dispelled the hopes which had been once more excited by the evident decline of the Persian power.[8] After this Media made no further effort until the dismemberment of the empire of Alexander enabled the satrap Atropates to become the founder of a new Median kingdom.

13. In conclusion, it will be necessary to consider briefly the Median chronology of Herodotus, which has always been a subject of extreme perplexity to critics and commentators.

Herodotus gives the reigns of his four Median kings as follows:— Deïoces, 53 years; Phraortes, 22 years; Cyaxares, 40 years; and Astyages, 35 years, making a grand total of exactly 150 years.[9] He also states that the Median empire over upper Asia lasted for 128 years, including in that time the period of the Scythic troubles.[1] If therefore

[4] Herod. i. 74. [5] Antiq. Jud. l. s. c.

[6] Herodotus, it must be remembered, denies positively that Astyages had any male issue. He was *ἄπαις ἔρσενος γόνου*, i. 109.

[7] See Col. Rawlinson's Memoir on the Behistun Inscription, vol. i. pp. xxx.–xxxii. [8] Xen. Hell. I. ii. § 19. [9] See Herod. i. chaps. 102, 106, 130.

[1] Herod. i. 130. *Μῆδοι ὑπέκυψαν Πέρσῃσι διὰ τὴν τούτου πικρότητα, ἄρξαντες*

we assume the year B. C. 558 as, *according to him*,[2] the first of Cyrus in Persia, we shall have B. C. 686 for the first year of the empire, B. C. 708 for the accession of the first king Deïoces, and B.C. 655 for that of his son and successor, Phraortes. The first year of the empire will therefore fall into the reign of Deïoces, coinciding, in fact, with his twenty-third year. But this is in direct contradiction to a very plain and clear statement, that "Deïoces was ruler of the Medes only," and that it was "Phraortes who first brought other nations under subjection."[3]

Various modes of explaining this difficulty have been attempted. The most popular is that adopted by Heeren, which commences with a mistranslation of the text of Herodotus, and ends with leaving the contradiction untouched and unaccounted for. Heeren, following Conringius[4] and Bouhier,[5] regards the 28 years of the Scythic troubles as not included in the 128 years assigned by Herodotus to the empire of the Medes, but additional to them, and thus obtains a Median empire of 156 years, from which he concludes that Herodotus intended to fix the time of the Median revolt to the sixth year previous to the accession of Deïoces.[6] With regard to this explanation, it is sufficient to say, first, that the passage in question will not bear the translation,[7] and secondly, that Herodotus is distinctly speaking of the establishment of the Median *empire*, not of the era of the independence.

The other attempts which have been made to remove the difficulty have all turned upon an alteration of the existing text. Jackson long ago proposed the omission of the words *τριήκοντα καί*.[8] Niebuhr suggested the substitution of *πεντήκοντα* for *τριήκοντα*, in the first instance, and the transference of the words *τριήκοντα δυῶν δέοντα* to the end of the sentence.[9] Recently Dr. Brandis has urged the entire omission of the latter clause, which crept in, he thinks, from the margin.[1] But to change the text of an author where there is no internal evidence of corruption,[2] merely on account of a chronological or historical difficulty, is contrary to all the principles of sound criticism. In such a case no emendation

τῆς ἄνω Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ Ἀσίης ἐπ' ἔτεα τριήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν δυῶν δέοντα, παρὲξ ἢ ὅσον οἱ Σκύθαι ἦρχον.

[2] Cyrus died B. C. 529 (see the Astronomical Canon). According to Herodotus, he reigned 29 years (i. 214). This would place his accession in B. C. 558.

[3] Herod. i. 101–2.

[4] See Conringii Adversaria, p. 148.

[5] Bouhier, Recherches sur Hérodote, p. 39.

[6] Manual of Ancient History, p. 27, and Appendix, p. 476, E. T. Besides Conringius, Bouhier, and Heeren, this view numbers among its advocates Volney (Recherches, tom. i. p. 418), and Hupfeld (Exercitat. Herodot. Spec. ii. p. 56, et seq.).

[7] Dr. Brandis (Rerum Assyriarum Tempora Emendata, pp. 6–8) has shown this with great clearness. The same view of the meaning of the passage is taken by Schweighæuser (Lex. Herod. ad voc. *πάρεξ*), and by Scott and Liddell (Lexicon ad voc. *παρέκ*).

[8] Chronolog. Antiq. vol. i. p. 422.

[9] In the Denkschrift d. Berl. Ac. d. Wissenschaft for 1820–1 (pp. 49, 50). See the foot-note on the passage in question.

[1] Rerum Assyriarum Tempora Emendata, p. 8. Dr. Brandis supposes the words to have been placed in the margin by a reader who intended to note the period of the Scythic occupation.

[2] Dr. Brandis brings forward two signs of corruption—the use of *ἐπὶ* before an

deserves attention, unless it is of the very happiest description—a merit which certainly cannot be said to belong to any of the proposed readings.

14. Without an alteration of the existing text, it must be admitted that it is impossible to remove the contradiction which is found in our author. It is, however, quite possible to account for it. A single mistake or misconception on his part, and that too one of a kind very likely to be made, would have led to the result which we witness. If his informant intended to assign 22 years to Deïoces, and 53 to Phraortes, and Herodotus simply misplaced the numbers, the contradiction which exists would follow. That Herodotus did not discover the contradiction is no more surprising than that he did not see how impossible it was that Anysis should live more than 700 years before Amyrtæus,[3] and Mœris less than 900.[4] It may be doubted whether Herodotus ever tabulated his dates, or in any way compared them together; whether, in fact, he did more than report to the best of his ability, simply as he received them, the accounts which were given him. Occasionally he became confused, or his memory failed; and he committed a mistake which we are sometimes enabled to rectify.

If we make the transposition proposed, we shall find that the Median empire dates exactly from the first year of Phraortes, the prince who, according to Herodotus, began the Median conquests. That the empire *ought* to date from an early part of this prince's reign, has been seen very generally, and the alterations made in the text have not unfrequently had it for their object to bring out this result.[5] The subjoined table will show this point clearly.

In conclusion it must be noticed, that no dependence at all can be placed upon the chronological scheme in question, for historical purposes. Its opposition to facts in the earlier portion has been already noted. Even in the latter portion, where, in default of any better guide, its statements may fairly be adopted, they must not be regarded as authoritative, or as anything more than approximations. The whole scheme, from beginning to end, is artificial.[6] It is the composition of a chronologer who either possessed no facts, or thought himself at liberty

exact number, and the position of the words δυῶν δέοντα, *after*, and not *before*, the main number. But ἐπὶ is often used before exact numbers by Herodotus (i. 7, 94; iv. 163, &c.); and the qualifying clause (δυῶν δέοντα) not even always *prefixed* to a simple, is (I think) most naturally *suffixed* to a compound number.

[3] Herod. ii. 140. [4] Ibid. ii. 13.

[5] See the Essay of Dr. Brandis, p. 9.

[6] Its main numbers are a century and a half for the entire duration of the Median kingdom, and a century for the period of empire. The longer term is divided *exactly* into two portions of 75 years each by the accession of Cyaxares. These portions are again in each case subdivided *systematically*. The later period of 75 years is divided between Cyaxares and Astyages *in the simplest possible way*: the former is divided so as to produce, deducting the 28 years of Scythic rule, a Median empire of a century. This period of 28 years is the only number in the whole scheme which cannot be distinctly accounted for.

150 years of the kingdom	75 years	22 years	.. Deïoces.	
		53 years	.. Phraortes	128—28=100 years of empire.
	75 years	40 years	.. Cyaxares. Scyths rule for 28 years.	
		35 years	.. Astyages	

to disregard them. Choosing to represent the Medes as ruled by their own kings for 150 years, and as lords of Asia for 100, and being bound to allow a certain period during the reign of Cyaxares, for a Scythic supremacy, his scheme naturally took the shape given below. Herodotus, by misplacing two of the numbers, threw the scheme into confusion, leaving, however, in his inconsistent statements, the means of his own correction. In the table subjoined, the statement of Herodotus, the scheme of his informant, and the real chronology, as far as it can be laid down with any approach to accuracy, are exhibited in parallel columns.

	Median Chronologer.	B. C.	Herodotus.	B. C.	True Chronology.	B. C.
	Revolt of the Medes .		Revolt of the Medes .		Medes at war with Assyria	
150 years.	Deïoces (22 years) .	708	Deïoces (53 yrs.) . .	708	Media conquered by Assyria	710
128 years (128—28=100.)	Phraortes (53 yrs.) Conquers Persia, &c. . . .	686	Phraortes (22 yrs.) . Conquers Persia, &c.	655	Media generally subject to Assyria, but often in revolt . . .	
	Cyaxares (40 yrs.)	633	Cyaxares (40 yrs.) .	633	Cyaxares begins his conquests	633(?)
	28 yrs. { Attacks Nineveh . .	632	Attacks Nineveh .	632		
	Drives out the Scyths .	604	Drives out the Scyths	604	Wars with Scyths .	
	Takes Nineveh .	603	Takes Nineveh .	603	Takes Nineveh .	625
			Attacks Halyattes .	602	Wars with Lydia	
			Makes peace . .	596	Aids Nebuchadnezzar . . .	597
	Astyages (35 yrs.) .	593	Astyages (35 yrs.) .	593	Astyages or Aspadas .	593
	Conquered by Cyrus . . .	558	Conquered by Cyrus	558	Conquered by Cyrus	558

Note A (referred to at page 330).

The only ancient writer who assigns important and stirring events to the reign of Astyages is the Armenian historian, Moses of Chorêné. According to the authorities which this writer followed, Cyrus, who is represented as an independent sovereign, had contracted an alliance with Tigranes, king of Armenia, also an independent prince, which caused great disquietude to Astyages, owing to the amount of the forces which the two allied powers were able to bring into the field. His fears were increased by a dream in which he thought he saw the Armenian monarch riding upon a dragon and coming through the air to attack him in his own palace, where he was quietly worshipping his gods. Regarding this vision as certainly portending an invasion of his empire by the Armenian prince, he resolved to anticipate his designs by subtlety, and, as the first step, demanded the sister of Tigranes, who bore the name of Tigrania, in marriage. Tigranes consented, and the wedding was celebrated, Tigrania becoming the chief or favourite wife of the Median king, in lieu of a certain Anusia, who had previously held that honourable position. At first attempts were made to induce Tigrania to lend herself to a conspiracy by which her brother was to be entrapped and his person secured; but this plan failing through her sagacity, the mask was thrown off, and preparations for war made. The Armenian prince, anticipating his enemy, collected a vast

army and invaded Media, where he was met by Astyages in person. For some months the war languished, since Tigranes feared his pressing it would endanger the life of his sister, but at last she succeeded in effecting her escape, and he found himself free to act. Hereupon he brought about a decisive engagement, and after a conflict which for a long time was doubtful, the Median army was completely defeated, and Astyages fell by the hand of his brother-in-law. Cyrus is not represented as taking any part in this war, though afterwards he is mentioned as aiding Tigranes *in the conquest of Media and Persia*, which are regarded as forming a part of the dominions of the Armenian king. (*See* Mos. Chor. i. 23–30.) It is needless to observe that this narrative is utterly incompatible with the Herodotean story. It rests on the authority of a certain Maribas (Mar-Ibas or Mar-Abas) of Catina, a Syrian writer of the 2nd century before our era, who professed to have found it in the royal library of Nineveh, where it was contained in a Greek book purporting to be a translation made by order of Alexander from a Chaldee original. (*Ibid.* ch. 8.) Possibly it may contain an exaggerated account of some actual war between Astyages and an Armenian prince.

ESSAY IV.

ON THE TEN TRIBES OF THE PERSIANS.—[H. C. R.]

1. Eminence of the Pasargadæ—modern parallel. 2. The Maraphians and Maspians.—3. The Panthialæans, Derusians, and Germanians. 4. The nomade tribes—the Dahi mentioned in Scripture—the Mardi, or "heroes"—the Dropici, or Derbices—the Sagartii.

1. The Pasargadæ seem to have been the direct descendants of the original Persian tribe which emigrated from the far East fifteen centuries, perhaps, before the Christian era, and which, as it rose to power, imposed its name on the province adjoining the Erythræan sea. The Pasargadæ, among the other tribes of Persis, were like the Durranees among the Afghans: they enjoyed especial advantages, and kept themselves quite distinct from the hordes by whom they were surrounded. Their chief settlement seems to have been about forty miles north of Persepolis,[1] and here, in the midst of his kinsmen, Cyrus the Great established his capital.

2. The Maraphii and Maspii, classed with the Pasargadæ, were probably cognate races, who accompanied them in their original immigration. Possibly the old name of the former[2] is to be recognized in the title of *Máfee*, which is borne by a Persian tribe at the present day, acknowledged to be one of the most ancient tribes in the country. Of the Maspii we know nothing, but their appellation probably includes the word *aspa*, "a horse."

3. The name of Panthialæan resembles a Greek rather than a Persian title;[3] at any rate, neither of this tribe, nor of their associates, the Derusians, does our modern ethnographical knowledge afford any illustration. The Germanians were in all likelihood colonists from Carmania (*Kermán*).[4]

[1] On the site of Pasargadæ, see note [3] on Book i. ch. 125. Niebuhr, following Sir W. Ouseley and others, decides that it was the same place as Persepolis (Lectures on Ancient History, vol. i. p. 115, E. T.). But the ruins of the two are 40 miles apart, and ancient writers carefully distinguish them. (See below, Essay x. § 10, iii. note [1].) The Pasargadæ are not often distinguished *as a tribe* by ancient writers; but they appear to have been mentioned by Apollodorus. (Cf. Steph. Byz. ad voc.)

[2] The fancy which derived the Maraphians from a certain Maraphius, the son of Menelaus and Helen (cf. Steph. Byz. ad voc. Μαράφιοι; Eustath. ad Hom. Il. iii. 175; Porphyr. Quæst. Hom. 13), is as little felicitous as the general run of such speculations in the grammarians. The city Marrhasium in Ptolemy (Geograph. vi. 4) may with more reason be connected with the name.

[3] It must be noticed that Stephen of Byzantium read 'Penthiadæ' for 'Panthialæi.' There is, however, no explanation of either term. (Cf. Steph. Byz. sub voc. Δηρουσαῖοι.)

[4] Stephen (l. s. c.) substitutes the term Καρμάνιοι for the Γερμάνιοι of our author,

4. With the Nomade tribes we are more familiar. The Dahi, whose name is equivalent to the Latin "Rustici," were spread over the whole country, from the Caspian to the Persian Gulf and the Tigris. They are even mentioned in Scripture, among the Samarian colonists, being classed with the men of Archoe (Erech or 'Ορχόη), of Babylon, of Susa, and of Elam.[5] The Mardi—the heroes, as the name may be interpreted—were also established in most of the mountain-chains which intersected the empire. Their particular seats in Persia Proper, where indeed they were attacked and brought under subjection by Alexander,[6] were in the range which divides Persepolis from the Persian Gulf. The Dropici of Herodotus are probably the same as the Derbicci, or Derbices, of other authors,[7] whose principal establishments seem to have been to the south-east of the Caspian Sea. The Sagartians, at any rate, who are here mentioned with the Dropici, were in their proper northern settlements immediate neighbours of the Derbicci, and colonies from the two tribes may thus be very well understood to have emigrated to the southward simultaneously. The Sagartians are expressly stated by Herodotus to be of cognate origin with the Persians,[8] and the name of Chitratakhma, a Sagartian chief, who revolted against Darius,[9] is undoubtedly of Persian etymology, signifying "the strong leopard."—[H. C. R.]

where he is professedly quoting from him. The position of Carmania on the eastern borders of Persia proper is marked in Strabo (xv. p. 1029, &c.), Pliny (H. N. vi. 23), Ptolemy (Geograph. vi. 6), and others.

[5] Ezra iv. 9.

[6] Arrian, Exped. Alex. iii. 24. The Mardi were mentioned by Apollodorus (cf. Steph. Byz. ad voc. Μάρδοι). They were thieves and archers. Their expertness in climbing has been already indicated (supra, ch. 84). Probably they are the Amardi of Strabo (xi. p. 761). According to Nicolas of Damascus, Cyrus was by birth a Mardian. (Fr. 66.)

[7] Cf. Ctes. Pers. § 6–8; Steph. Byz. ad voc., &c.

[8] Infra, vii. 85.

[9] See the Behistun Inscription, col. ii. par. 14.

ESSAY V.

ON THE RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT PERSIANS.

1. Difficulties of the common view. 2. Dualism and elemental worship two different systems. 3. Worship of the elements not the original Persian religion. 4. Their most ancient belief pure Dualism. 5. Elemental worship the religion of the Magi, who were Scyths. 6. Gradual amalgamation of the two religions.

1. It has long been felt as a difficulty of no ordinary magnitude, to reconcile the account which Herodotus, Dino,[1] and others, give of the ancient Persian religion, with the primitive traditions of the Persian race embodied in the first Fargard of the Vendidad, which are now found to agree remarkably with the authentic historical notices contained in the Achæmenian monuments. In the one case, we have a religion, the special characteristic of which is the worship of all the elements, and of fire in particular; in the other, one, the essence of which is Dualism, the belief in two First Principles, the authors respectively of good and evil, Ormazd and Ahriman. Attempts have been made from time to time to represent these two conflicting systems as in reality harmonious, and as constituting together the most ancient religion of Persia;[2] but it is impossible, on such a theory, to account, on the one hand, for the omission by the early Greek writers of all mention of the two great antagonistic principles of light and darkness, and on the other, for the absence from the monuments, and from the more ancient portions of the Vendidad, of any distinct notice of the fire-worship. It cannot indeed be denied, that in later times a mongrel religion did exist, the result of the contact of the two systems, to which the accounts of modern writers would very fairly apply. But the further we go back the fewer traces do we find of any such intermixture—the more manifestly does the religion described, or otherwise indicated, belong unmistakeably to one or other of the two types. Throughout Herodotus we have not a single trace of Dualism; we have not even any mention of Ormazd; the religion depicted is purely and entirely elemental, the worship of the sun and moon, of fire, earth, water, and the winds or air.[3] Conversely, in the inscriptions there is nothing elemental; but the worship of one Supreme God, under the name of Ormazd, with an occasional mention of an Evil Principle.[4]

[1] For a collection of the fragments of Dino, see Müller's Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum, vol. ii. pp. 90–1.

[2] By Brisson (De Regio Persarum Principatu, book ii. pp. 203–238), Hyde (De Religione Veterum Persarum), Heeren (Asiatic Nations, vol. i. pp. 374–392), and others.

[3] Herod. i. 131. Compare iii. 16.

[4] In the great inscription of Darius at Behistun, the false religion which that king

2. If then these two systems are in their origin so distinct, it becomes necessary to consider, first of all, which of them in reality constituted the ancient Persian religion, and which was intruded upon it afterwards. Did the Arian nations bring with them Dualism from the East, or was the religion which accompanied them from beyond the Indus, that mere elemental worship which Herodotus and Dino describe,[5] and which, in the later times of Greece and Rome, was especially regarded as Magism?[6]

3. In favour of the latter supposition it may be urged, that the religion of the Eastern or Indo-Arians appears from the Vedas to have been entirely free from any Dualistic leaven, while it possessed to some extent the character of a worship of the powers of nature. It may therefore seem to be improbable that a branch of the Arian nation, which separated from the main body at a comparatively recent period, should have brought with them into their new settlement a religion opposed entirely to that of their brethren whom they left behind, and far more likely that they should have merely modified their religion into the peculiar form of elemental worship which has been ascribed to them. But the elemental worship in question is not really a modification of the Vedic creed, but a distinct and independent religion. The religion of the Vedas is spiritual and personal; that which Herodotus describes is material and pantheistic. Again, it is clear that some special reason must have caused the division of the Arian nation, and the conjecture is plausible, that "it was in fact the Dualistic heresy which separated the Zend, or Persian branch of the Arians, from their Vedic brethren, and compelled them to migrate to the westward."[7]

4. Certainly, if we throw ourselves upon the ancient monuments of the Arian people, we must believe that Dualism was not a religion which they adopted after their migration was accomplished, but the faith which they brought with them from beyond the Indus. In that most ancient account of the Arian Exodus which is contained in the first chapter of the Vendidad, the whole series of Arian triumphs and reverses is depicted as the effect of the struggle between Ormazd and Ahriman. Elemental worship nowhere appears, and there is not even any trace of that reverential regard of the sun and moon, which was undoubtedly a part, though a subordinate one, of the ancient religion. Similarly, in the Achæmenian monuments, while the name of Ormazd is continually invoked, and Ahriman appears as "the god of lies" in at least one passage,[8] the elements receive no respect. Even Mithras is unmentioned until the time of Artaxerxes Mnemon, when his name occurs in a single inscription in conjunction with *Tanat*, or Anaitis.[9] Nothing is more

displaced is said to have been established by the "god of lies." It need surprise no one that notices are not more frequent, or that the name of Ahriman does not occur. The public documents of modern countries make no mention of Satan.

[5] Frs. 5, 8, and 9.

[6] Cf. Strabo, xv. pp. 1039–41; Agathias, ii. pp. 62–3; Amm. Marc. xxiii. 6.

[7] See Col. Rawlinson's Notes on the Early History of Babylonia, p. 37.

[8] Behist. Ins. col. iv. par. 4.

[9] In the inscription of Artaxerxes Mnemon, discovered at Susa. (See Mr. Norris's paper in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, vol. xv. part i., and Mr. Loftus's Chaldæa, p. 372.)

plain than that the faith of the early Achæmenian kings was mere Dualism, without the slightest admixture of fire-worship or elemental religion.

5. If then it be asked, how Herodotus came to describe the Persian religious system as he did, and whence that elemental worship originated which undoubtedly formed a part of the later Persian religion, it must be answered that that worship is Magism, and that it was from a remote antiquity the religion of the Scythic tribes, who were thickly spread in early times over the whole extent of Western Asia.[1] That the Magian religion was distinct from that of the early Persians, is clear from the Behistun Inscription, where we find that a complete religious revolution was accomplished by the Magian Pseudo-Smerdis,[2] and that Darius, on his accession, had to rebuild temples which had been demolished, and re-establish a worship which had been put down. That the religion which Herodotus intended to describe was Magism, is manifest from his own account.[3] It remains to show on what grounds that religion is ascribed to the Scyths.

Now, in the first place, if we are right in assuming[4] that there were in Western Asia, from the earliest times, three, and three only, great races—the Semitic, the Indo-European, and the Scythic, or Turanian—it will follow that the religion in question was that of the Scyths, since it certainly did not belong to either of the two other families. The religion of the Semites is well known to us. It was first the pure Theism of Melchizedek and Abraham, whence it degenerated into the gross idolatry of the Phœnicians and Assyro-Babylonians. That of the Indo-European, or Japhetic tribes, is also sufficiently ascertained. It was everywhere the worship of personal gods, under distinct names; it allowed of temples, represented the gods under sculptured figures or emblems, and in all respects differed widely in its character from the element-worship of the Magians.[5] Magism, therefore, which crept into the religion of the Persians some time after their great migration to the west, cannot have been introduced among them either by Japhetic races, with whom they did not even come into contact, or by the Semitic people of the great plain at the foot of Zagros, whose worship was an idolatry of the grossest and most palpable character. Further, it may be noticed that Zoroaster, whose name is closely associated with primitive Magism, is represented by various writers as an early Bactrian or Scythic king;[6] while a mul-

[1] See below, Essay xi., "On the Ethnic Affinities of the Nations of Western Asia," § 2, 3.

[2] The words of Darius are as follows: "The temples which Gomates the Magian had destroyed I rebuilt. I restored to the nations the sacred chaunts and worship, of which Gomates the Magian had deprived them" (col. i. par. 14).

[3] Herod. i. 131–2. Note the mention of the Magi as necessarily bearing a part in every sacrifice offered to the elements.

[4] See below, Essay xi., "On the Ethnic Affinities of the Nations of Western Asia," § 1.

[5] In the element-worship there were no temples, images, or emblems, but only fire-altars on the high mountains for sacrifice. See Herod. l. s. c.; Strab. xv. p. 1039; Diog. Laert. Proem. § 6–9.

[6] Cephalion ap. Euseb. Chron. Can. i. c. xv. Berosus ap. Mos. Chor. Hist. Arm. i. c. 5. Justin, i. 1. Arnobius, i. c. 5 and 52.

titude of ancient traditions identify him with the patriarch Ham,[7] the great progenitor of the Turanians, or Allophylians. Scythic tribes too seem clearly to have intermixed in great numbers with the Arians on their arrival in Western Asia, and to have formed a large, if not the preponderating element in the population of the Achæmenian empire.[8] Corruption, therefore, would naturally spread from this quarter, and it would have been strange indeed if the Persians—flexible and impressible people as they are known to have been[9]—had not had their religion affected by that of a race with whom their connexion was so intimate.

6. It would seem that the Arians, when they came in contact with the Scyths in the west, were a simple and unlettered people. They possessed no hierarchy, no sacred books, no learning or science, no occult lore, no fixed ceremonial of religion. Besides their belief in Ormazd and Ahriman, which was the pith and marrow of their religion, they worshipped the sun and moon, under the names of Mithra and Homa,[1] and acknowledged the existence of a number of lesser deities, good and evil genii, the creation respectively of the great powers of light and darkness.[2] Their worship consisted chiefly in religious chaunts, analogous to the Vedic hymns of their Indian brethren, wherewith they hoped to gain the favour and protection of Ormazd and the good spirits under his governance. In this condition they fell under the influence of Magism, an ancient and venerable system, possessing all the religious adjuncts in which they were deficient, and claiming a mysterious and miraculous power, which, to the credulity of a simple people, is always attractive and imposing.[3] The first to be exposed and to yield to this influence were the Medes, who had settled in *Azerbijan*, the country where the fire-worship seems to have originated, and which was always regarded in early times as the chief seat of the Zoroastrian religion.[4] The Medes not only adopted the religion of their subjects, but to a great extent blended with them, admitting whole Scythic tribes into their nation.[5]

[7] See Bochart's Phaleg, book iv. ch. 1, where a collection of these traditions is made.

[8] The Scythic appears as the *vernacular* in the Behistun Inscription. The sculptor takes greater pains with it than with the others. In one instance he has scored out a passage in the Scythic, which did not satisfy him, and has carved it again. He also gives explanations in the Scythic which he does not repeat in the transcripts, as for instance—that Ormazd is "the god of the Arians."

[9] See Herod. i. 135. Ξεινικὰ δὲ νόμαια Πέρσαι προσίενται ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα. Compare 131, ad fin., where this plastic character is shown to extend to the subject of religion.

[1] Mithra is invoked in an inscription of Artaxerxes Mnemon, as well as in one of Artaxerxes Ochus. Hymns to Homa and Mithra are among the earliest portions of the Zendavesta. The worship of them was common to the Arians with their Indian brethren.

[2] Compare Behist. Inscr., col. iv. par. 4.

[3] The term "magic" has not without reason attained its present sense; for the Magi were from very early times pretenders to miraculous powers. See Herod. i. 103, 120; vii. 19. Dino, Fr. 8.

[4] See Col. Rawlinson's Notes on the Early History of Babylonia, p. 34.

[5] Besides the Magi themselves, who formed a distinct Median tribe, the Budii may be recognized as Scyths. They are the *Putiyá* of the Persian, and the *Budu* of the Babylonian inscriptions, and may very probably be identified with the *Phut* of Scripture. (Cf. Gen. x. 6, and Ezek. xxxviii. 5.)

Magism entirely superseded among the Medes the former Arian faith, and it was only in the Persian branch of the nation that Dualism maintained itself. In the struggle that shortly arose between the two great Arian powers, the success of Persia under Cyrus made Dualism again triumphant. The religion of Ormazd and Ahriman became the national and dominant faith, but Magism and all other beliefs were tolerated. After a single unsuccessful effort to recover the supremacy,[7] resulting in a fierce persecution, and the establishment of the annual Μαγοφόνια, Magism submitted; but proceeded almost immediately to corrupt the faith with which it could not openly contend. A mongrel religion grew up, wherein the Magian and Arian creeds were blended together,[8] the latter predominating at the court and the former in the provinces. It is the provincial form of the Persian religion which Herodotus describes, the real Arian or Achæmenian creed being to all appearance unknown to him.

[6] Hence in Persian romance Astyages, king of the Medes, becomes *Afrasiáb*, king of *Turán*, who is conquered and taken prisoner by *Kai Khusru.*

[7] Under the Pseudo-Smerdis. (Cf. Herod. iii. 61–79.)

[8] Col. Rawlinson says: "To discriminate the respective elements of this new faith is difficult but not impossible. The worship of *Mithra* and *Homa*, or of the sun and moon, had been cherished by the Arian colonists since their departure from *Kurukhshetra;* their religious chaunts corresponded with the Vedic hymns of their brethren beyond the Sutlej. The antagonism of Oromazdes and Arimanes, or of light and darkness, was their own peculiar and independent institution. On the other hand, the origin of all things from *Zerwan* was essentially a Magian doctrine; the veneration paid to fire and water came from the same source; and the *barsam* of the Zendavesta is the Magian divining-rod. The most important Magian modification, however, was the personification of the old heresionym of the Scythic race, and its immediate association with Oromazdes. Under the disguise of *Zara-thushtra*, which was the nearest practicable Arian form, *Zira-ishtar* (or the seed of Venus) became a prophet and lawgiver, receiving inspiration from *Ahuramazda*, and reforming the national religion. The pretended synchronism of this *Zara-thushtra* with Vishtaspa clearly marks the epoch from which it was designed that reformed Magism should date, an epoch selected doubtless out of deference to the later Achæmenian kings, who derived their royalty from Darius." (Notes on the Early History of Babylonia, pp. 40–1.)

ESSAY VI.

ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF BABYLONIA.—[H. C. R.]

1. Obscurity of the subject till a recent date—contradictory accounts of Berosus and Ctesias. 2. The progress of cuneiform discovery confirms Berosus. 3. The Babylonian date for the great Chaldæan Empire which preceded the Assyrian, viz. B. C. 2234, is probably historic. 4. The earliest known kings, *Urukh* and *Ilgi*. 5. *Kudur-mapula* the Chedor-laomer of Scripture? 6. *Ismi-dagon* extended the Chaldæan power over Assyria. 7. Son and grandson of *Ismi-dagon*. 8. Uncertainty of the order of succession among the later names—*Naram-Sin*—*Sin-shada*. 9. *Merodach-namana*, first "King of Babylon." 10. *Rim-Sin* and *Zur-Sin*. 11. *Durri-galazu*. 12. *Purna-puriyas*. 13. *Khammurabi* and *Samshu-iluna*. 14. Table of kings. Incompleteness of the list. 15. *Urukh* and *Ilgi* belong probably to the second historical dynasty of Berosus—the other kings to the third. 16. General sketch. Rise of the first Cushite dynasty. 17. Cuneiform writing. 18. Nimrod—*Urukh*—*Ilgi*. 19. Babylon conquered by immigrants from Susiana. 20. Second dynasty established by *Kudur-mapula*, B. C. 1976. 21. Activity of Semitic colonisation at this time. Phœnicians—Hebrews—settlements in Arabia, Assyria, and Syria. 22. Kings of the 2nd dynasty—variety in their titles. Condition of Assyria at this period. 23. Condition of Susiana. 24. Arabian dynasty of Berosus, B. C. 1518–1273 — possible trace in the inscriptions. Large Arabian element in the population of Mesopotamia.

1. Until quite recently, the most obscure chapter in the world's history was that which related to ancient Babylonia. With the exception of the Scriptural notices regarding the kingdom of Nimrod and the confederates of Chedor-laomer, there was nothing authentic to satisfy, or even to guide, research. So little, indeed, of positive information could be gathered from profane sources, that it depended on mere critical judgment—on an estimate, that is, of the comparative credibility of certain Greek writers—whether we believed in the existence from the earliest times of a continuous Assyrian empire, to which the Babylonians and all the other great nations of Western Asia were subordinate, or whether, rejecting Assyrian supremacy as a fable, we were content to fill up the interval from the first dawn of history to the commencement of the Greek Olympiads, with a series of dynasties which reigned successively in the countries watered by the Tigris and Euphrates, but of whose respective duration and nationality we had no certain or definite conception.

2. The materials accumulated during the last few years, in consequence of the excavations which have been made upon the sites of the ruined cities of Babylonia and Chaldæa, have gone far to clear up doubts upon the general question. Each succeeding discovery has tended to authenticate the chronology of Berosus, and to throw discredit upon the tales of Ctesias and his followers. It is now certain, whatever may have been the condition of Babylonia in the pre-historic ages, that at the first establishment of an empire in that part of Asia, the seat of government

was fixed in Lower Chaldæa, and that Nineveh did not rise to metropolitan consequence till long afterwards. The chronology, which we obtain from the cuneiform inscriptions for this early empire, harmonises perfectly with the numbers given in the scheme of Berosus. We have direct evidence resulting from a remarkable sequence of numbers in the inscriptions of Assyria,[1] which enables us to assign a certain Chaldæan king, whose name occurs on the brick legends of Lower Babylonia, to the first half of the nineteenth century B. C. We are further authorised by an identity of nomenclature, and by the juxtaposition of the monuments, to connect in one common dynastic list with this king, whose name is *Ismi-dagon*, all the other early kings whose brick legends have been discovered in Chaldæa; and as we thereby obtain a list of above twenty royal names, ranging over a large interval of time both before and after the fixed date of B. C. 1861, it is evident that the chronological scheme of Berosus (which assigns to the primitive Chaldæan empire a space extending from about the middle of the 23rd to the end of the 16th centuries B. C.) is in a general way remarkably supported and confirmed.

3. This scheme, divested of its fabulous element, and completed according to a most ingenious suggestion of German criticism,[2] is as follows:—

[1] The sequence in question is the following. First, an inscription of Sennacherib at Bavian commemorates the recovery in his 10th year of certain gods which had been carried to Babylon by *Merodach-adan-akhi* after his defeat of Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, 418 years previously. And, secondly, a record of this same King Tiglath-Pileser, inscribed on the famous Shergat cylinders, declares him to have rebuilt a temple in the city of Asshur, which had been taken down 60 years previously, after it had lasted for 641 years from the date of its first foundation by *Shamas-iva*, son of *Ismi-dagon*. The calculation, then, by which we obtain the date of *Ismi-dagon's* accession to the throne may be thus exhibited:—

	B. C.
Date of Bavian Inscription (10th year of Sennacherib)	692
Defeat of Tiglath-Pileser by Merodach-adan-akhi	418 years previously.
Interval between the defeat and the rebuilding of the temple (say)	10 years.
Demolition of the temple	60 years previously.
Period during which the temple had stood	641 years.
Allow for two generations (Shamas-Phul and Ismi-dagon) .	40 years.
Date of Ismi-dagon's accession . . .	B. C. 1861

[2] See a pamphlet by Dr. Brandis, entitled 'Rerum Assyriarum Tempora Emendata' (Bonn, 1853), p. 17. The *ingenuity* of the restoration consists in the discovery of a number for the second historical dynasty of Berosus (defective in the MS.), which not only coincides with the Babylonian date of Callisthenes, but which also makes up the cyclic aggregate of 36,000 years for the entire chronological scheme of the Chaldæans, this scheme embracing one mythical and seven historical dynasties—five of the latter being preserved by Berosus, and two obtained from the Canon of Ptolemy and other sources. See the tabular scheme subjoined.

Dynasty.	Kings.	Year	
Chaldæan . . .	86	34,080	Berosus.
Median . . .	8	224	
(Chaldæan) . . .	11	(258)	
Chaldæan . . .	49	458	
Arabian . . .	9	245	
Assyrian . . .	45	526	
Assyrian . . .	8	122	Ptolemy, &c.
Chaldæan . . .	6	87	
		36,000	

			B. C. B. C.
Median dynasty . .	8 kings.	224 years.	2458 to 2234
Chaldæan (?) do. .	11 do.	(258) do.	2234 to 1976
Chaldæan do. .	49 do.	458 do.	1976 to 1518
Arab do . . .	9 do.	245 do.	1518 to 1273
Assyrian do. . .	45 do.	526 do.	1273 to 747
Lower Assyrian do. .	8 do.	122 do.	747 to 625
Babylonian do. .	6 do.	87 do.	625 to 538

Now leaving out of consideration the first or Median dynasty, which probably represents the sovereignty of a Magian race from the Eastward, who ruled in Babylonia before the Hamites,[3] we have here a fixed date of B. C. 2234 for the commencement of that great Chaldæan empire, which was the first paramount power in Western Asia. And this, it must be remembered, is the same date as that obtained by Callisthenes from the Chaldæans at Babylon for the commencement of their stellar observations, which would naturally be coeval with the empire; and the same also which was computed for their commencement by Pliny, adapting the numbers of Berosus to the conventional chronology of the Greeks. It is likewise, probably, the same which was indicated by Philo-Byblius, when he assigned to Babylon an antiquity of 1002 years before Semiramis who was contemporary with the siege of Troy, and which furnished Ctesias with his authority for carrying up the institution of an Assyrian empire to nearly fifteen centuries above the first Olympiad.[4] In the cuneiform inscriptions we have not lighted as yet on any chronological table or other calculation, by which we might determinately fix the first year of the Chaldæan empire, but as among the numerous brick legends recently discovered there are several which contain notices of kings who were

[3] See the last Essay in this volume, 'On the Ethnic Affinities of the Nations of Western Asia.'

[4] The primitive Babylonian era, as obtained from these various authorities, may be thus expressed in figures:—

Date of the visit of Callisthenes to Babylon	B. C. 831
Antiquity of stellar observations	1903 years.
—(See Simplicius ad Arist. de Cœlo, lib. ii. p. 123.)	B. C. 2234
Greek era of Phoroneus (See Clinton's F. H. vol. i. p. 139) . .	B. C. 1753
Observations at Babylon before that time, according to Berosus .	480 years.
—(See Plin. H. N. vii. 56.)	B. C. 2233
Age of Semiramis, or date of siege of Troy (according to Hellanicus)	B. C. 1229
Babylon built before that time	1002 years.
—(See Steph. Byz. *ad voc.* Βαβυλών.)	B. C. 2231
Era of Ariphon at Athens	B. C. 826
Duration of Assyrian monarchy	1460 years.
	2286
Deduct reign of Belus	55 years.
Era of Ninus, according to Ctesias, . . .	B. C. 2231

See for details of these calculations the writer's 'Notes on the Early History of Babylonia,' p. 7 et sqq.

certainly anterior to *Ismi-dagon*, the traditional date which assigned its establishment to the 23rd century B. C. is not improbable.

4. Among the earliest, if not actually the earliest, of the royal line of Chaldæa are two kings, father and son, whose names are doubtfully read upon their monuments as *Urukh* and *Ilgi*.[5] The former would seem to have been the founder of several of the great Chaldæan capitals; for the basement platforms of all the most ancient buildings at *Mugheir*, at *Warka*, at *Senkereh*, and at *Niffer*, are composed of bricks stamped with his name,[6] while the upper stories, built or repaired in later times, exhibit for the most part legends of other monarchs. The territorial titles assumed by *Urukh* are king of *Hur* and *Kinzi Akkad*, the first of these names referring to the primeval capital whose site is marked by the ruins of *Mugheir*, and the second being apparently an ethnic designation peculiar to the Hamite race. The gods to whom *Urukh* dedicates his temples, are Belus and Beltis, and the Sun and Moon.[7] The relics of *Ilgi* are less numerous than those of his father, but he is known from later inscriptions to have completed some of the unfinished buildings at *Mugheir*.

5. The only king who can have any claim, from the position in which the bricks bearing his legends are found, to contest the palm of antiquity with *Urukh* and *Ilgi*, is one whose name appears to have been *Kudur-mapula*, and who, being further distinguished by a title which may be translated "Ravager of the West,"[8] has been compared with the

[5] In the absence of all assistance from Greek or Hebrew orthography, the least possible dependance can be placed on the reading of these two names, which, indeed, are merely given for the convenience of reference, and according to the ordinary phonetic value of the characters employed. The characters are, however, in all probability *ideographs*. It is very possible that the name of the first known king (*Urukh*) survives in the lines of Ovid:—

> "Rexit Achæmenias urbes pater Orchamus, isque
> Septimus a prisci numeratur origine Beli."
> Metamorph. iv. 212–3.

[6] The legends on the bricks of *Urukh* and *Ilgi* are in rude but very bold characters, and contrast most remarkably, in the simplicity of the style of writing and the general archaic type, with the elaborate and often complicated symbols of the later monarchs. A most interesting relic of *Urukh's* was obtained by Sir R. K. Porter in Babylonia, being the monarch's own signet cylinder. The figures and inscription on this cylinder are represented in 'Porter's Travels,' (vol. ii. p. 79. 6,) and have been often copied in other works, but it is not known what has become of the original relic.

[7] The ancient cities of Babylonia and Chaldæa were each dedicated to a particular god, or sometimes to a god and goddess together. Thus *Hur* or *Mugheir* was sacred to "the Moon;" *Larsa* or *Senkereh* to "the Sun;" *Warka* to "Anu" and "Beltis;" *Niffer* to "Belus;" *Babylon* itself to "Bel-Merodach;" *Borsippa* to "Nebo;" *Sippara* to "the Sun" and "Anunit" (Apollo and Diana of the Greeks); *Cutha* to "Nergal," &c.

[8] This epithet is probably to be read as "*apda Martu*," the first word being perhaps derived from a root corresponding to the Hebrew אֲבַד, and the second being the Hamite term which designated "the West." Whatever doubt, indeed, may attach to the explanation of *apda*, there can be no question about *Martu*. It usually occurs in the inscriptions as the last of the four cardinal points, and is translated in the vocabularies by the Semitic term *akharru* (compare אָחוֹר, "behind" or "the West.") It was also applied by the primitive Hamite Chaldæans to Phœnicia, from

Chedor-laomer of Scripture. It is difficult to form a decided opinion on this interesting point. On the one hand, the general resemblance of *Kudur-mapula's* legends to those of the ordinary Chaldæan monarchs is unquestionable; on the other hand, it is remarkable that there are peculiarities in the forms of the letters, and even in the elements composing the names upon his bricks, which favour his connexion with Elam.[9] As, however, one type alone of his legends has been discovered, it is impossible to pronounce at present on the identification in question.[1]

6. In succession to *Kudur-mapula*, but probably after a considerable interval of time, we must place *Ismi-dagon*, whose approximate age is ascertained from the inscriptions of Assyria to be B. C. 1861. In the titles of this king, although Babylon is still unnoticed, there is mention of the neighbouring city of *Niffer*,[2] showing that, while during the earlier period, the seats of Chaldæan empire were exclusively confined to the southern portion of the province, in his age at least the cities of Babylonia proper had risen to metropolitan consequence. Indeed, from the memorial which has been preserved of the foundation of a temple at *Asshur* or *Kileh Shergat* by *Shamas-Iva*, a son of *Ismi-dagon*, it seems probable that the latter king extended his power very considerably to the north-

the geographical position of that country in regard to Babylonia, and has been preserved in the Greek forms of Βραθύ and Μάραθος. Under the Semitic empire of Assyria the old name of *Martu* was still sometimes used for Phœnicia, but the title was more usually translated into its synonym of *Akharru*.—See the Assyrian Inscriptions, passim.

[9] An element, *khak*, occurs in the name of *Sinti-shil-khak*, *Kudur-mapula's* father, which is entirely unknown in the Babylonian nomenclature, but which appears in another royal name (*Tirkhak*) found on the bricks of Susa. This latter name is identical with that of the Ethiopian king, Tirhakah, mentioned in Scripture (2 Kings xix. 9). It may be further noticed that this title of *Khak*, common to the Susian and Ethiopian kings, is not improbably the same term, ὕκ or ἄκ, which Josephus states on the authority of Manetho to signify "a king" in the sacred language of Egypt (contra Apionem, lib. i.). It can hardly be doubted also that the Χάγαν or *Khakan* of the Turkish nations is derived from the same root.

[1] The second element in the name "Chedor-laomer" is of course distinct from that in "Kudur-mapula." Its substitution may be thus accounted for. In the names of Babylonian kings the latter portion is often dropped. Thus *Shalmaneser* becomes *Shalman* in Hoshea; *Merodach-bal-adan* becomes *Mardocempal*, &c. *Kudur-mapula* might therefore become known as *Kudur* simply. The epithet "el Ahmar," which means "the Red," may afterwards have been added to the name, and may have been corrupted into *Laomer*, which, as the orthography now stands, has no apparent meaning. *Kedar-el-Ahmar*, or "Kedar the Red," is in fact a famous hero in Arabian tradition, and his history bears no inconsiderable resemblance to the Scripture narrative of Chedor-laomer. It is also very possible that the second element in the name of Chedor-laomer, whatever be its true form, may be a Semitic translation of the original Hamite term *mapula*.

[2] This city had originally the same name as the god Belus, and is perhaps the Βίλβη of Ptolemy. There are strong grounds for believing that it was the first northern capital, and that the Greek traditions of the foundation of a great city on the Euphrates by Belus refer to this place rather than to Babylon. The later Semites gave to the city the name of *Nipur*, which, under the corrupted form of *Niffer*, the ruins retain to the present day. The old name of Belus, however, probably long survived the period of Semitic supremacy; and it may therefore be conjectured that the Belidian gates of Nebuchadnezzar's city (Herod. iii. 155–8) were so named, because through them passed the road from Babylon to the city of Belus.

ward, and was in fact the first Chaldæan monarch who established a subordinate government in Assyria.

7. The names of the son and grandson of *Ismi-dagon* are also found among the Chaldæan ruins. The son, whose name is very doubtfully read as *Ibil-anu-duma*, does not take the title of "king," but merely styles himself "governor of Hur." He is remarkable in Babylonian history as the builder of the great public cemeteries, which now form the most conspicuous object among the ruins of *Mugheir*. The grandson appears to have been called *Gurguna*, but no particulars are known of him, and the name itself is uncertain.[3]

8. The relative position of the later kings in the series, it is impossible absolutely to determine. A supposed clue to their comparative antiquity has failed,[4] and only grounds of the very slightest nature remain upon which to base even a conjecture on the subject. As, however, the names must be presented according to some arrangement, they will still be given in that which is thought upon the whole to be the most probable order of succession.

Naram-sin,[5] and his father, whose name is unfortunately lost in the only inscription which speaks of him, were perhaps not much later than the time of *Ismi-dagon* and his descendants. *Naram-sin*, though he only takes the general title of king of *Kiprat*,[6] certainly reigned in Babylon, since not only has an alabaster vase, inscribed with his name, been discovered in the ruins of that city, but a notice has been elsewhere preserved of his erection of a temple in the neighbouring city of Sippara.[7]

From the archaic form of the character employed, a king of the name

[3] Only one legend of this king has been found, and the characters are too indistinct to be depended on.

[4] It was at one time thought that as the Babylonian legends contain two modes of writing the name of the Moon-god—one more archaic and proper to Babylonia—the other identical with one of the modes current in Assyria to a recent date—the more archaic mode might be assumed *universally* as a mark of superior antiquity. But this view is disproved by an inscription of Nabonidus at *Mugheir*, where the priority of *Naram-sin*—in whose name, on the alabaster vase, the Moon-god (*Sin*) is written with the Assyrian group—to *Durri-galazu*, in whose legends the more archaic form occurs, is clearly established.

[5] The student must be warned against trusting implicitly to these readings. In many cases where variant orthographies occur (as in the first element of this very name, *Naram-sin*), the pronunciation can be ascertained positively; but it is, on the other hand, impossible to determine at present if the Hamite Chaldees used the same names for the gods as their Semitic successors, and the reading, therefore, of all the royal names in which the title of the Moon-god occurs is subject to doubt. Judging from analogy, as the Chaldees usually employed a special group to represent the Moon-god, it might be inferred that they had also a special name for the deity in question, distinct from the Assyrian *Sin*, which forms the first element in the name of Sennacherib; and, in that case, the nomenclature here employed would be throughout erroneous. Pending, however, the discovery of some evidence to show what this special name for the Moon-god may have been, it would be a mere waste of time to suggest other readings for the titles of the Chaldæan monarchs.

[6] *Kiprat* or *Kiprat-arbat* is a name which seems to be applied in a general way to the great Mesopotamian valley. It may be suspected to mean "the four races" or "tongues," and to refer to some very early ethnic classification.

[7] On the famous cylinder of Nabonidus found at *Mugheir*.

of *Sin-shada*, whose bricks are found in the great ruin termed *Bowarieh*[8] at *Warka*, must be placed high in the list of kings, perhaps even before *Naram-sin*. In his time, and in that of his father, whose name cannot be phonetically rendered, *Warka*[9] seems to have been the capital of the empire, no other geographical title being found in some of the royal legends of the period.

9. Another king, whose name is doubtfully given as *Merodach-namana*, and whose bricks are also found in a pavement at the base of the great *Bowarieh* mound, must belong to nearly the same period of history. He is chiefly remarkable as the earliest monarch who assumes the title of "King of Babylon."

10. Two other monarchs must be mentioned in connexion with the *Sin* series—*Rim-sin*, of whom a very fine inscription has been found on a small, black tablet in the lesser temple at *Mugheir*, and *Zur-sin*, whose bricks are also found at *Mugheir*, but who is better known as the founder of the Chaldæan city, whose ruins bear at the present day the title of *Abu Sharein*.[1]

11. Passing over some imperfect names, which likewise contain the element *Sin*, we may next notice a monarch called *Durri-galazu*,[2] relics of whom are found in many different quarters. Some ruins to the east of the river Hye, near the point of its confluence with the Euphrates, still bear the name of *Zergul*, and may therefore be probably regarded as marking the site of a city of his foundation. Another of his foundations was the important town, whose ruins are to be seen near Baghdad, bearing at present the name of *Akkerkuf*, and ascribed in the popular tradition to Nimrud. *Durri-galazu* also repaired temples both at *Mugheir* or *Hur*, and at Sippara.

12. From the near resemblance of the legends of *Purna-puriyas* to those of the king last mentioned, we are authorised in connecting very closely the two monarchs. There is no evidence, however, to show whether one was a descendant of the other, or which of the two was the more ancient. The bricks of *Purna-puriyas* are found in the ruins

[8] The *Bowarieh* mound, which is the principal ruin at *Warka*, marks the site of two ancient Chaldæan temples—one dedicated to *Anu*, and the other to Beltis.

[9] *Warka* was probably the Erech of Genesis (x. 10), and the 'Ορχόη of the Greeks. As the cuneiform name of the city, however, has not yet been found phonetically rendered, the identification cannot be considered certain. Indeed, there are some points of evidence which would rather connect the names of Erech and Orchoë with the ruins of *Mugheir*.

[1] The cuneiform name of this city has not yet been identified, and it is therefore in vain to search for its representative in Greek geography.—For a description of the ruins see 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' vol. xv. p. 404.

[2] The name of this king may reasonably be compared with the Δέρκυλος of Ctesias's Assyrian list; not that the Greek writer can be supposed to have been directly acquainted with the title of the old Chaldæan monarch, but that in framing his catalogue of the lower dynasty of Nineveh, he seems to have drawn his names principally from the geographical nomenclature of the country, and he may thus have perpetuated the title of the king *Durri-galazu* through the city which was called after him. At any rate, it can hardly be accidental that Ctesias, towards the close of his list, should have at least five geographical names, viz., 'Αραβῆλος, Χάλαος, Δέρκυλος, 'Οφραταῖος, and 'Ακραγάνης.

of the Temple of the Sun at *Senkereh*,[3] which in an inscription of Nabonidus is said to have been repaired by his orders.[3a]

13. The only other ancient Chaldæan kings whose names are at all legible on the monuments hitherto discovered, are *Khammurabi* and *Samshu-iluna*. The former has left memorials in many places: at *Senkereh*, where he repaired the Temple of the Sun; at *Kalwadha*,[4] near Baghdad, where he erected a palace; at *Tel Sifr*, where many clay tablets have been found dated from the reigns of *Khammurabi* and his son, and at Babylon itself, where a stone tablet is said to have been obtained, on which are his name and titles.[5] *Samshu-iluna*, the son of *Khammurabi*, is only known from the *Tel Sifr* tablets.

14. The following table exhibits these kings in their proposed order of succession, with the approximate dates of their respective reigns:—

	B. C.
1. Urukh	ab. 2200. (1–2)
2. Ilgi (his son)	
3. Sinti-shil-khak	ab. 1976. (3–4)
4. Kudur-mapula (his son)	
5. Ismi-dagon	1861.
6. Ibil-anu-duma (his son)	ab. 1800. (6–7)
7. Gurguna (his son)	
8. Naram-sin	ab. 1750.
9. Sin-shada	ab. 1700.
10. Merodach-namana	ab. 1675.
11. Rim-sin	ab. 1650.
12. Zur-sin	ab. 1625.
13. Purna-puriyas	ab. 1600.
14. Durri-galazu (his son)	ab. 1575.
15. Khammurabi	ab. 1550. (15–16)
16. Samshu-iluna (his son)	

In the foregoing sketch, sixteen kings have been enumerated, whose names have been read with greater or less certainty. The monuments present perhaps ten other names, the orthography of which is too imperfect, or too difficult to admit of their being phonetically rendered in the present state of our knowledge. To this fragmentary list then of twenty-six monarchs, our present information is confined, although, as the in-

[3] The Chaldæan name of *Senkereh* is phonetically given in the inscriptions as *Larsa*, which may be supposed to be the true form both of the אלסר (Ellasar) of Genesis (xiv. 1) and of the Λαράχων of Berosus. The old Greek tradition that Teutamus of Assyria, who sent Memnon to the siege of Troy, held his court at *Larissa* (Apollod. II. iv. § 54), may have had a similar origin. The Arabian geographers corrupted the name to *Narsa*.

[3a] The signet-ring of King *Durri-galazu* has been since found at Baghdad, and a copy of the legend engraved on it has been sent to England, from which it appears that *Purna-puriyas* was the father, and *Durri-galazu* the son.

[4] *Kalwadha* was traditionally the city of Hermes (Abul-Faraj. Hist. Dyn. p. 7), and was supposed to have originated the name of Chaldæan (Massoudi in Not. des Man. tom. viii.). It was also believed to be the spot where the ark of the covenant was buried during the captivity of the Jews at Babylon (Yacut *in voc.*).

[5] This tablet, which has been lying for many years almost unnoticed in the British Museum, is believed to have been brought from Babylon, but no authentic account of the circumstances of its discovery has been preserved.

terval to be filled up is something more than seven centuries (exclusive of the doubtful Arabian dynasty), we can scarcely allow fewer than forty reigns for the entire period.[6]

15. In the fragment of Berosus, which relates to this period of Babylonian history, it must be remembered that two separate dynasties are noticed; the first, which is nameless, comprising eleven kings, and the second, which is called Chaldæan, comprising forty-nine. As, however, not a single one of the royal names given by Berosus in either dynasty has been preserved,[7] it is impossible to say, whether he intended the separation of the two dynasties to mark an ethnic difference between them, or merely to indicate a transfer of power from one Hamite family to another, such as certainly took place, in regard to the Semites, at a later date, when the seat of empire was transferred from Nineveh to Babylon. As far as can be ascertained from the inscriptions, the latter is the proper explanation. All the kings, whose monuments are found in ancient Chaldæa, used the same language, and the same power of writing; they professed the same religion, inhabited the same cities, and followed the same traditions; temples built in the earliest times receive the veneration of successive generations, and were repaired and adorned by a long series of monarchs even down to the time of the Semitic Nabonidus.[8] With this evidence of the close connexion between the earlier and later kings, we are obliged either to refer the whole series exclusively to the great Chaldæan dynasty of Berosus, the third in his historical list, commencing B. C. 1976, in which case it is difficult to find room for the predecessors of *Ismi-dagon*, whose date is little more than a century later (B. C. 1861); or else to suppose, which is far more probable, that the two dynasties of Berosus following upon the (so called) Medes, both belonged to the Hamite family, and were equally entitled to the geographical epithet of Chaldæan from the position of their chief cities in the plains of Southern Chaldæa.

16. If it were now required to construct an ethnological scheme which should be applicable to ancient Babylonian history, and should reconcile the monuments with Greek and Hebrew authority, the following would be the most plausible arrangement.

About the year B. C. 2234 the Cushite inhabitants of Southern Babylonia, who were of a cognate race with the primitive colonists both of

[6] If the numbers which have come down to us in the Armenian Eusebius as those of Berosus are to be trusted, we must believe that he assigned to the period between B. C. 2234 and B. C. 1518 no fewer than sixty kings. As, however, this would allow not quite twelve years on an average to each king's reign, the historical correctness of the assigned number may be questioned.

[7] The seven names of Chaldæan kings, which Syncellus (p. 169) gives from Africanus, come probably from Berosus, for two of them, Evechius and Chomasbelus, were given by Polyhistor (Euseb. Chron. part I. c. 4), undoubtedly from that author. But they belong to the mythic dynasty of the 86 kings and 34,080 years, and their cuneiform representatives therefore must be sought in the Pantheon.

[8] A passage on the Cylinder of Nabonidus discovered at *Mugheir* seems to signify that he found "in the annals of *Urukh* and *Ilgi*" a notice of the original building of the temple of the Moon-god at that place, which he himself repaired and beautified. According to the chronological scheme here followed, the building of this temple must have taken place at least 1500 years previously.

Arabia and of the African Ethiopia, may be supposed to have first risen into importance.[8] Delivered from the yoke of the Zoroastrian Medes, who were of a strictly Turanian or at any rate of a mixed Scytho-Arian race, they raised a native dynasty to the throne, instituting an empire of which the capitals were at Mugheir, at Warka, at Senkereh, and at Niffer, and introducing the worship of the heavenly bodies, in contradistinction to the elemental worship of the Magian Medes. In connexion with this planetary adoration, whereof we see the earliest traces in the temples of the Moon at Mugheir, of the Sun at Senkereh, and of Belus and Beltis (or Jupiter and Venus) at Niffer and Warka, the

[8] Without pretending to trace up these early Babylonians to their original ethnic source, there are certainly strong reasons for supposing them to have passed from Ethiopia to the valley of the Euphrates shortly before the opening of the historic period:—

i. The system of writing which they brought with them has the closest affinity with that of Egypt—in many cases, indeed, there is an absolute identity between the two alphabets. Thus the Egyptians formed a rude parallelogram for a house ▭, and called it *é;* while the Hamite Babylonians used almost the same form ▭, and gave the character the same phonetic power (in later times the Semites introduced the synonym of *bit*, בת, and a third equivalent, *mal*, as in modern *Lek*, was brought in from an Arian source); and numerous other examples of this sort are to be found.

ii. In the Biblical genealogies, Cush and Mizraim are brothers, while from the former sprang Nimrud, the eponym of the Chaldæan race; the names indeed of the other sons of Cush seem to mark the line of colonisation along the southern and eastern shores of the Arabian peninsula, from the Red Sea to the mouth of the Euphrates.

iii. In regard to the language of the primitive Babylonians, although in its grammatical structure it resembles dialects of the Turanian family, the vocabulary is undoubtedly Cushite or Ethiopian, belonging to that stock of tongues which in the sequel were everywhere more or less mixed up with the Semitic languages, but of which we have probably the purest modern specimens in the *Mahra* of Southern Arabia and the *Galla* of Abyssinia.

iv. All the traditions of Babylonia and Assyria point to a connexion in very early times between Ethiopia, Southern Arabia, and the cities on the Lower Euphrates. In the geographical lists the names of *Mirukh* and *Makkan* (or Μερόη and Μακίνη) are thus always conjoined with those of Hur and Akkad. The building of Hur, again, is the earliest historical event of which the Babylonians seem to have had any cognisance, but the inscriptions constantly refer to a tradition of the primæval leader by whom the Cushites were first settled on the Euphrates, and one of the names of this leader is connected with Ethiopia in a way that can hardly be accidental. As we observe in fact with the Assyrians that their founder Asshur not only furnished a name to their country, but was worshipped by them as the chief god of their pantheon, so we are led to expect that the deified hero who was revered by the Babylonians under the names of Nergal and Nimrud, and was recognised both as the god of hunting and the god of war, should also have the same name as the country to which he belonged. The real Cushite name, then, of this deity, still applied by the Arabs to the planet Mars, with which the god of war has been always identified, is *Mirikh;* and this is the exact vernacular title in the inscriptions of the country of Ethiopia, corrupted by the Greeks into Μερόη.

And, v. In further proof of the connexion between Ethiopia and Chaldæa, we must remember the Greek traditions both of Cepheus and Memnon, which sometimes applied to Africa, and sometimes to the countries at the mouth of the Euphrates; and we must also consider the geographical names of Cush and Phut, which, although of African origin, are applied to races bordering on Chaldæa, both in the Bible and in the inscriptions of Darius.

movements of the stars would be naturally observed and registered, astronomical tables would be formed, and a chronological system founded thereupon, such as we find to have continued uninterrupted to the days of Callisthenes and Berosus.

With regard to the use of letters, which Pliny connects with these primæval Babylonian observations, so great is the analogy between the first principles of the science, as it appears to have been pursued in Chaldæa and as we can actually trace its progress in Egypt, that we can hardly hesitate to assign the original invention to a period before the Hamite race had broken up and divided. A system of picture-writing, which aimed at the communication of ideas through the rude representation of natural objects, belonged, as it would seem, not only to the tribes who descended the Nile from Ethiopia, but to those also who, perhaps, diverging from the same focus, passed eastward to the valley of the Euphrates. In the further development, too, of the system which the progress of society called forth, a very similar gradation may be presumed to have been followed by the two divisions of the Hamite race, the original pictures being reduced in process of time to characters for the convenience of sculpture, and these characters being assigned phonetic values which corresponded with the names of the objects represented. On the Egyptian monuments we thus sometimes find the hieroglyphs and the equivalent hieratic characters side by side in the same inscription; and although in Chaldæa the preliminary stage has been almost lost, the primitive pictures being already degraded to letters in the earliest materials that remain to us, still there is fortunately sufficient evidence to show that the process of alphabetical formation was nearly similar to that which prevailed in Egypt.[1]

17. In one particular it is true there is a marked difference in the respective employment of hieroglyphic and cuneiform characters. In the former alphabet each character has but one single value, while in the latter the variety of sounds which the same letter may be used to express is quite perplexing; but this discrepancy of alphabetic employment does not argue a diversity of origin for the system of writing; it merely indicates a difference of ethnological classification in the nations among whom the science of writing was developed. As the inhabitants of the valley of the Nile were essentially one nation, and used the same vocabulary, the objects which the hieroglyphs represented were each known to the people of the country by one single name, and each hieroglyph had thus one single phonetic value; but in the valley of the Euphrates the Hamite nation seems to have been broken up into a multitude of distinct tribes, who spoke languages identical or nearly identical in organisation and grammatical structure, but varying to a very great extent in vocabulary, and the consequence of this, that as there was but one picture-alphabet common to the whole aggregate of tribes, each character had necessarily as many phonetic values as there were

[1] On a fragment of a tablet recently discovered at Nineveh, and now deposited in the British Museum, we find several of the primitive forms of natural objects, from which the Cuneiform characters were subsequently elaborated.

distinct names for the object which it represented among the different sections of the nation.[2]

18. To the primitive Hamite dynasty, which is represented probably in the Bible by Nimrod, the son of Cush and grandson of Ham, the two earliest of the monumental kings, *Urukh* and *Ilgi*, may be perhaps assigned. These kings at any rate were the founders, as it would seem, of those cities which in Genesis are said to have formed the kingdom of Nimrod. According to Berosus the chronological limits of the dynasty are from B. C. 2234 to 1976, and the dates obtained from the inscriptions are in agreement with this calculation. At the latter date there may be presumed to have been a break in the line, the royal family being dispossessed by the Chaldæans who seem to have emigrated from Susiana to the banks of the Euphrates. There is no doubt considerable difficulty in reconciling all the evidence, historical and ethnological, which relates to this period. Berosus, for instance, terms the paramount dynasty which began to reign in B. C. 1976 "Chaldæan," while the local kings, who, according to the received chronology, would fall within the period of the dynasty in question, are stated in Scripture to have been subordinate to Elam, this nation moreover being placed in the genealogy of the sons of Noah, with Asshur and Aram among the children of Shem, while the inscriptions of Susa are to all appearance Hamite,[3] like the early inscriptions of Chaldæa. There was not perhaps in the very earliest ages that essential linguistic difference between Hamite and Semitic nations which would enable an inquirer at the present day, from a mere examination of their monumental records, to determine positively to which family certain races respectively belonged. Although, for example, the Hamite language of Babylon, in the use of post-positions and particles and pronominal suffixes, approaches to the character of a Scythic or Turanian rather than a Semitic tongue, yet a large portion of its vocabulary is absolutely identical with that which was afterwards continued in Assyrian, Hebrew, Arabic, and the cognate dialects, and the verbal formations, moreover, in Hamite Babylonian and in Semitic

[2] One of the most remarkable results arising from an analysis of the Hamite Cuneiform alphabet is the evidence of an Arian element in the vocabulary of the very earliest period, thus showing either that in that remote age there must have been an Arian race dwelling on the Euphrates among the Hamite tribes, or that (as I myself think more probable) the distinction between Arian, Semitic, and Turanian tongues had not been developed when picture-writing was first used in Chaldæa, but that the words then in use passed indifferently at a subsequent period, and under certain modifications, into the three great families among which the languages of the world were divided. It is at any rate certain that the Cuneiform characters have usually one Arian power—that is, one power answering to the Arian name of the object represented. Compare *pur*, "a son," *vis* and *nir*, "a man" κατ' ἐξοχὴν (the primitive root being *is* or *ir*, and the *v* and *n* being Hamite preformations, which were adopted both by Semite and Arian nations as radicals; as in Latin, *vir*, *vis;* Sans., *nri;* Assyr., *nis*, &c.); also *mal*, "a house;" *ras*, "a road," &c. &c.

[3] The inscriptions of Susa for the most part belong to the 8th century B. C., the kings named in the legends being contemporary with Sennacherib, Sargon, and their immediate predecessors. There is, however, what appears to be a date in the long inscription of *Sutruk Nakhunta* on the broken obelisk at Susa—two sets of numbers occurring which may be read as 2455 and 2465. If these numbers are really chronological, the era referred to will be nearly 3200 years B. C.

Assyrian exhibit in many respects the closest resemblance. We must be cautious, therefore, in drawing direct ethnological inferences from the linguistic indications of a very early age. It will be far safer, at any rate, in these early times to follow the general scheme of ethnic affiliation which is given in the tenth chapter of Genesis, and to lay as little stress as possible on presumed affinities or diversities of language.

19. Without attempting then to determine whether the Elamites of 2000 B. C. who spoke a Hamite dialect more nearly allied to the Turanian than to the Semitic tongues of after ages, were really the descendants of Elam the son of Shem, or whether the Biblical genealogy does not rather refer to some primitive race which had inhabited Susiana in the earliest post-diluvian period, but had given way to Hamite colonists before the opening of history, we must be content to know that the original Hamite tribes who wrested Babylonia from the Median Scyths in the 23d century B. C. were in their turn superseded in power after 258 years' dominion by immigrants from Susiana of a kindred race who founded the great Chaldæan empire of Berosus.

20. Of these immigrant Chaldæan Elamites Chedor-laomer may very well have been the leader, while Amraphel and Arioch, the Hamite kings of Shinar and Ellasar, who fought under his banner in the Syrian war as subordinate chiefs, and Tidal who led a contingent of Median Scyths belonging to the old population, may have been the local governors who had submitted to his power when he invaded Chaldæa. There would be no historical improbability then in the *Kudur-mapula* of the inscriptions representing this Chedor-laomer of Scripture. The bricks of the former must be at least a hundred years older than those of *Ismi-dagon*, and the date which is thus obtained, is about that ordinarily assigned to the Exodus of Abraham. The title borne by *Kudur-mapula* of "Ravager of the West," if this be the rightful rendering of the words *apda Martu*, would afford a further link of connexion; and although the invocation to the Moon-god on the bricks of Mugheir, and the epithets applied to the temple of that divinity, identify *Kudur-mapula* in point of language and religion with the Hamite monarchs of *Hur*, who both followed and preceded him, there is perhaps sufficient variation in his legends from the standard type to indicate a break in the series, such variation pointing moreover to Elymais as the country from which the interruption came. Pending further research, therefore, it is perhaps allowable to assume that in *Kudur-mapula*, or Chedor-laomer, we have the Elamite founder of the second Hamite dynasty of Babylon—termed Chaldæan by Berosus;—and we may venture to assign his date to the early part of the 20th century B. C.

21. In the age to which we are now brought, Semitism as a distinct Ethnic element seems to have been first developed, the germ however in its crude state having existed long previously as an integral portion of Hamitism. This age too seems to have been in a peculiar sense the active period of Semitic colonisation. The Phœnicians removing from the Persian Gulf to the shores of the Mediterranean, and the Hebrew Patriarch marching with his household from Chaldæa to Palestine, merely followed the direction of the great tide of emigration, which was at this

time setting in from the east westward. Semitic tribes were, during the period in question, gradually displacing the old Cushite inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula.[4] Assyria was being occupied by colonists of the same Semitic race from Babylonia—while the Aramæans were ascending the course of the Euphrates, and forming settlements on the eastern frontier of Syria.[5] Even the expedition of Chedor-laomer and his confederate kings, although the force was composed of Hamite tribes, partook probably in some degree of the same character of a migratory movement, for it is impossible to suppose that a march of 2000 miles would have been undertaken, especially in that early age, for the mere purpose of plunder.

22. The dynasty which continued to rule in the land from whence all these lines of colonisation radiated, is assigned by Berosus a duration of 458 years, from B. C. 1976 to B. C. 1518; and to this period may be assigned the entire list of the kings who have been mentioned in these pages as the successors of *Kudur-mapula*. Little is to be learnt from the inscriptions with regard either to their foreign or their domestic history. They assume in their brick legends a great variety of territorial titles; but the nomenclature belongs almost exclusively to Chaldæa and Babylonia. Among the names used, the most common are *Kiprat-arba*, or the four races (?). 2. *Hur* (Ur of the Chaldees, or *Mugheir*). 3. *Larsa* (Ellasar, or Senkereh). 4. Erech, or *Warka*. 5. *Kinzi Akkad* (Accad of Genesis). 6. *Babil*, or Babylon; and 7. *Nipur*, or the city of Belus (the Greek Βίλβη, and modern *Niffer*). Assyria is not mentioned in one single legend, nor are there any names of cities or districts which can be supposed to belong to that province. Except indeed for the notice preserved on the Cylinders of Tiglath Pileser I., that the temple of *Anu* and *Iva* at *Asshur*, or *Kileh Shergat*, had been originally founded by *Shamas-iva*, son of *Ismi-dagon*,[6] we should have been without any direct evidence that the Chaldæan kings had ever extended their sway over the country which adjoined Babylonia on the north. Such an extension of power may now be assumed; but, so far as our present information reaches, it would seem as if Assyria during the long period of Chaldæan supremacy had occupied a very inferior position in the political system of the East. The country was perhaps governed generally by Babylonian satraps, some of whose legends seem to be still extant;[7] but it was

[4] Ethnologers are now agreed that in Arabia there have been three distinct phases of colonisation—first, the Cushite occupation, recorded in Genesis x. 7; secondly, the settlement of the Joktanides, described in verses 26–30 of the same chapter; and, thirdly, the entrance of the Ishmaelites, which must have been nearly synchronous with the establishment of the Jews in Palestine.

[5] When the Aramæans are first mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions, about B. C. 1120, they are found to be settled along the banks of the Euphrates, from Babylon to Carchemish, and this would appear to have been their true habitat throughout the entire period of the Assyrian Empire.

[6] This *Shamas-iva* may be thus presumed to have been a younger brother of *Ibil-anu-duma*, who succeeded *Ismi-dagon* on the throne of Chaldæa.

[7] Bricks have been found at *Kileh-Shergat*, which record the names and titles of four of these tributary satraps. The legends, as might be expected, are of the Babylonian rather than of the Assyrian type, and the titles belong to the most humble class of dignities.

not of sufficient consequence to furnish the Chaldæan monarchs with one of their royal titles.

23. The state of Susiana on the opposite frontier of Chaldæa must also be taken into the account in estimating the power of the great Hamite empire on the lower Euphrates. There we have an extensive collection of legends, both on bricks and slabs, belonging to a series of kings, who, judging from their language, must have been also of a Hamite race. The character employed in these inscriptions is almost the same as the Hieratic Chaldæan of the early bricks, but the language seems to resemble the Scythic of the Achæmenian trilingual tablets rather than the Babylonian primitive Chaldee. Perhaps, if the Hamite languages really came from Ethiopia, they bifurcated at the mouth of the Euphrates, the Western branch as it passed through Babylonia merging into Semitism, while the Eastern branch spread into Central Asia through Susiana, and became developed into the various dialects of the Turanian family. These Cushites, whose memory would seem to have survived in the Greek traditions of Memnon and his Ethiopian subjects, but who were certainly independent of the monarchs of Chaldæa Proper, have been passed over by Berosus as unworthy of a place in his historical scheme; yet, if we may judge from the works of which the citadel of Susa is an example, or from the extent of country over which the Susian monuments are found,[8] they could hardly have been inferior either in power or civilisation to the Chaldæans who ruled on the Euphrates.[9]

On the subject of the Arabian dynasty, which, according to Berosus, succeeded the Chaldæans on the Euphrates, nothing certain has been ascertained from the monuments. The names of the Arabian kings given by Syncellus, belong in all probability to the first or mythic dynasty of Berosus,[1] and cannot therefore be regarded as determining the ethnic affinity of the line. If the revolution of B. C. 1518 was sim-

[8] Bricks belonging to the Susian type, and bearing Scythic legends, have been found amid the ruins of *Rishire* (near *Bushire*) and *Taurie* (*Siráf* of the Arabs), and in all probability the line of mounds which may be traced along the whole extent of the eastern shores of the Persian Gulf contain similar relics.

[9] It is particularly worthy of remark that throughout the series of legends which remain to us of the kings of *Hur* and *Akkad*, the name of Chaldæa never once occurs in a single instance. It would be hazardous to assert, on the strength of this negative evidence, that the Chaldæans had no existence in the country during the age in question, but thus much is certain, that they could not have been the dominant race at the time, and that Berosus, therefore, in naming the dynasty Chaldæan, must have used that term in a geographical rather than an ethnological sense. The name of *Kaldai* for the ruling tribes on the lower Euphrates, is first met with in the Assyrian inscriptions which date from the early part of the 9th century B. C. In deference, however, to the authority of Berosus (which is supported by the Scriptural notices of "Ur of the Chaldees"), the term Chaldæan is applied throughout these notes to the Cushite tribe which is supposed to have emigrated from Susiana to the banks of the Euphrates in the 20th century B. C.

[1] Syncellus gives these kings in immediate succession to the seven primitive Chaldæans, and they must, therefore, as it would seem, be included in the 86 mythic kings of Berosus. Two of the Arabian names, moreover, seem to be simply Merodach and Nebo, the tutelary gods respectively of Babylon and Borsippa.—See Cory's Ancient Fragments, p. 68.

ilar in character to that of B. C. 1976, and the introduction of a new dynasty involved no change either in the seats of government, or in the religion of the state; or even in the royal titles, then it may be conceded that some of the names already enumerated might belong to the family in question; but if the transfer of power from the hands of a Chaldæan to those of an Arabian tribe was accompanied, as we should reasonably expect, by the adoption of an Arabian dialect and an Arabian religion, then we must believe the third historical dynasty of Berosus to be entirely, or almost entirely, unrepresented in the inscriptions. The only legend indeed which bears such marks of individuality, as may distinguish it from the general Chaldæan series, and may thus favour its attribution to the Arabian dynasty, occurs upon a brick (now in the British Museum) that was found by Ker Porter at *Hymar*, which was in all probability in ancient times a suburb of the city of Babylon. The king, whose name is too imperfect to be read, is there called "King of Babylon," nearly after the titulary formula of the old Chaldæan monarchs, but the invocational passage refers to a new deity, and the grammatical structure of the phrases seems to differ from that which is followed in the other legends.

The Arabians, it is highly probable, formed an important element in the population of the Mesopotamian valley from the earliest times. There are at least 30 distinct tribes of this race named in the Assyrian inscriptions among the dwellers upon the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates; and under the later kings of Nineveh, the *Yabbur* (modern *Jibbur*), and the *Gumbulu* (modern *Jumbulá*) who held the marshy country to the south, appear to have been scarcely inferior to the Chaldæans themselves in strength and numbers.[3] Offsets of the same race had even passed in the time of Sargon beyond the mountain barrier into Media, where they held a considerable extent of territory, and were known as "the Arabs of the East;" but there is no evidence in the inscriptions, either direct or inferential, to show that the Arab nation ever furnished a line of kings to Babylonia, and the unsupported statement of Berosus to that effect must therefore be received with caution.

At the close then of the Chaldæan period, or possibly after an interval of Arabian supremacy, the seat of empire was transferred to Assyria (ab. B. C. 1273), and the new period commenced, concerning which it is proposed to treat in a separate chapter.—[H. C. R.]

[3] This may help to explain the statement of Herodotus (ii. 141), of which Josephus complains (Ant. X. i. § 4), that Sennacherib was "King of the *Arabians* and Assyrians," as well as the yet more remarkable passage where his army is termed exclusively "the host of the Arabians" (τὸν Ἀραβίων στρατόν).

ESSAY VII.

ON THE CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY OF THE GREAT ASSYRIAN EMPIRE.

1. Chronology of the Empire. Views of Ctesias. 2. Opinion of Herodotus. 3. Of Berosus. 4. Probable duration, from B. C. 1273 to B. C. 747. 5. Origin of Assyrian independence. 6. Earliest kings—*Bel-lush*, *Pudil*, *Iva-lush*, and *Shalma-bar*. 7. Series of kings from the Tiglath-Pileser Cylinder. 8. Tiglath-Pileser I. 9. His son, *Asshur-bani-pal*. 10. Break in the line of kings. Later monarchs of this dynasty, *Asshur-adan-akhi* and his descendants. 11. Sardanapalus the conqueror. 12. His palace and temples. 13. *Shalmanu-bar*, the Black Obelisk king. 14. General view of the state of Asia between B. C. 900 and B. C. 860. 15. Syrian campaigns of *Shalmanu-bar*. 16. His palace at Nineveh. 17. *Shamas-iva*. 18. Campaigns of *Shamas-iva*. 19. *Iva-lush* III. the Pul of Scripture (?), married to Semiramis. 20. General table of the kings of the upper dynasty. 21. Lower dynasty of Assyria—B. C. 747 to B. C. 625. 22. Reign of Tiglath-Pileser II. 23. Shalmaneser—his siege of Samaria. 24. Sargon—his extensive conquests. 25. His great palace at Khorsabad. 26. Reign of Sennacherib—his great palace at Koyunjik. 27. His military expeditions. 28. Probable length of his reign. 29. Second expedition of Sennacherib into Syria—miraculous destruction of his army. 30. Sennacherib murdered by his sons. 31. Reign of Esar-haddon. 32. His magnificent palaces. 33. *Asshur-bani-pal* II.—his hunting palace. 34. *Asshur-emit-ili*, the Saracus of Berosus, and Sardanapalus of the Greek writers (?)—his character. 35. Fall of Nineveh. 36. Chronological Table of the kings of the lower dynasty. 37. Duration and extent of the empire. 38. General nature of the dominion. 39. Frequency of disorders—remedies. 40. Assyria the best specimen of a kingdom-empire. 41. Peculiar features of the dominion: (i.) Religious character of the wars. (ii.) Incipient centralisation. 42. Character of the civilisation—Literature—Art—Manufactures.

1. In the acceptance of the whole series of dates obtainable from Berosus and Ptolemy for the various dynasties which ruled in Babylon from the commencement of the Chaldæan Empire in B. C. 2234 to its close about B. C. 1273, there is implied a decision in a particular way, of the main difficulty in Assyrian chronology—the question, namely, whether the long period of Ctesias, or the short period of Herodotus, should be adopted as the true chronological basis of that country's history. Reasons have been already given for distrusting Ctesias on most points where he is the sole authority,[1] and in this particular matter they are strengthened, at once by internal evidence of falsity in this part of his history, and by the external test of entire disagreement with the most authentic sources of information. The long date of Ctesias is irreconcileable with Scripture, at variance with the monuments, and contradictory to the native historian Berosus, whose chronological statements have recently received such abundant confirmation from the course of cuneiform discovery; it was connected in his writings with a forged list of between thirty and forty kings, whose names for the most part betray

[1] See the Introductory Essay, ch. iii. pp. 59–61.

their unreal character;[2] and it is entirely devoid of confirmation from any really independent writer. It may therefore safely be discarded as a pure and absolute fiction; and the shorter chronology of Herodotus and Berosus may be followed. The scheme of these writers is in tolerable harmony with the Jewish records, and agrees also sufficiently well with the results at present derivable from the inscriptions.

Let it be assumed therefore that the first great dynasty of Assyrian kings covered with their reigns a space, not of 1306 years (as Ctesias declared[3]), but of 520, or (more exactly) of 526 years, as Herodotus[4] and Berosus[5] testified. It must in the next place be determined from what point these 526 years are to commence.

2. The general want of exactness in the chronological data furnished by Herodotus has been already noticed.[6] Here as elsewhere his numbers are incomplete, and we cannot do more than *approximate* to the opinion which his researches led him to entertain on the subject. As it happens, however, that in this case he furnishes us with several distinct bases from which to calculate, and as calculations founded on these various bases lead, one and all, to very nearly the same conclusion, we may feel tolerably certain what the view was which he really held, though it is nowhere distinctly expressed in his extant writings.[7]

Herodotus evidently connected in his own mind the foundation of the Lydian and the Assyrian monarchies. Had the name of Ninus, or that of Belus, occurred singly and separately in the genealogy of Agron, we should not perhaps have been justified in assuming that the Ninus or the Belus of other historical writers was intended. But the occurrence of both names in combination in that remarkable list,[8] removes all reasonable doubt upon this point, and makes it morally certain that he intended to represent Agron, the first Lydian king, as the son of the Ninus who was the mythic founder of Nineveh.[9] Now it has been already

[2] The Arian names of Arius, Xerxes, Amramithres or Armamithres, Mithræus, &c., can have little business in a list of Assyrian monarchs. Equally out of place are the Greek names of Amyntas and Laosthenes. Still more plainly fictitious are the geographic appellatives—Arabêlus, Chalaüs, Dercylus, Ophratæus, and Acraganes. (See Essay vi. § 11, note.) [It has recently been asserted that Ctesias was indebted for the greater number of his names to a Persian Pharmacopeia, as they represent for the most part well-known Oriental drugs, but an imposture of this sort seems almost too gross for belief.—H. C. R.]

[3] Cf. Diod. Sic. ii. 21, where, however, the MSS. give the number of years as 1360; but this is to be corrected from Syncellus (p. 359, C.) and Agathias (ii. 25).

[4] Herod. i. 95. [5] Beros. Fr. 11. [6] Introductory Essay, ch. iii. pp. 85, 86.

[7] No doubt, did we possess the "Assyrian History" of Herodotus (see note [1] on Book i. ch. 106), we should not be left to form conjectures or calculations on this point. Few of the ravages of time are so deeply to be lamented as the almost total loss of this invaluable work.

[8] Herod. i. 7. (Comp. Essay i. § 7.)

[9] *Nin* appears to have been synonymous in the Scythic of Babylon with *Bel* in the Semitic of Assyria, both terms signifying generally "a lord," and being applied, with some specific qualificative adjunct, to several of the gods of the Pantheon. There are also some grounds for connecting *Agron* with the other two names, and for supposing it to have been a title of Bel-Merodach, inasmuch as the great mound of Babel (Rich's *Mujellibeh*), which we know from the inscriptions to have been a temple dedicated to Merodach by Nebuchadnezzar, bears in the early Talmudic

shown[10] that, according to the views of Herodtous, Agron mounted the throne in about the year B. C. 1229. Ninus, therefore, his father, should have begun to reign a generation earlier, or B. C. 1262.[1] Thus the 520 years would appear to have extended (in the mind of Herodotus) from about B. C. 1262 to B. C. 742.

Again, Herodotus makes the 520 years end with a revolt of the Medes, preceding by a certain space of time, which is not defined, the establishment of the Median monarchy under Deïoces. This last event he placed 228 years before the battle of Marathon, or B. C. 708.[2] If we allow a generation for the unestimated interval, which the narrative of Herodotus intimates to have been of some considerable length,[3] we are brought to almost exactly the same result as that already obtained; since the 520 years would on this view come to an end in B. C. 741, and would consequently commence in B. C. 1261.

Further, we are told by Herodotus in his Babylonian history, that Semiramis, who is described as a Babylonian, and not an Assyrian queen, lived "five generations" before Nitocris,[4] whose reign in the narrative of Herodotus seems to represent that of Nebuchadnezzar.[5] If then we count back four Herodotean generations[6] (133 years), from B. C. 604, which, according to the Canon of Ptolemy was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, we are brought to B. C. 737, as a time when Babylonian independence had commenced, and the Great Assyrian Empire had consequently come to an end. From this it would result that Herodotus placed the close of his 520 years at least as early as B. C. 737, and their commencement at least as early as B. C. 1257.

From these three separate and independent notices we may confidently conclude that Herodotus believed the Great Assyrian Empire to have been founded in the earlier half of the 13th century before our era, and placed its dissolution about the middle of the eighth century.

writings the remarkable designation of *Tel-Hagruníeh*, or the Mound of Agron. The term, however, has not yet been identified in the inscriptions either as a title or epithet applying to Merodach.—[H. C. R.]

[10] See Essay i. § 3.

[1] Dr. Brandis assumes that Ninus would be placed by Herodotus 52 years before Agron, because that was the number of years assigned to the reign of Ninus by Ctesias (Rer. Assyr. Temp. Emend. p. 3). But there is absolutely no ground for supposing that Ctesias and Herodotus, who differed in almost all their dates, would have agreed in this.

[2] Cf. Essay iii. § 7, note [4].

[3] The Medes first experience for some considerable time the evils of anarchy—Deïoces then sets himself to get a character for justice—he succeeds after a while—is made judge in his village—his fame grows—by degrees he becomes the arbiter of all quarrels throughout Media—he holds this office for some time—then resigns—anarchy once more follows—and being found intolerable, the kingdom is at last established. All these changes put together seem to require a tolerably long space.

[4] Herod. i. 184.

[5] Nitocris is the wife of a Labynetus, who probably represents Nebuchadnezzar himself, and Herodotus perhaps regards her as reigning both conjointly with him and also after his decease. Her great works indicate a long and prosperous reign, such as no monarch enjoyed between Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus.

[6] Herodotus always reckons inclusively and would therefore only place *three* generations between the death of Semiramis and the beginning of the reign of Nitocris.

3. Berosus, as reported by Polyhistor,[7] terminated his period of 526 years with the accession of Phulus or Pul, whom Eusebius identifies with the Pul of Scripture.[8] The date of Pul is determined by the synchronism of Menahem,[9] to about B. C. 770-760. If Polyhistor then has rightly reported Berosus, he would seem to have placed the rule of his first Assyrian dynasty about a generation earlier than the time assigned by Herodotus to his Great Empire. It may be doubted however whether Polyhistor has not misreported Berosus, or Eusebius misreported Polyhistor. There is a considerable amount of important evidence tending to show that the scriptural Pul was the last of a dynasty.[1] And it is very possible, or rather very probable, that Berosus really represented him in this light, and included his reign in the 526 years of his 7th dynasty. In this case the chronological views of the Grecian and Babylonian historians must have agreed very closely indeed, for Pul's reign seems to have terminated at B. C. 747,[2] the date so well known in Babylonian history as the "era of Nabonassar." Berosus may therefore not have differed from Herodotus by more than five or six years for the termination, and eleven or twelve for the commencement of the Assyrian Empire, the greater difference in the latter case being consequent upon the use by Herodotus of a round number. And it cannot but be suspected that the entire disagreement, so to call it, might have disappeared, had Herodotus in his "Muses" condescended to greater preciseness, or had we still possessed that other work of his, in which he expressly treated of the "History of Assyria."

4. Upon the whole, it seems to be tolerably certain that the 520 or 526 years of these two writers are to be counted back from about the middle of the 8th century; and the probable starting-point is the well-

[7] See his Fragments in Müller's Fragm. Hist. Gr. vol. ii. p. 503, Fr. 11.

[8] Chron. Can. I. v. p. 18, ed. Mai. It is curious to find Pul called "king of the *Chaldæans*" (Chaldæorum regem), when he was really an *Assyrian* monarch. Perhaps Polyhistor here too misreported his authority.

[9] 2 Kings xv. 19. According to Clinton, Menahem reigned from B. C. 770 to B. C. 760 (F. H. vol. i. pp. 325–6). I do not consider that the Scriptural dates can be fixed with minute accuracy, or that the numbers have always come down to us uncorrupted, but there is no reason to doubt that Menahem reigned *nearly* at this period.

[1] Bion and Polyhistor placed the extinction of the line of Ninus under Beleûs (Agath. ii. 25, p. 119), who is undoubtedly the Belochus of Syncellus and Eusebius. They said that he was succeeded by Belêtaras (in whose name may perhaps be traced the second element of Tiglath-Pileser), and that the crown continued in his family till Sardanapalus (*τὴν βασίλειαν τῷ οἰκείῳ ἐνεφύτευσε γένει ἕως ἐς Σαρδανάπαλον.* Agath. ut supra). Thus they knew of only one great change of dynasty in Assyria, and they placed it immediately after Beleus or Belochus. In the monuments Tiglath-Pileser, who is almost certainly the successor of Pul (see 2 Kings xv. 19–29), omits to record the name of his father, a sure indication that he was the founder of a new dynasty. For further evidence on this point see the letter of Col. Rawlinson in the Athenæum, No. 1377.

[2] Tiglath-Pileser records his taking tribute from Samaria *in his eighth year* (vide infra, p. 376). Now this event appears to have preceded by a very short interval the conspiracy of Hoshea, which seems to be related as its result (2 Kings xv. 30). Hoshea's conspiracy was in B. C. 737 or 738 (Clinton's F. H. vol. i. p. 326, App.). If we place the invasion of Tiglath-Pileser two years earlier (B. C. 740), the first of Tiglath-Pileser would be B. C. 747.

known historical era at which Babylon established a *quasi* independence, viz., B. C. 747, the "era of Nabonassar."

5. Concerning the origin of Assyrian independence, nothing can be said to be known. We seem to have evidence of the inclusion of Assyria in the dominions of the early Babylonian kings, but the time when she shook off this yoke and became a free country is quite uncertain, and can only be very roughly conjectured. Perhaps it is most probable that during the troubles caused by an Arabian conquest of Chaldæa and Babylonia, towards the close of the 16th century B. C., the Assyrians found an opportunity of throwing off their subjection, and establishing a separate sovereignty. However this may be, it is at any rate clear that about the year B. C. 1273, Assyria, which had previously been a comparatively unimportant country, became one of the leading states of the East, possessing what Herodotus not improperly terms an empire,[3] and exercising a paramount authority over the various tribes upon her borders. The seat of Government at this early time appears to have been at Asshur, the modern *Kileh-Shergat*, on the right bank of the Tigris, sixty miles south of the later capital, Nineveh. At this place have been found the bricks and fragments of vases bearing the names and titles of (apparently) the earliest known Assyrian kings, as well as bricks and pottery inscribed with the names of satraps, who seem to have ruled the country during the time of Babylonian ascendancy.[4] This too is the city at which *Shamas-iva*, the son of the Babylonian king, *Ismi-dagon*, erected (about B. C. 1840) a temple to the gods *Anu* and *Iva*;[5] so that it may with much probability be concluded to have been the capital during the whole period of the Babylonian dominion.

6. With regard to the first kings, it is necessary to discard altogether the fables of Ctesias and his followers. Ninus, the mythic founder of the empire, and his wife Semiramis, are not to be regarded as real historical personages, nor indeed as belonging to Assyrian tradition at all, but as inventions of the Greek writers.[6] The Babylonian historians, as we are told by Abydenus,[7] ignored altogether the existence of any such monarchs. The earliest known king of Assyria is a certain *Bel-lush*, who is the first of a consecutive series of four monarchs, proved by the bricks of *Kileh-Shergat* to have borne sway in Assyria at a time when its connexion with Babylonia had not long ceased. These kings, whose names are read very doubtfully as *Bel-lush*, *Pudil*, *Iva-lush*, and *Shalma-bar*, or *Shalma-rish*, and who take the title only assumed by independent princes, may possibly be actually the earliest of the entire series, and in that case would be likely to have covered with their reigns the space between

[3] Herod. i. 95. [4] Supra, Essay vi. § 22, note [7].

[5] Ibid., § 2, note [1], and § 6. [There is no positive evidence that the *Ismi-dagon* of *Kileh-Shergat* is the same with the *Ismi-dagon* of *Mugheir*, but there is much to render the identification probable.—H. C. R.]

[6] Concerning the word Ninus, see above, page 361, note [9]. No real connexion exists between this name and the Scriptural Nimrod. Semiramis is a possible name for an Assyrian queen; but the only known Semiramis of Assyrian history is the wife of Iva-lush III., whose date corresponds fairly enough with that of the Semiramis of Herodotus. (Vide infra, p. 373.)

[7] Fr. 11.

B. C. 1273, and B. C. 1200. No historical events can be distinctly assigned to this period.[8] The kings are known only by their legends upon bricks and vases, which have been found at but one single place, viz., *Kileh-Shergat*, and which are remarkable for nothing but the archaic type of the writing, and the intermixture of early Babylonian forms with others which are purely Assyrian. It is on this ground especially that they are assigned to the commencement of the empire, when traces of Babylonian influence might be expected to show themselves; but it must be confessed that they may *possibly* belong to a time about 150 years later, when Babylonia once more made her power felt in Assyria, a Chaldæan monarch defeating the Assyrians in their own country, and carrying off in triumph to Babylon the sacred images of their gods.[9]

7. The series of kings which is probably to be placed next to this, consists of six monarchs forming a continuous line, and reigning from about B. C. 1200 to B. C. 1050, the crown during this period descending without a break from father to son. Of these kings the names of the first five are recorded on the famous *Kileh-Shergat* cylinder,[10] the earliest document of a purely historical character which has as yet been recovered by the researches pursued in Mesopotamia. Tiglath-Pileser I., the fifth king of this series, records on this cylinder his own annals during the first five years of his reign, concluding his account by a glorification of his ancestors, whom he traces back to the fourth degree. The few particulars which are given in this slight sketch, form almost the whole that is known at present of the kings in question, whose names it is proposed to read as *Nin-pala-kura*, *Asshur-dapal-il*, *Mutaggil-nebu*, and *Asshur-rish-ili*. Of the first of these, whose name is even more than ordinarily uncertain,[1] it is related that he was "the king who first organised the country of Assyria," and "established the troops of Assyria in authority;" from which expression, as well as from his being the last monarch in the list, he may perhaps be fairly viewed as the founder of the line, and possibly of the independent kingdom. His son, *Asshur-dapal-il*, besides "holding the sceptre of dominion," and "ruling over the people of Bel," is only said to have "obtained a long and prosperous

[8] A king called *Shalmanu-bar*, or *Shalmanu-rish* (*query*, Shalmaneser?), is mentioned as the founder of Calah (*Nimrud*) in a late inscription. This may perhaps be the 4th monarch of the *Kileh-Shergat* series, whose name is *almost*, though not quite, the same.

[9] Supra, Essay vi. § 2, note [1].

[10] Of this cylinder, or to speak more strictly, octagonal prism, several duplicates have been found, the inscription being the same on all with unimportant variations. See the new British Museum series, No. 1 (1857).

[1] The different readings proposed for this name will show the *extreme* uncertainty of the Assyrian nomenclature, arising from the fact that proper names are for the most part written with monographs, and not phonetically. M. Oppert assumes, apparently as certain (Rapport addressé à son Excellence M. le Ministre de l'Instruction, Mai, 1856, p. 43), the form of *Ninip-pall-oukin*, which he renders "le Dieu Ninip a donné un fils." Sir H. Rawlinson agrees with him only in the second element. The first he originally read *Sanda*, and would now regard as simply *Nin*—the element in question representing the god Hercules, or Saturn, whose titles are fully discussed in another Essay. The third element, which M. Oppert reads *oukin*, Sir Henry gives almost conjecturally as *kura*, regarding it as the proper name of one of the Assyrian temples.

life." Later, however, in the same inscription, it is mentioned that this king took down the great temple of Anu and Phul at *Kileh-Shergat*, which was at the time in an unsound condition.[2] Of the third king, *Mutaggil-nebu*, nothing more appears than that he "was established in strength in the government of Assyria;" but of the fourth, *Asshur-rish-ili*, the father of Tiglath-Pileser I., it is recorded that he was, like his son, a conqueror. *Asshur-rish-ili* is "the powerful king, the subduer of foreign countries, he who reduced all the lands of the Magian world"—expressions which are no doubt exaggerated, but which, contrasted with the silence of the inscription with respect to any previous conquests, would seem to indicate that it was this monarch who first began those aggressions upon the neighbouring nations, which gradually raised Assyria from the position of a mere ordinary kingdom, to that of a mighty and flourishing empire.[3]

8. The annals of Tiglath-Pileser I., which furnish this account of his ancestry, extend (as has been already observed) over the space of five years. During this period, besides rebuilding the temple, which 60 years previously had been taken down by his great-grandfather, he claims to have extended his conquests over a large part of Cappadocia, over Syria, and over the Median and Armenian mountains. In Cappadocia, and the region intervening between that country and Assyria Proper, the enemy against which he has to contend is the people called *Naïri*. This nation was at the time divided into a vast number of petty tribes, each under its own chief, and was conquered in detail by the Assyrian monarch. The Syrians, or Aramæans, whom he subdued, dwelt along the course of the Euphrates from *Tsukha* (the Shoa of Scripture[4]), which was on the confines of Babylon, to Carchemish, which was near the site occupied in later times by the city of *Mabog*, or Hierapolis. The Armenian mountains appear, as in the later inscriptions of Sargon, under the name of *Muzr* (Misraim), thereby perhaps corroborating the testimony of Herodotus as to the connexion of the Colchians with the Egyptians. The date of these wars is capable of being fixed with an approach to accuracy, by the help of a rock-inscription, set up by Sennacherib at Bavian, in which a Tiglath-Pileser, whom there is every reason to regard as

[2] See Essay vi. § 2, note [1].

[3] The following is a translation of the genealogical portion of this important document:—

"Tiglath-Pileser, the illustrious prince, whom Asshur and Hercules have exalted to the utmost wishes of his heart, who has pursued after the enemies of Asshur, and has subjugated all the earth—

"The son of Asshur-rish-ili, the powerful king, the subduer of foreign countries, he who has reduced all the lands of the Magian world—

"The grandson of Mutaggil-nebu, whom Asshur the great lord aided according to the wishes of his heart, and established in strength in the government of Assyria—

"The glorious offspring of Asshur-dapal-il, who held the sceptre of dominion, and ruled over the people of Bel, who in all the works of his hands and the deeds of his life placed his reliance on the great gods, and thus obtained a prosperous and long life—

"The beloved son of Nin-pala-kura, the king who first organised the country of Assyria," &c. &c.

[4] Ezekiel xxiii. 23.

the monarch whose acts we are here considering,[5] is said to have occupied the Assyrian throne 418 years before Sennacherib's 10th year. As the reign of Sennacherib falls certainly towards the close of the 8th, or the beginning of the 7th century, we may confidently assign Tiglath-Pileser I. to the latter part of the 12th century B. C. This date accords satisfactorily with the discovered dynastic lists, and the supposed era of the foundation of the monarchy; for allowing the eight kings anterior to Tiglath-Pileser I. to have reigned twenty years apiece, which is a fair average, and taking B. C. 1273 for the first year of the monarchy, we should have B. C. 1113 for the accession of Tiglath-Pileser I. The inscription of Sennacherib also furnishes us with some additional and very important historical facts belonging to this reign—the invasion, namely, of Assyria at this time by *Merodach-adan-akhi*, king of Babylon, his defeat of Tiglath-Pileser, and his triumphant removal of the images of certain gods from Assyria to his own capital. We learn from this record that Babylon not only continued, to the close of the 12th century, independent of Assyria, but was still the stronger power of the two—the power which was able to take the offensive, and to ravage and humiliate its neighbour.

9. Tiglath-Pileser I. was succeeded by his son, *Asshur-bani-pal* I. No particulars are known of the reign of this prince, of whom one single record only has been as yet discovered, which is a dedicatory inscription containing his name, together with that of his father, Tiglath-Pileser, and his grandfather, *Asshur-rish-ili*. It is found on a mutilated female statue, probably of the goddess Astarte, which was disinterred at Koyunjik, and is now in the British Museum.

10. At the period which we have now reached, a break occurs in the line of kings furnished by the monuments, which it is impossible at present to fill up,[6] but which does not appear to have been of very long duration. *Asshur-adan-akhi*, the next known king to *Asshur-bani-pal* I., is thought to have ascended the throne about the year B. C. 1050, being thus a contemporary of David. He is known only as the repairer of certain buildings at *Kileh-Shergat*, which continued to receive additions from monarchs who were his successors, and probably his descendants. These monarchs, whose names may be given as *Asshur-danin-il*, *Iva-lush* II., and *Tiglathi-Nin*, form a line of direct descent, which may be traced on

[5] M. Oppert regards the Tiglath-Pileser of the Bavian inscription as a different monarch from the Tiglath-Pileser of the Shergat Cylinders. He gives the succession thus:—Tiglath-Pileser I., Sardanapalus I. (*Asshur-bani-pal*), Tiglath-Pileser II., &c. (Rapport à son Excellence M. le Ministre de l'Instruction, p. 43.) But there are no grounds for this distinction, which is at any rate purely conjectural.

[6] M. Oppert ventures to fill up the break with the names of Tiglath-Pileser II., Belochus I., Belitaras, and Shalmaneser I., whom he represents as reigning from B.C. 1122 to B.C. 1050. He applies the narrative of Agathias concerning Belochus and Belitaras to this period, identifying the latter with a certain *Bel-kapi* (or, according to him, *Bel-kat-irassou*), who is mentioned in an inscription of the great *Iva-lush* as "the founder of the empire." This inscription presents certainly considerable difficulties, since it differs greatly from the apparent actual succession of the kings as recorded on contemporary monuments; but M. Oppert can hardly be said to have offered a very satisfactory explanation of the discrepant accounts. (See the Rapport, &c., pp. 44–5.)

without interruption to the accession of Tiglath-Pileser II., the king of that name whose actions are recorded in Scripture. They continued to reside and to repair the buildings at *Kileh-Shergat*, but have left no evidence of conquests or greatness.[7]

11. *Tiglathi-Nin*, the last of the *Kileh-Shergat* series, was succeeded by his son, *Asshur-dani-pal*, or Sardanapalus, who appears to have transferred the seat of empire from *Kileh-Shergat*, which had been the Assyrian capital hitherto, to Calah,[8] the modern *Nimrud*, a position about 40 miles further to the north, near the junction of the greater Zab with the Tigris, on the opposite or left bank of the stream. The circumstances which induced this change are unknown, but it may probably have been connected with the extension of the empire towards Armenia, rendering a movement of the governmental centre in the same direction expedient. Certainly Asshur-dani-pal, who seems to be the warlike Sardanapalus of the Greeks, was a great conqueror. In his annals, which have come down to us in a very complete condition, it is apparent that he carried his arms far and wide through Western Asia, from Babylonia and Chaldæa on the one side, to Syria and the coasts of the Mediterranean on the other. It seems to have been in this latter quarter that his most permanent and important conquests were effected. Sardanapalus styles himself "the conqueror from the upper passage of the Tigris to Lebanon and the Great Sea, who has reduced under his authorities all countries from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof."[9] In his Syrian campaign, which is recorded at length, not only in the general inscription, but also on the votive Bull and Lion which he set up at Calah on his return from it, he took tribute from the kings of all the principal Phœnician cities, as Tyre, Sidon, Byblus, and Aradus: among the rest, probably from Eth-baal, king of the Sidonians, the father of Jezebel, wife of Ahab.

12. Sardanapalus, the son of *Tiglathi-Nin*, is the first of the Assyrian kings of whose grandeur we are able to judge by the remains of extensive buildings and sculptures which have come down to us. He was the founder of the North-West Palace at Nimrud, which, next to that of Sennacherib at *Koyunjik*, is the largest and most magnificent of all the Assyrian edifices. The greater portion of the sculptures now in the British Museum are from this building. It was a structure nearly square, about 360 feet in length, and 300 in breadth,[10] standing on a raised platform, overlooking the Tigris, with a grand façade to the north fronting the town, and another to the west commanding the river. It

[7] *Tiglathi-Nin*, however, is mentioned with Tiglath-Pileser I. in the annals of the great Sardanapalus on the Nimrud monolith, among the warlike ancestors of that king who had carried their arms into the Armenian mountains, and there set up steles to commemorate their conquests.—[H. C. R.]

[8] Calah was founded (as above-mentioned, p. 365, note [6]) by a certain Shalmanubar, or Shalmanurish, possibly the last king of the early *Kileh-Shergat* series; but it seems to have been a mere second-rate city until the reign of Asshur-dani-pal.

[9] See Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, ch. xvi. p. 361.

[10] See the plan of Mr. Layard (Nineveh and Babylon, opp. p. 655). The palace of Sennacherib at Koyunjik seems to have been a square of nearly 600 feet. (Ibid., plan facing p. 67.)

was built of hewn stone, and consisted of a single central hall, more than 120 feet long by 90 wide, probably open to the sky, round which were grouped a number of ceiled chambers, some larger and some smaller, generally communicating with one another. The ceilings were of cedar, brought apparently from Mount Lebanon;[1] the walls were panelled to a certain distance from the floor by slabs of alabaster, ornamented throughout with bas-reliefs, above which they were coated with plaster. The smaller chambers were frequently dark; the larger ones were lighted either by openings in the roof, or by apertures in the upper part of the wall near the ceiling. The floors were paved with slabs of stone, often covered with inscriptions. A close analogy has peen pointed out between this style of building and the great edifices of the Jews, as described in Scripture[2] and by Josephus,[3] the Jewish kings having in all probability borrowed their architecture from Assyria. The dimensions however of the palace of Solomon fell far short of those of the great Assyrian monarchs.[4]

Besides his palace at Calah, Sardanapalus built temples there to Asshur and Merodach, which stood upon the same platform, adjoining the wall of the city. He also built at least one temple at Nineveh itself, which however had not yet reached to the dignity of a metropolitan city. This temple was dedicated to Beltis, a deity worshipped both in Nineveh and Babylon.

13. Sardanapalus was succeeded by his son *Shalmanu-bar*, or Shalmaneser (as the name is read by M. Oppert[5]), the great monarch whose deeds are recorded on the black obelisk in the British Museum. This prince, who reigned above thirty-one years, was engaged either personally or by a favourite general,[6] in a perpetual series of expeditions, of which a brief account is given upon the obelisk, the details being apparently reserved for the colossal bulls, which seem to have been the usual dedication after a victory. These expeditions do not fall into any regular order, nor do they seem to result in actual conquest. They are repeatedly in the same countries, and terminate either in the submission of the monarch, or in his deposition, and the establishment in his place of a more obsequious ruler. What is most remarkable in them is their extent. At one time they are in Chaldæa, on the very borders of the southern ocean; at another in Eastern Armenia and the vicinity of the Caspian; frequently they are in Syria, and touch the confines of Palestine; occasionally they are in Cappadocia, in the country of the *Tuplai*

[1] Layard, p. 356. The wood discovered in this palace was almost all cedar. (Ibid., p. 357.)

[2] See 1 Kings, chs. vi. and vii.; and 2 Chron. ch. iii.

[3] Joseph. Ant. Jud. viii. 2. Compare Fergusson's Palaces of Nineveh, p. 229, and Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, pp. 644–9).

[4] The palace of Solomon was 150 feet long and 75 feet broad, thus covering a space little more than one-tenth of that covered by the palace of Sardanapalus, and not one-thirtieth of that covered by the vast building of Sennacherib. Its height was 45 feet, which perhaps the Assyrian palaces did not greatly exceed.

[5] Rapport, &c., p. 45.

[6] Called *Dikut-assur* by Dr. Hincks. See his translation of the Nimrud Obelisk in the Dublin University Magazine for October, 1853, pp. 422, 425, and 426.

(Tibareni). Armenia, Azerbijan, great portions of Media Magna, the line of Zagros, Babylonia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Phœnicia, the chain of Amanus and the country beyond it to the north and the north-west, are invaded by the Assyrian armies, which exceed upon occasions 100,000 fighting men. Everywhere tribute is enforced, and in most places images of the king are set up as a sign of his possessing the supremacy. The Assyrian successes are throughout attributed, after the favour of Asshur and Merodach, to their archers.

14. The picture furnished by the inscriptions of the general condition of Western Asia at this period (B.C. 900—860) is perhaps the most interesting feature of all which they present to us. At the extreme west appear the Phœnician cities, Tyre, Sidon, and Byblus, from which Shalmanu-bar takes tribute in his 21st year. Adjoining upon them are the kingdoms of Hamath[7] and Damascus, the latter at first under Ben-hadad,[8] and then under Hazael; the former under a king named Sahulena, or Irkhulena. These kingdoms are closely leagued together, and united in the same alliance are their neighbours, the *Khatti*, or Hittites, who form a great confederacy ruled by a number of petty chiefs,[9] and extend continuously from the borders of Damascus to the Euphrates at *Bir*, or *Bireh-jik*. The strength of the Hittites, Hamathites, and Syrians of Damascus, is in their chariots.[10] They are sometimes assisted by the "kings of the sea-coast," who are probably the Phœnician princes. The valley of the Orontes, from a little north of Hamath to the great bend which the river makes towards the west, and the country eastward as far as the mountains which separate the tributaries of that stream from those of the Euphrates, is in possession of the Patena, a tribe of Hittites, whose name connects them with the *Padan*-Aram of Scripture, and the *Batan*æa of the Greek writers. This people is permanently subject to Assyria, and the Assyrians have access through their territories to the countries of their neighbours. East of the Euphrates, in the country between *Bir* and Diarbekr, are the *Naïri* or *Nayari*, adjoining upon the Armenians, who reach from about Diarbekr to the basin

[7] The importance of Hamath at this early period is strongly marked in Scripture, first, by the frequent use of the expression, "the entering in of Hamath" (Josh. xiii. 5; Judges iii. 3; 1 Kings viii. 65, &c.), for the district north of the Holy Land; secondly, by what is related of the dealings of David with Toi (2 Sam. viii. 9, 10; 1 Chron. xviii. 9, 10); and thirdly, by the manner in which the Assyrian envoy, Rabshakeh, speaks of it (2 Kings xviii. 34, xix. 13). It was conquered by Solomon (2 Chron. viii. 3, 4), became independent probably under Jeroboam the first, and was again reduced by Jeroboam the second (2 Kings xiv. 28). Hamath at this time was the capital of Cœle-Syria, and occupied the site of the modern *Hamah*.

[8] This king was recognised independently both by Dr. Hincks and Col. Rawlinson. The name is read by the former authority as *Ben-idri*. The Septuagint, it must be remembered, substitutes Ὑιὸς Ἄδερ for Ben-hadad (1 Kings xx. 1, &c.), and the *d* and *r*, from their similarity, are constantly liable to be confounded in Hebrew, as they are in the name Hada*d*ezer, or Hada*r*ezer. (Comp. 2 Sam. viii. 3–12, with 1 Chron. xviii. 3–10.)

[9] See Dr. Hincks's article in the Dublin Univ. Mag. p. 422, note. Twelve kings of the southern Hittites are mentioned in several places. Compare the expressions in Scripture, "for *all the kings* of the Hittites did they bring chariots out" (1 Kings x. 29), "the king of Israel has hired against us *the kings* of the Hittites," &c.

[10] Compare 2 Sam. x. 18; 1 Kings x. 29, xx. 1, &c.

of Lake *Urumiyeh*, which belongs to the *Mannai* (who are the Minni of Scripture).[1] Southward, along the line of Zagros, are, first, *Kharkhar*, about Lake Van; next *Hupuska*, reaching south to Holwan and the Gates of Zagros; and then the country of the *Namri*, reaching as far as Susiana, east of which dwell the Medes and (perhaps) the Persians.[2] Below Assyria is Babylonia, the more northern portion of which is the country of the Accad, while the more southern, reaching to the coast, is Chaldæa—the land of the *Kaldai*. Above Babylonia. on both sides of the Euphrates, are the *Tsukhi*, perhaps the Shuhites of Scripture.[3] Finally, in Cappadocia, above the northern Hittites, and west of the Euphrates, are the *Tuplai*, or Tibareni, a weak people, under a multitude of chiefs,[4] who readily pay tribute to the conqueror.

15. The most interesting of the campaigns of Shalmanubar are those which in his 6th, 11th, 14th, and 18th years he conducted against the countries bordering on Palestine. In the first three of these his chief adversary was Benhadad of Damascus, the prince whose wars with Ahab and Jehoram, and whose murder by Hazael, are related at length in the Books of Kings and Chronicles.[5] Benhadad, who had strengthened himself by a close league with the Hamathites, Hittites, and Phœnicians, was defeated in three great battles by the Assyrian monarch, and lost in one of them above 20,000 men. This ill success appears to have broken up the league, and when Hazael, soon after his accession, was attacked in his turn, probably about the year B. C. 884 or 885,[6] he was left to his own resources, and had to take refuge in Anti-Libanus, where Shalmanubar engaged and defeated him, killing (according to his own account) 16,000 of his fighting men, and capturing more than 1100 chariots. It was probably at this time, or perhaps three years later, when the conqueror once more entered Syria and forced Hazael to supply his troops with provisions, that the first direct con-

[1] See Jer. li. 27: "Call together against her (Babylon) the kingdoms of Ararat, *Minni*, and Ashkenaz."

[2] The first appearance of the Medes in the Assyrian inscriptions is in the 24th year of *Shalmanubar*, about B. C. 880. Their exact locality cannot be fixed, but they clearly dwell east of the *Namri* who inhabit the Kurdish mountains. It is uncertain whether the Bartsu or Partsu are the Persians. From the time of Shalmanubar to that of Pul they seem to occupy south-eastern Armenia, where they are under a number of chiefs, as many as twenty-seven bringing tribute to the Assyrian monarch on one occasion. In the reign of Sennacherib they appear as *Partsu* in their proper position.

[3] Job ii. 11, &c.

[4] As many as twenty-four kings of the *Tuplai* are mentioned (Hincks, p. 424).

[5] 1 Kings xv. 18–20, xx. 1–34, xxii. 29–36; 2 Kings vi., vii., and viii.; 2 Chron. xvi. 2–4, &c.

[6] Hazael appears to have succeeded Ben-hadad, B. C. 886. (See Clinton's F. H. vol. i. Appendix, p. 324.) Hence the time of Shalmanubar may be fixed with a near approach to certainty. For as the accession of Hazael falls necessarily between his 14th year, when he wars with Benhadad, and his 18th, when he contends with Hazael, his own accession—if we regard Clinton's date for Hazael as sufficiently ascertained—must fall between B. C. 904 and B. C. 900. As we have his annals for thirty-one years, he must have continued to reign at least as late as B. C. 873, being thus contemporary with the Jewish kings Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, Ahaziah, Joash, and with the Israelitish monarchs Ahab, Ahaziah, Jehoram, and Jehu.

nexion, of which we have any record, took place between the people of Israel and the Assyrians. One of five epigraphs on the black obelisk records the tribute which *Yahua*, the son of *Khumri*—*i. e.* Jehu, the son of Omri[7]—brought to the king who set it up, consisting almost entirely of gold and silver, and articles manufactured from gold. It was perhaps this act of submission which provoked the fierce attack of Hazael upon the kingdom of Israel in the reign of Jehu, when he "smote them in all their coasts," and deprived them of the entire country east of Jordan, the ancient possession of the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh, as far as "Aroer by the river Arnon,"[8] which flows into the Dead Sea.

16. *Shalmanubar* dwelt indifferently at Calah and at Nineveh, and greatly embellished the former of these cities. He was the builder of the great central palace at that place, which has furnished us with so many of the most interesting specimens of Assyrian art. Like his father he appears to have brought timber, probably cedar, from the forests of Syria; and sometimes even to have undertaken expeditions for that special purpose. He probably reigned from about B. C. 900 to B. C. 860 or 850.[9]

17. *Shalmanubar* was succeeded by his son, *Shamas-iva*, whose annals, like his father's, have in part come down to us upon an obelisk set up by him to commemorate his exploits, at Calah, which seems to have been still the Assyrian capital. We learn from this document,[1] that during the lifetime of *Shalmanubar*, Sardanapalus, his eldest son, had raised a revolt against his authority, which was with difficulty put down by *Shamas-iva*, the younger brother. Twenty-seven strong places, including *Asshur*, the old metropolis, *Amida* (the modern Diarbekr), *Tel-apni*, which was near Orfa, and the famous city of Arbela—here first commemorated—espoused the cause of the pretender. A bloody struggle followed, resulting in the suppression of the rebellion, by the capture of the revolted cities, which were taken by *Shamas-iva*, one after another. Sardanapalus, in all probability, lost his life—if not, at any rate he forfeited the succession, which thus fell to the second son of the late monarch.

[7] Dr. Hincks says: "This title (son of Omri) is equivalent to King of Samaria, the city which Omri built, and which was known to the Assyrians as Beth-Omri." (Nimrud Obelisk, p. 426.) But is it not rather a claim—possibly not altogether false—to actual descent from Omri, and another instance of the anxiety of usurpers in the East to identify themselves with the dynasty which they in reality dispossess? (See note [4] on Book i. ch. 108.) Jehu, we know, was really the son of Jehoshaphat, and grandson of Nimshi (2 Kings ix. 2 and 14). But he may have been *on the mother's side* descended from Omri, or he may merely have claimed the connexion without any ground of right. The Assyrians would of course simply accept the title which he gave himself.

[8] 2 Kings x. 32–3.

[9] It must be remembered that these dates depend upon the ordinary Scripture chronology, which, placing the final capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in B. C. 588, and following the line of the kings of Judah, according to the years assigned them in the Hebrew text, obtains for the first of Rehoboam the year B. C. 975 or 976. (See Clinton, vol. i. p. 329, App.) The line of the kings of Israel would produce a date 15 or 20 years lower than this.

[1] This inscription has been in great part translated by Col. Rawlinson in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, vol. xvi. part i. Annual Report, p. xii. et seq.

18. The annals of *Shamas-iva* upon the obelisk extend only over the term of four years, and then end abruptly. It is not likely, however, that he reigned for so short a time, as the space between *Shalmanubar* and Tiglath-Pileser II. exceeds a century,[2] and is occupied (so far as at present appears) by but two reigns, those of *Shamas-iva*, and of his son and successor, *Iva-lúsh*. In these four years *Shamas-iva* undertook expeditions against the tribes of the Naïri on the flanks of Taurus, against the countries bordering on Armenia to the south and east, against the Medes beyond Zagros, and finally against the Babylonians. This last campaign is the most important. In it *Shamas-iva* declares that he took above 200 towns, and defeated a combined army of Chaldæans, Elamites, Namri, and Aramæans or Syrians, which the king of Babylonia had collected against him, slaying 5000 and taking 2000 prisoners, together with 1000 chariots.

19. *Iva-lúsh*, the third prince of that name, was the son and successor of *Shamas-iva*. He is perhaps the Pul of the Hebrew Scriptures, the Phaloch or Phalôs of the Septuagint, and the Belochus of Eusebius and others. He built some chambers in the central palace at Calah, which had been originally erected by his grandfather, and which was afterwards despoiled by Esarhaddon. The records of his time which have been hitherto discovered are scanty, but possess a peculiar interest. One of them is a pavement slab[3] from the upper chambers at *Nimrud* (Calah), wherein is noticed his reception of tribute from the Medes, Partsu, Minni, and Naïri on the north and east, from the country of *Khumri*, or Samaria, from Tyre, Sidon, Damascus, Idumæa, and Palestine on the Western Sea—a relation which accords with the fact mentioned in the Second Book of Kings, that Pul received a thousand talents as tribute from Menahem, king of Israel.[4] Another is a brief inscription on a statue of the god Nebo,[5] which shows that the name of his wife was Semiramis, and that she reigned conjointly with her husband, thus very remarkably confirming the account given by Herodotus of the real age of that personage, and also explaining in some degree her position in Herodotus as a Babylonian rather than an Assyrian princess. Iva-lúsh III. certainly seems to have been in an especial way connected with Babylonia. He appears to style himself "the king to whose son Asshur the chief of the gods has granted the kingdom of Babylon:" and relates that on his return from a campaign in Syria, in which he had taken Damascus, he proceeded to Babylonia, where he

[2] That is, if we connect the accession of Tiglath-Pileser with the era of Nabonassar, B. C. 747. There is no doubt a great difficulty in supposing that the three consecutive reigns of a father, son, and grandson, cover the space from B. C. 900 to B. C. 747, a period of 153 years.

[3] For a full account of this inscription see Athenæum, No. 1476, p. 174.

[4] 2 Kings xv. 19, 20. The amount of Menahem's tribute is not stated in the inscription; but as it has been thought excessive, it may be well to observe that from *Mariha*, king of Damascus, Phallukha took at this time 2300 talents of silver, 20 talents of gold, 3000 of copper, and 5000 of some other metal, probably iron.

[5] The statue, which is now in the British Museum, is dedicated by the artist to "his lord Iva-lush, and his lady Sammuramit." By the form of the letters and other signs it certainly belongs to the time of Iva-lush III., and not to either of the two earlier monarchs of the same name.

received the homage of the Chaldæans, and sacrificed in Babylon, Borsippa, and Cutha, to the respective gods of those cities, Bel, Nebo, and Nergal. It is possible that Semiramis was a Babylonian princess, and that *Iva-lúsh*, in right of his wife, became sovereign of Babylon, where he may have settled his son Nabonassar. The history of this period is however shrouded in an obscurity which we vainly attempt to penetrate; and it can only be said that under this king the first Assyrian dynasty seems to have come to an end, and in its place a new dynasty to have been established.

20. The following is a sketch of the probable chronology of the kings of this period:—

	B. C.
1. Bel-lúsh	ab. 1273.
2. Pudil	}
3. Iva-lúsh	} ab. 1200.
4. Shalma-bar (or Shalma-rish) ..	}
5. Nin-pala-kura	} ab. 1160.
6. Asshur-dapal-il (his son)	}
7. Mutaggil-nebu (his son)	} ab. 1130.
8. Asshur-rish-ili (his son)	}
9. Tiglath-Pileser I. (his son)	ab. 1110.
10. Asshur-bani-pal I. (his son)	ab. 1080.
* * * *	*
11. Asshur-adan-akhi	ab. 1050.
12. Asshur-danin-il (his son)	ab. 1025.
13. Iva-lúsh II. (his son)	ab. 1000.
14. Tiglathi-Nin (his son)	ab. 960.
15. Asshur-dani-pal (his son)	ab. 930.
16. Shalmanu-bar (his son)	ab. 900 to 850.
17. Shamas-iva (his son)	ab. 850 to 800.
18. Iva-lúsh III. (his son)	ab. 800 to 747.

21. The circumstances which brought the first Assyrian dynasty to a close, and placed upon the throne a king of a different family, are neither recorded in the inscriptions, nor by any writer of much authority.[6] Tiglath-Pileser II., who appears to have succeeded Pul,[7] has left no record of the means by which he obtained the crown. His inscriptions however support the notion of a revolution and change of dynasty in Assyria at this point of its history. Contrary to the universal practice of previous monarchs, he omits all mention of his ancestors, or even of the name of his father, upon his monuments. We may safely conclude from this that he was a usurper, and that his ancestry was not

[6] Bion and Polyhistor are said to have related that Tiglath-Pileser, whom they called Beletaras, was the former king's gardener, and gained the crown in some extraordinary way (ἐκαρπώσατο παραλόγως τὴν βασιλείαν, Agath. ii. 25, § 15). But Agathias, who is the authority for this, does not inform us of any details. The war between *Bel*imus and Perseus in Cephalion (Fragm. 1), and that between Sardanapalus and Perseus in Pausanias (see the Paschal Chronicle, p. 68), perhaps disguise the transactions of this period.

[7] Such is the *impression* which we receive from Scripture (2 Kings xv. 19–29). It would be nearly certain if we could feel sure that Tiglath-Pileser really took tribute *from Menahem* in his eighth year. (See below, note [2].)

royal. This is the circumstance which makes it probable that the lower dynasty of Assyria commenced with this monarch rather than with Pul, whom Berosus is said to have made the first king of the second period.[8] With respect to the exact time at which Tiglath-Pileser mounted the throne, it must be admitted that some doubt exists. The dates derived from the succession of the Hebrew monarchs would apparently give for his accession about the year B. C. 767, or B. C. 768; for according to this chronology Menahem reigned from B. C. 769 to B. C. 760, and he appears to have been contemporary both with Tiglath-Pileser and with Pul,[1] the former of whom expressly states that he took tribute from him *in his eighth year.*[2] It is doubtful however if complete dependence is to be placed upon the Hebrew dates;[3] and perhaps it is best on the whole to lay it down as most probable that the change of dynasty took place in or a little before the year B. C. 747, and was closely connected with the events in Babylonia which led to the establishment in that year of the celebrated era of Nabonassar. Herodotus connects the revolution in Assyria at the close of the 520 (526) years, with a general revolt of the provinces;[4] and though his statement, broadly made as it is with reference to all the Assyrian dependencies,[5] and extended from the immediate occasion to the whole period of the Lower Empire,[6] is undoubtedly false, since it is at variance both with Scripture and with the monuments;[7] yet it can scarcely be supposed to be without a foundation in fact. The ground of his belief—which would rest probably upon information obtained at Babylon—may well have been the revolt of Babylonia on occasion of Tiglath-Pileser's accession, which

[8] Vide supra, p. 363. [1] 2 Kings xv. 19.

[2] As Menahem only reigned 10 years, and Pul (the predecessor of Tiglath-Pileser) also took tribute from him, the accession of Tiglath-Pileser necessarily falls (unless there is a mistake of the name) into Menahem's second or third year. There are however strong grounds for suspecting that Menahem in the inscription is mentioned *by mistake for Pekah.* He is coupled with Rezin, who in Scripture always appears as the ally of Pekah; and the campaign described as falling into the eighth of Tiglath-Pileser seems to be almost certainly that of which an account is given in the book of Kings (2 Kings xvi. 5–9; cf. 1 Chron. v. 26), which was conducted against Rezin and Pekah. The result of it is that Damascus is taken and *destroyed.* (See 2 Kings xvi. ver. 9.) It is remarkable that if we regard B. C. 747 as the year of Tiglath-Pileser's accession, his campaign with the Syrians and Israelites would very conveniently fall into his eighth year (B. C. 740—the second year of Ahaz, and the eighteenth of Pekah.)

[3] The Hebrew numbers sometimes differ from the Septuagint, as in the case of Manasseh's reign, which is in the Hebrew 55, in the LXX. 35 years. Where they are checked by the list being double, there are frequent discrepancies, which have to be reconciled by violent assumptions. (See the notes in our marginal Bible, and Clinton's F. H. vol. i. App. ch. 5, pp. 325–7.) [4] Herod. i. 95.

[5] Herod. i. 96. ἐόντων δὲ αὐτονόμων πάντων ἀνὰ τὴν ἤπειρον.

[6] Compare ch. 102.

[7] Nothing is more plain from Scripture than the flourishing condition of Assyria in the reigns of Tiglath-Pileser, Shalmaneser, Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esar-haddon. The empire evidently advances rather than recedes during this period. Assyria absorbs the kingdoms of Syria and Israel, overruns Judæa and Philistia, and invades Egypt. At the same time she holds Media (2 Kings xvii. 6) and Babylon (ibid. ver. 24; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11). This account exactly accords with the monuments, but contradicts Herodotus.

his informants magnified into a general defection on the part of the Assyrian feudatories. The connexion of Semiramis with Pul on the one hand,[8] and with the establishment of Babylonian independence on the other,[9] confirms the synchronism in question, which is agreeable to the numbers of the Septuagint,[1] and from which the date derivable from the Hebrew Scriptures differs at the utmost by a period of twenty years.[2]

22. The annals of Tiglath-Pileser II. extend over the space of seventeen years. They exist only in a very fragmentary state, having been engraved on slabs which were afterwards defaced by Sargon or his descendants, and which were finally torn from their places and used by Esarhaddon as materials for the buildings which he erected at Nimrud —the ancient Calah. They give at some length his wars in Upper Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Media; but the most remarkable events recorded in them are an invasion of Babylon, which is assigned to his first, and the Syrian campaign of his eighth year. In the former he took Sippara (Sepharvaim) and various other places, driving into exile a Babylonian prince of the time, whose name is read as *Nebo-vasappan.*[3] In the latter he defeated Rezin, king of Damascus, took and destroyed his city, and received tribute from the king of Samaria (whom he calls Menahem), from a Hiram king of Tyre,[4] and from a certain "queen of the Arabs"—*i. e.* of the Idumæans.

It seems to have been concluded on good grounds, from a comparison of the narrative in the Book of Kings with the prophet Isaiah,[5] that Tiglath-Pileser invaded the dominions of the kings of Israel *twice:* the first time when he "took Ijon and Abel-beth-Maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, and all the land of Naphtali;"[6] and again when he came up at the invitation of Ahaz, and broke the power both of Syria and of Samaria.[7] The latter of these appears to be the expedition mentioned in his annals. It was undertaken at the request of Ahaz, the son of Jotham and father of Hezekiah, who had recently ascended the throne, and found himself hard pressed by the combination against him of Pekah and Rezin, who had been previously engaged in war with his father.[8] On condition of receiving

[8] Vide supra, p. 373. [9] Supra, p. 362, and infra, Essay viii. § 2.

[1] By assigning 35 years, instead of 55, to the reign of Manasseh, the LXX. reduces all the earlier dates by exactly 20 years.

[2] That is to say, if we regard the synchronism of Tiglath-Pileser with Menahem as established. If, on the other hand, we consider that Pekah is intended in the passage of Tiglath-Pileser's annals where the name of Menahem occurs, the exact date of B. C. 747 for Tiglath-Pileser's accession will accord with the Hebrew Scriptures.

[3] It does not seem possible that this name can represent Nabonassar, although the first element is the same in both words. Probably Nebovasappan was a mere prince, the ruler of a frontier district.

[4] Compare the Hiram of 1 Kings v. 1–12, and the Sirômus or Eirômus of Herodotus (vii. 98, and note ad loc.).

[5] See Mr. Vance Smith's Exposition of the Prophecies relating to Nineveh and the Assyrians, Introduction, § 2, p. 25.

[6] 2 Kings xv. 29. [7] Ibid. xvi. 5–9. Compare Isa. vii. and viii.

[8] Ibid. xv. 37.

aid against these enemies, Ahaz consented to become the tributary of the Assyrian king,[9] a position which the sovereigns of Judah must be considered to have thenceforth occupied.[1] Tiglath-Pileser "hearkened" to his proposal, collected an army, and marching into Syria in his eightl year, B. C. 740, attacked and took Damascus, slew Rezin,[2] and razed his city to the ground. He then probably proceeded against Pekah, whose country he entered on the north-east, where it bordered upon the kingdom of Damascus. Here he overran the whole district beyond Jordan, and hence he carried off into captivity the two tribes and a half by whom this country was peopled;[3] after which it is probable that Pekah submitted and consented to pay a fixed annual tribute. Ahaz about the same time had an interview with the Great King, while he still rested at Damascus,[4] before the city was destroyed—the first instance that occurs of direct contact between the Jews (properly so called) and the Assyrians.

23. Of Shalmaneser, the probable successor of Tiglath-Pileser II., very little is known.[5] He cannot have reigned more, and may possibly have reigned less, than nine years.[6] His name has not yet been found upon the monuments,[7] and the only facts belonging to his reign which have come down to us[8] are his two expeditions against Samaria, recorded in Scripture. It appears that Hoshea, who had murdered Pekah, and made himself king of Israel,[9] submitted to Shalmaneser upon his first invasion, and agreed to pay an annual tribute;[1] but afterwards, having obtained the protection of Sabaco, king of Egypt,[2] he revolted, with-

[9] "Ahaz sent messengers to the king of Assyria, saying, *I am thy servant* and thy son; come up and save me out of the hand of the king of Syria, and out of the hand of the king of Israel, which rise up against me. And Ahaz took the silver and gold that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the king's house, and *sent it for a present* to the king of Assyria." (2 Kings xvi. 7.)

[1] Hence the force of Hezekiah's words when he had withheld his tribute: "*I have offended:* return from me; that which thou puttest upon me I will bear." 2 Kings xviii. 14.)

[2] 2 Kings xvi. 9. [3] See 1 Chron. v. 26, and compare Isa. ix. 1.

[4] 2 Kings xvi. 10.

[5] It is probable that his monuments were purposely destroyed by Sargon.

[6] This assertion depends on the assumption that Tiglath-Pileser began to reign B. C. 747. As 17 years of his annals are extant, he cannot have been succeeded by Shalmaneser till B. C. 730. Sargon began to reign B. C. 721. Thus the greatest possible length of Shalmaneser's reign is nine years. If Tiglath-Pileser held the throne more than 17 years, which is very possible, the duration of Shalmaneser's reign would be shorter.

[7] Two inscriptions in the British Museum perhaps belong to Shalmaneser, but in both the royal name is wanting. One of them appears to contain a mention of Hoshea, king of Samaria; the other speaks of a son of Rezin.

[8] The accounts which Menander gave (ap. Joseph. Ant. Jud. ix. 14) of expeditions conducted by Shalmaneser against Phœnicia and Cyprus are probably unhistorical. He has apparently confused Shalmaneser with his successor Sargon, by whom expeditions against these places seem to have been really undertaken.

[9] 2 Kings xv. 30. [1] 2 Kings xvii. 3.

[2] 2 Kings xvii. 4. This is probably Sabaco I., the founder of the 25th (Ethiopian) dynasty, who may have reigned from about B. C. 725 to B. C. 715. The identification of Sabaco with So, which seems at first sight far-fetched, becomes certain if we bear in mind that the Hebrew word is סוא, *Seveh.* Compare the form *Sevechus* in Manetho.

held his tribute, and when Shalmaneser once more came up against him in person, resisted him by force of arms. Shalmaneser laid siege to Samaria, which defied his utmost efforts for nearly three years. Sabaco, however, gave no aid to his dependent, and at the end of three years Samaria fell.[3] It has been usual to ascribe its capture to Shalmaneser, and this is certainly the impression which the Scriptural narrative leaves. But the assertion is not made expressly,[4] and if we may trust the direct statement of Sargon, the successor of Shalmaneser upon the throne, we must consider that he, and not Shalmaneser, was the actual captor of the city. Sargon relates that he took Samaria in his first year, and carried into captivity 27,280 families. It would appear therefore that Shalmaneser died, or was deposed, while Hoshea still held out, and that the final captivity of Israel fell into the reign of his successor.

24. Sargon, or Sargina, who mounted the Assyrian throne in the year B. C. 721,[5] was the founder of a dynasty, and therefore most probably a usurper. It may be suspected that he took advantage of Shalmaneser's long absence from his capital, while he pressed the siege of Samaria, to possess himself of the supreme power, just as in later times the Pseudo-Smerdis took advantage of the absence of Cambyses in Egypt for a like purpose.[6] If not absolutely a person of low condition, he was at any rate of a rank which did not allow him to boast. In his inscriptions, although he calls the former kings of Assyria his ancestors, which seems to be a mere mode of speech, yet he carefully abstains from any mention of his father, and it is only from later records that we may perhaps be able to supply this deficiency.[7] His reign covered a space of nineteen years, for fifteen of which we possess his annals. It appears that in his first year, after Samaria had fallen and the inhabitants been brought as captives to Assyria,[8] he proceeded in person against Babylon, where it is possible that he placed Merodach-Baladan upon the throne. After this Sargon turned his arms against Lower Syria and Egypt. Egypt, which continued under the Ethiopian rule, had recently extended her dominion over the five cities of the Philistines, according to the prophecy of Isaiah.[9] Sargon speaks of Gaza as a dependency of Egypt, and its king is said to have fought a battle at

[3] 2 Kings xvii. 5, and xviii. 10. "At the end of three years they took it"

[4] "The king of Assyria" in 2 Kings, ch. xvii. ver. 6, is not necessarily the same monarch as "the king of Assyria" of the preceding verse. Our translators correctly regard ver. 6 as beginning a new paragraph. In the other passage (xviii. 10) we have the yet more vague expression, "*they* took it."

[5] This date depends on the statement made by Sargon, that in his own twelfth year he drove Merodach-Baladan out of Babylon *after he had reigned twelve years.* It follows that the two kings ascended the throne in the same year. Ptolemy's Canon, which gives Merodach-Baladan (Mardocempadus) exactly twelve years, places his accession in B. C. 721.

[6] Herod. iii. 61.

[7] On a clay tablet of the time of Sennacherib, which is in the possession of Col. Rawlinson, the name of *Nebosiphuni* occurs in a connexion which may be read as making him Sargon's father. The construction is however very doubtful.

[8] 2 Kings xvii. 6, and xviii. 11.

[9] See Isa. xix. 18: "In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan."

Raphia, which was the frontier town of Egypt on the Syrian side. On the defeat of the Philistine prince by the Assyrian monarch, the king of Egypt, who is called Pharaoh, and who was most probably Sabaco I.,[1] made submission, and paid Sargon a tribute in gold, horses, camels, &c. Tribute was also brought him by the "Chief of Saba," and the "Queen of the Arabs." After the conclusion of this successful campaign, Sargon, like so many of his predecessors,[2] was occupied for some time with wars in Upper Syria, Cappadocia, and Armenia. He overran Hamath; defeated *Ambris* the king of *Tubal* (the Tibareni), on whom he had previously bestowed the province of *Khilak* (Cilicia), but who had revolted in conjunction with the kings of *Meshech* (the Moschi) and *Ararat* (Armenia); invaded this last named country, and fought several battles with its king, *Urza;* took tribute from the *Naïri;* and carried back with him to Assyria a host of prisoners, whom he replaced by colonists from his own country. He next turned his arms eastward against the tribes in Mount Zagros, and against Media, which he reduced to subjection, planting throughout it a number of cities, which he peopled (at least in part) with his Israelitish captives.[3] Later in his reign he conducted a second expedition into southern Syria, where he took Ashdod by one of his generals,[4] the king flying to Egypt, which is expressly said to be subject to *Mirukha*, or Meroë.[5] It was about the same time that he took Tyre. Afterwards, during the space of four years at least, he carried on wars in Babylonia and the adjacent countries, driving Merodach-Baladan into banishment, and contending with the kings of Susiana, and the chiefs of the Chaldæans. It was at this period that he seems to have first received tribute from the Greeks of Cyprus,[6] into which country he perhaps afterwards made an expedition.[7]

[1] If Sabaco I. reigned, as has been supposed (supra, p. 377, second note [2]), from about B. C. 725 to B. C. 715, the payment of tribute to Sargon would exactly fall into his last year, for it took place in the 7th year of Sargon, or B. C. 715. It is however quite possible that Sabaco II. may be the Pharaoh mentioned. A seal impression of one of the Sabacos was found at Koyunjik, with the cartouche here given. It was joined with the seal of an Assyrian king, and had probably been affixed to a treaty.



[2] Supra, pp. 368, 370, 373, &c.

[3] See 2 Kings xvii. 6, and xviii. 11. "The King of Assyria did carry away Israel into Assyria, and put them in Halah and Habor by the river of Gozan, and *in the cities of the Medes*."

[4] Cf. Isa. xx. 1. "In the year that Tartan came unto Ashdod (when Sargon the king of Assyria sent him), and fought against Ashdod, and took it." Sargon appears in his annals to claim the capture as his own; but the kings of Assyria frequently identified themselves with their generals. (See Col. Rawlinson's Commentary, pp. 46–7, and Dr. Hincks's translation of the Black Obelisk inscription in the Dublin Univ. Magazine for October, 1853, p. 425, note.) Egyptians and Ethiopians seem to have been among the defenders of Ashdod (Isa. xx. 4, 5) on this occasion.

[5] The connexion of Egypt with Ethiopia at this time is strongly marked throughout the 20th chapter of Isaiah.

[6] The Cyprian Greeks are described as "seven kings of the *Yaha-nagé* tribes of the country of *Yavnan* (or *Yunan*), *i. e.* Ionia." They dwelt "in an island in the midst of the sea, at the distance of seven days from the coast."

[7] The monument of Sargon found at Idalium does not prove the presence of the Assyrian monarch in the island, but it shows that he must at least have sent an expedition there. If we may apply to this time the passage of Menander, which Jose-

This expedition, if it took place at all, must have occurred later than his fifteenth year, as it is not recorded in the Khorsabad annals. The statue of Sargon now in the Berlin Museum, which was brought from Idalium, commemorates the Cyprian expedition.

25. Sargon appears to have removed the seat of empire from Calah farther to the north. He repaired the walls of Nineveh, and built in the neighbourhood of that city[8] the magnificent palace which has supplied France with the valuable series of monuments now deposited in the Louvre. This palace, which seems to have been completed and embellished in his 15th year, has furnished the great bulk of the historical documents belonging to his reign.[9] In form and size it does not much differ from the other constructions of the Assyrian monarchs; but its ornamentation is to some extent Egyptian.[1] In connexion with it Sargon founded a town which he called by his own name—a title retained by the ruins at Khorsabad so late as the Arab conquest.[2]

An advance of the arts is perhaps to be traced at this period, which may have been a consequence of the growing connexion with Egypt. Enamelled bricks of the most brilliant hues, coloured designs on walls, cornices on the exteriors of buildings, the manufacture of transparent glass,[3] belong to this period; to which may also probably be referred a great portion of the domestic utensils and ornaments of a decidedly Egyptian character, which have been found in various parts of Mesopotamia.[4]

26. Sargon was succeeded by his son Sennacherib, whose accession may be assigned, on the authority of Ptolemy's canon, to the year B. C. 702.[5] He continued to reign at least as late as B. C. 680, since his 22nd year has been found upon a clay tablet. He fixed the seat of government at Nineveh, which he calls "his royal city." The town had fallen into a state of extreme decay, partly by the ravages of time,

phus refers to Shalmaneser (Ant. Jud. ix. 14, § 2), we must suppose that Cyprus had been previously subject to Phœnicia, and that she did not relinquish her hold without a sharp struggle.

[8] Sargon speaks of his palace as built "near to Nineveh." Khorsabad is about 15 miles N. by E. of Koyunjik, which marks the site of the true Nineveh.

[9] Some slabs of Sargon have been found at Nimrud, and a few at Koyunjik, but the palace at Khorsabad has yielded by far the greatest number.

[1] See Mr. Fergusson's Nineveh and Persepolis Restored, p. 223, where a cornice upon the exterior of a building attached to the palace is said to be "at first sight almost purely Egyptian." The fact, which Mr. Layard notes (Nineveh and Babylon, p. 131), that the walls of the chambers were in part "*painted* with subjects resembling those sculptured on the alabaster panels," seems to be another indication of Egyptian influence.

[2] See Col. Rawlinson's Commentary, p. 19, note [2].

[3] Transparent glass may have been in use earlier, but the earliest known specimen of it is a small bottle, found in the north-west palace at Nimrud, which has Sargon's name upon it (see Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, p. 197). The invention is most probably to be assigned to Egypt, whence the most ancient specimens of coloured glass have been derived. (See note [8] on Book ii. ch. 44.)

[4] Nineveh and Babylon, pp. 182–190.

[5] This is made in the Canon to be the first year of Belibus, whom Sennacherib set on the throne of Babylon in the year of his accession, and deposed three years afterwards.

partly from the swellings of the Tigris, and required a complete restoration to be fitted for a royal residence. Sennacherib seems to have commenced the work in his second year. He collected a host of prisoners from Chaldæa and Aramæa (Syria) on the one side, and from Armenia and Cilicia on the other, and used their forced labour for his constructions, employing on the repairs of the great palace alone as many as 360,000 men. A portion were engaged in making bricks; others cut timber in Chaldæa and in Mount Hermon, and brought it to Nineveh; a certain number built; within the space of two years the needful restorations seem to have been effected; Nineveh was made "as splendid as the sun;" two palaces were repaired; the Tigris was confined to its channel by an embankment of bricks; and the ancient aqueducts conveying spring-water to the city from a distance were made capable of their original use. Not content with these improvements, Sennacherib, later in his reign—probably about his 9th or 10th year—erected a new and more magnificent palace at Nineveh, which he decorated throughout with elaborate sculptures in commemoration of his various expeditions. This edifice, which was excavated by Mr. Layard, and which is known as the great Koyunjik palace, is on a larger scale than any other Assyrian building. It contained at least three spacious halls—one of them 150 feet by 125—and two long galleries (one of 200, the other of 185 feet), besides innumerable chambers; and the excavated portion of it covers an area of nearly 40,000 square yards, or above eight acres. Besides this great work, Sennacherib built a second palace in Nineveh, on the mound now called *Nebbi-Yunus*, and a temple in the city of *Tarbisi* (the modern *Shereef Khan*) at a distance of three miles from the capital.

27. The annals of Sennacherib hitherto discovered extend only to his eighth year. Immediately after his accession he proceeded into Babylonia, where Merodach-Baladan had once more succeeded in establishing himself upon the throne by the help of his neighbours the Susianians. A battle was fought in which Sennacherib was completely successful, and the Babylonian prince barely escaped with his life He fled however to the sea, and concealed himself from the Assyrian soldiers, who searched the shores and islands for him in vain. Sennacherib meanwhile entered and plundered Babylon, destroyed 79 Chaldæan cities and 820 villages, and having collected an enormous booty returned into Assyria, leaving Belib (or Belibus) as viceroy of Babylon. This expedition is related at length in Sennacherib's annals. Berosus seems to have ignored it, and to have represented Belibus as obtaining the crown by his own exertions;[6] but the narrative of the Assyrian king is more worthy of our confidence.

On his way back from Babylonia Sennacherib ravaged the lands of

[6] See the extract from Polyhistor in Euseb. Chron. Can. pars i. c. 4. "Postquam regno defunctus est Senacheribi pater et post Hagisæ in Babylonios dominationem, qui quidem nondum expleto trigesimo die a Marudacho Baldane interemptus est, Marudachus ipse Baldanes tyrannidem invasit mensibus 6, *donec eum sustulit vir quidam, nomine Elibus, qui et in regnum successit.* Hoc postremo annum jam tertium regnante, Senacheribus rex Assyriorum copias adversùm Babylonios contrahebat, prælioque cum iis conserto superior evadebat," &c.

the Aramæan tribes upon the Tigris and Euphrates, among whom are mentioned the *Nabatu* (Nabatæans), and the *Hagaranu* (Hagarenes), carrying into captivity from this quarter more than 200,000 persons. He then, in his second year, attacked the mountain tribes on the north and east of Assyria, penetrating even to Media, and taking tribute from certain Median tribes, who (he says) were entirely unknown to the kings that went before him. In his third year he went up against Syria. Here he first chastised *Luliya*, king of Sidon (apparently the Elulæus of Menander [7]), driving him to take refuge in Cyprus, and giving his throne to another. He then received tribute from the rest of the Phœnician cities as well as from the kings of Edom and Ashdod, who submitted to him without a struggle. Ascalon resisted him, and was attacked; the king and the whole royal family were seized and removed to Nineveh, and a fresh prince was placed upon the throne. Hazor, Joppa, and other towns which depended upon Ascalon, were at the same time taken and plundered. War followed with Egypt. The kings of that country, who are described as dependent upon the king of Meroë, or Ethiopia,[8] came up against Sennacherib, and engaged him near Lachish, but were defeated with great loss. Sennacherib then took Lachish and Libnah, and afterwards proceeded against Hezekiah. The Ekronites had expelled their king, who was a submissive vassal of the Assyrian monarch, and had sent him bound to Hezekiah, who kept him a prisoner at Jerusalem.[9] Sennacherib invaded Judæa, where he took 46 fenced cities, and carried off as captives above 200,000 people.[1] After this he laid siege to Jerusalem, which he endeavoured to capture by means of mounds.[2] Hereupon Hezekiah submitted, consenting to pay a tribute of 300 talents of silver and 30 talents of gold,[3] and sending besides many rich presents to conciliate the Assyrian monarch, who however mulcted him in a portion of his dominions, which was bestowed upon the princes of Ashdod, Ekron, and Gaza. Such is the account which Sennacherib gives of an expedition briefly touched by Scripture in a few verses [4]—an expedition which is not to be confounded with that

[7] Ap. Joseph. Ant. Jud. ix. 14. It was probably after chastising this prince that Sennacherib set up his tablet at the *Nahr el Kelb*.

[8] Egypt was still under the Ethiopians, Sabaco II. being now the true king of the country. Still certain native princes may have been allowed the royal title. The Dodecarchy of Herodotus, his Sethos, and Manetho's Stephinates, Nechepsos, and Nechao I., seem to represent these persons.

[9] Hezekiah may have exercised a certain lordship over the Philistine towns, for in the beginning of his reign he "smote the Philistines, even unto Gaza" (2 Kings xviii. 8).

[1] Demetrius, the Jewish historian, ascribed the great Captivity of the Jews to Sennacherib (Clem. Alex. Strom. i. p. 403).

[2] This circumstance adds increased force to the promise on a later occasion: "He shall not come into this city, nor shoot an arrow there, nor come before it with shield, *nor cast a bank against it*" (2 Kings xix. 32).

[3] Compare 2 Kings xviii. 14. The discrepancy as to the amount of the silver has been well explained by Mr. Layard (Nineveh and Babylon, p. 148).

[4] See 2 Kings xviii. 13–16: "Now in the fourteenth year of King Hezekiah did Sennacherib, king of Assyria, come up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them. And Hezekiah, king of Judah, sent to the king of Assyria to Lachish, saying, I have offended: return from me; that which thou puttest upon me I will

second invasion of these countries by the same monarch, which terminated in the destruction of his host, and his own ignominious flight to his capital.[5] This latter expedition is not described in his annals, and it may perhaps belong to a period beyond the time to which they extend.

Sennacherib, in his fourth year (B. C. 699), once more turned his arms against the south, and proceeded into Babylonia, where the party of Merodach-Baladan was still powerful. After defeating a Chaldæan chief who sided with the banished king, and expelling some of the king's brothers, he deposed the viceroy Belibus, whom he had set up in his first year, and placed his own eldest son, *Asshur-nadin-**, upon the throne,[6] after which he returned to his own country.

The remaining records of Sennacherib are not of any great importance. In his fifth year he seems to have led an expedition into Armenia and Media, and from his sixth to his eighth he was engaged in wars with the inhabitants of Lower Babylonia and Susiana, whom he attacked by means of a fleet brought down the Tigris, and manned with Phœnician sailors. The annals break off at his eighth year.

28. It has been already observed that the reign of Sennacherib extended to at least 22 years.[7] This was probably its *exact* length; for the accession of Esar-haddon to the throne of Assyria seems rightly regarded as contemporaneous with his establishment as King of Babylon, which last event is fixed by Ptolemy's Canon to B. C. 680, precisely 22 years after the accession of Belibus, whom Sennacherib placed over Babylon in the same year that he himself mounted the throne. Sennacherib would thus reign for 14 years after the time when his annals cease. It is possible that the second Syrian expedition, ending in the miraculous destruction of his army, occurred during this period; or it may (as has generally been supposed) have followed rapidly on his first expedition, occurring (for instance) in his fourth or fifth year, but being purposely omitted from his annals as not redounding to his credit. Sennacherib

bear. And the king of Assyria appointed unto Hezekiah king of Judah 300 talents of silver, and 30 talents of gold. And Hezekiah gave him all the silver that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the king's house. At that time did Hezekiah cut off the gold from the doors of the temple of the Lord, and from the pillars which Hezekiah king of Judah had overlaid, and gave it to the king of Assyria."

[5] The compilers of our Bible with marginal references have seen that two distinct expeditions are spoken of, and have placed an interval of three years between them, assigning the victorious expedition to B. C. 713, and the unsuccessful one to *about* B. C. 710. Mr. Layard, however (Nineveh and Babylon, pp. 144–5), Mr. Bosanquet (Sacred and Profane Chronology, pp. 59–60), and Mr. Vance Smith (Prophecies on Nineveh and the Assyrians, Introduction, § 4), assume the two expeditions to be the same.

[6] *Asshur-nadin-** is undoubtedly the Aparanadius (query, Assaranadius? σσ having become π) of the Canon, and is a distinct person from the Asaridanus (Esar-haddon) who ascends the throne of Babylon nineteen years afterwards. Perhaps Polyhistor, when he called the former prince Asordanes (ap. Euseb. Chron. Can. pars i. c. 4), confounded him with his brother. The deposition of Belibus by Sennacherib in his third year, and the establishment on the throne of a son of the conqueror, were mentioned by that writer.

[7] Since his 22d year has been found on a clay tablet.

on his second invasion, again passed through Palestine and Idumæa, penetrating to the borders of Egypt, where he was brought into contact with Tirhakah, the Ethiopian.[8] This circumstance favours a late date for the expedition, since it is doubtful whether Tirhakah ascended the throne before B. C. 690.[9]

29. The second expedition of Sennacherib into Syria,[1] whenever it took place,[2] seems to have offered a strong contrast to the first, and to have been in most respects very unfortunate. The principal object of the attack was, as before, the part of Syria bordering upon Egypt; and the two cities of Lachish and Libnah, which had been taken in the former war, but had again fallen under Egyptian influence, once more attracted the special attention of the Assyrian king. While engaged in

[8] 2 Kings xix. 8, 9; Isa. xxxvii. 8, 9.

[9] If the last year of Amasis was B. C. 525, and if he reigned 44 years, as reported both by Herodotus and Manetho, his accession must have occurred in B. C. 569. Now an Apis stela shows that only 72 years intervened between the 35th year of Amasis (B. C. 535) and the 3rd of Neco. Neco's accession must therefore be placed in B. C. 610. Allowing Psammetichus the 54 years assigned him both by Manetho and Herodotus, we obtain for his accession the date B. C. 664. Another Apis stela shows that Tirhakah *immediately* preceded Psammetichus, and that he reigned 26 years. It would appear from this that Tirhakah mounted the throne in B. C. 690, which was the 13th year of Sennacherib, if we follow the Canon. (See Ap. to Book ii. ch. viii. § 33.) It is possible, however, that Tirhakah may have contended with Sennacherib, as *king of Ethiopia*, before he became king of Egypt.

[1] The grounds whereon I determine in favour of a second expedition, which Mr. Vance Smith (Prophecies, Introd. § 4, p. 54) and others positively reject, are the following: 1. The apparent separation of the expeditions in Kings (2 Kings xviii. 13 and 17) and Chronicles (2 Chron. xxxii. 1 and 9). 2. The improbability of a hostile attack on Jerusalem immediately after the payment of a large tribute. 3. The fall of Lachish on the first occasion, its apparent escape on the second. 4. The improbability (as it seems to me) of national vanity going to the length of seeking to conceal an enormous disaster under cover of the proudest boasts. And, 5. The impossibility of a triumphant return *with* 200,000 *captives* to Nineveh after the loss sustained and the hasty flight which followed. (Note here the confirmation which Demetrius affords to the narrative of the Inscriptions on this point. Supra, p. 382, note [1].)

[2] The comparative chronology of the reigns of Sennacherib and Hezekiah is the chief difficulty which meets the historian who wishes to harmonise the Scriptural narrative with the Inscriptions. Scripture places only eight years between the fall of Samaria and the first invasion of Judæa by Sennacherib (2 Kings xviii. 9 and 13). The inscriptions, assigning the fall of Samaria to the first year of Sargon, giving Sargon a reign of *at least* 15 years, and assigning the first attack on Hezekiah to Sennacherib's third year, put an interval of at least 18 years between the two events. Further, a comparison of Ptolemy's Canon with the inscriptions (with which it is in perfect and exact agreement) shows Sargon's reign to have been one of 19 years, and thus raises the interval in question to 22 years. If we accept the chronological scheme of the Canon, confirmed as it is by the Assyrian and Babylonian records, and strikingly in agreement as it is in numerous cases with the dates obtainable from Scripture, we must necessarily correct one or more of the Scriptural numbers. The *least* change is, to substitute in the 13th verse of 2 Kings xviii. the *twenty-seventh* for the "fourteenth" year of Hezekiah. We may suppose the error to have arisen from a correction made by a transcriber who regarded the invasion of Sennacherib and the illness of Hezekiah (which last was certainly in his 14th year) as synchronous, whereas the words "in those days" were in fact used with a good deal of latitude by the sacred writers. (See Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, p. 145, note.) If this view be taken, the second expedition must have followed the first within one or at most two years, for Hezekiah reigned in all only 29 years.

person before the former of these two places,[3] he seems to have heard of the defection of Hezekiah, who had entered into relations with the king of Egypt,[4] despite the warnings of Isaiah,[5] and had thereby been guilty of rebelling against his liege lord. Hereupon Sennacherib sent a detachment of his forces, under a Tartan or general, against the Jewish king; but this leader, finding himself unable to take the city either by force or by a defection on the part of the inhabitants, returned after a little while to his master. Meantime the siege of Lachish had apparently been raised,[6] and Sennacherib had moved to Libnah, when intelligence reached him that "Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia"—perhaps not yet king of Egypt—had collected an army and was on his way to assist the Egyptians,[7] against whom Sennacherib's attack was in reality directed. Sennacherib therefore contented himself with sending a threatening letter to Hezekiah, while he pressed forward into Egypt. There he seems to have been met by the forces of an Egyptian prince, or satrap, who held his court at Memphis,[8] while the kings of the 25th, or Ethiopian dynasty, were reigning at Thebes; and probably it was as the two armies lay encamped opposite to one another, that "the angel of the Lord went out and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand; and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses."[9] Sennacherib, with the remnant of his army, immediately fled, and the Egyptians, regarding the miraculous destruction as the work of their own gods, took the credit of it to themselves, and commemorated it after their own fashion.[1]

30. Upon the murder of Sennacherib by two of his sons at Nineveh, the Assyrian inscriptions fail to throw any light. It has been supposed by some,[2] that the event was connected with the destruction of his host, and followed it within the space of a few months, just as the deposition of Apries is made by Herodotus to follow closely upon the destruction of his army by the Cyrenæans.[3] But there are no sufficient grounds for this belief, which is contrary to the impression left by the Scriptural narrative;[4] and it is far more probable that Sennacherib outlived his discomfiture several years. During this time he carried on some of the wars mentioned above,[5] and was likewise en-

[3] 2 Kings xviii. 17. [4] Ibid. ver. 21 and 24. [5] Isa. xxx. 2, xxxi. 1–3.

[6] This seems implied in the expression, "he had heard that he *was departed* from Lachish" (2 Kings xix. 8).

[7] 2 Kings xix. 9.

[8] Sethos. (See Herod. ii. 141, and compare "Historical Notice of Egypt" in the Appendix to Book ii. ch. viii. p. 380.)

[9] 2 Kings xix. 35.

[1] Herod. ii. 141, ad fin. If the statue shown to Herodotus was really erected to commemorate the discomfiture of Sennacherib, the mouse must have been an emblem of destruction. The tradition of the gnawing of the bow-strings would arise from the figure. (See note on Book i. ch. 24.)

[2] See Clinton, F. H. vol. i. App. ch. 4. [3] Herod. ii. 161, iv. 159.

[4] It is said both in the second book of Kings (xix. 36) and in Isaiah (xxxvii. 37), that Sennacherib "departed, and went and returned, *and dwelt* at Nineveh," which gives the impression of some considerable length of residence. The statement of the book of Tobit (i. 21), that he was murdered 55 days after his return from Syria, cannot be considered to possess any authority. [5] Supra, p. 383.

gaged in the enlargement and embellishment of his palace at Nineveh, as well as in those occasional expeditions which are commemorated by the decorated chambers there—additions, as it would seem, to the original structure.

31. As Sennacherib was not succeeded by his eldest son, *Asshur-nadin-**, the viceroy of Babylon, that prince must be supposed either to have died before his father, or to have been involved in his destruction. It is perhaps most probable that he died in B. C. 693, when we find by the Canon that he was succeeded on the throne of Babylon by Regibelus. His removal made way for Esar-haddon (*Asshur-akh-iddina*), most likely the second son, who appears to have experienced no difficulty in establishing himself upon the throne after his father's murder. This prince, like his father and his grandfather, was at once a great conqueror and a builder of magnificent edifices. The events of his reign have not been found in the shape of annals; but it is apparent from his historical inscriptions[6] that he carried his arms over all Asia between the Persian Gulf, the Armenian mountains, and the Mediterranean, penetrating in some directions farther than any previous Assyrian monarch.[7] He warred in Egypt, which, together with Ethiopia, he claims to have conquered; and he also made himself master of Sidon, Cilicia, the country of the *Gimri* or Sacæ,[8] the land of Tubal, parts of Armenia, Media, and *Bikni*, Chaldæa, Edom, and many other less well-known countries. In Susiana he contended with a son of Merodach-Baladan, and he boasts that in spite of the assistance which this prince received from the Susianian monarch, he was unable to save his life. On another son, who became a refugee at his court, he bestowed a territory upon the coast of the Persian Gulf, which had previously been under the government of his brother.[9] In Babylon itself Esar-haddon appears to have reigned in his own person without setting up a viceroy. According to some this was but the revival of a policy introduced by his grandfather, Sargon, who is suspected to be the Arceanus (Ἀρκέανος) of the Canon.[1] But the identification of these two names is very uncertain. No traces have been found that specially connect Sargon with Babylon, whereas there are many clear proofs of Esar-haddon having reigned there. The inscriptions show that he repaired temples and built a palace at Babylon, bricks from which, bearing his name, have been discovered among the ruins at Hillah; a Babylonian tablet has also been found, dated in the reign of

[6] One of these has been printed, but not published, by Mr. Fox Talbot, in his small pamphlet entitled "Assyrian Texts translated, No. I." (pp. 10–19).

[7] His Median conquests are said to have been in a land "of which the kings his fathers had never heard the name;" and other hostilities are recorded against tribes who from days of old had never obeyed any of the kings his ancestors" (Assyrian Texts, pp. 14 and 15).

[8] This is the first occasion upon which the *Gimri* are mentioned. The same name occurs in the Babylonian column of the Behistun and other inscriptions, where it represents the *Saka* (Sacæ) of the Persian.

[9] See the "Assyrian Texts," p. 12.

[1] This notion was, I believe, originated by Dr. Hincks. It is adopted by M. Oppert (Rapport, p. 48) and Mr. Bosanquet (Sacred and Profane Chronology, p. 66).

Esar-haddon, by which it appears that he was the acknowledged king of that country. It is probable that he held his court sometimes at the Assyrian, sometimes at the Babylonian capital;[2] and hence it happened that when his captains carried Manasseh away captive from Jerusalem, they conducted their prisoner to the latter city.[3] No record has been as yet discovered of this expedition, nor of the peopling of Samaria by colonists drawn chiefly from Babylonia,[4] which was in later times ascribed to this monarch.[5]

32. The buildings erected by Esar-haddon appear to have equalled, or exceeded, in magnificence, those of any former Assyrian king. In one inscription he states that in Assyria and Mesopotamia he built no fewer than thirty temples, "shining with silver and gold, as splendid as the sun."[6] Besides repairing various palaces erected by former kings, he built at least three new ones for his own use or that of his son. One of these was the edifice known as the south-west palace at Nimrud, which was constructed of materials derived from the palaces of the former monarchs who had reigned at that place, for whom, as not belonging to his own family, Esar-haddon seems to have entertained small respect. The plan of this palace is said to differ from that of all other Assyrian buildings.[7] It consisted of a single hall of the largest dimensions—220 feet long and 100 broad—of an antechamber through which the hall was approached by two doorways, and of a certain number of chambers on each side of the hall, which were probably sleeping apartments. According to Mr. Layard, it "answers in its general plan, more than any building yet discovered, to the description in the Bible of the palace of Solomon."[8] Another of Esar-haddon's palaces was erected at Nineveh on the spot now marked by the mound at *Nebbi-Yunus*.[9] This is probably the building of which he boasts that it was "a palace such as the kings, his fathers, who went before him, had never made," and which on its completion he is said to have called "the palace of the pleasures of all

[2] The practice of the Persians in this respect is well known. (See note to Book v. ch. 53). It may be gathered from the mention of "Shushan *the palace*" in the book of Daniel during the reign of Belshazzar, that the later Babylonian kings held their court sometimes at that place.

[3] See 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11: "Wherefore the Lord brought upon them the captains of the *king of Assyria*, which took Manasseh among the thorns, and bound him with fetters, and *carried him to Babylon*." Scripture does not say who the king of Assyria was; but 1. as Sennacherib and Hezekiah were contemporaries, their sons would naturally be the same; and 2. Essar-haddon mentions Manasseh among the kings who sent him workmen for his great buildings. See note [3] on the next page.

[4] 2 Kings xvii. 24: "The king of Assyria brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Ava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel." Of these five cities three (Babylon, Cuthah, and Sepharvaim or Sippara) are certainly Babylonian: Ava is doubtful. Concerning Hamath, see above, p. 370, note [7].

[5] Ezra iv. 2. Perhaps the "great and noble Asnapper" of ver. 10 is the officer who actually led the colony into Samaria.

[6] "Assyrian Texts," p. 16.

[7] Nineveh and Babylon, ch. xxvi. p. 654.

[8] Ibid. p. 655. [9] Ibid. ch. xxv. p. 598.

the year."[1] It is described as supported on wooden columns, and as roofed with lofty cedar and other trees; sculptures in stone and marble, and abundant images in silver, ivory, and bronze, constituted its adornment; many of these were brought from a distance, some being the idols of the conquered countries, and others images of the Assyrian gods. Its gates were ornamented with the usual mystical bulls; and its extent was so great, that horses and other animals were not only kept, but even bred, within its walls. A third palace was erected by Esar-haddon at *Shereef-Khan*, for his son, but this was apparently a very inferior building.[2]

In the construction and ornamentation of his palaces Esar-haddon made use of the services of Syrian, Greek, and Phœnician artists. The princes of Syria, Manasseh king of Judah, the Hellenic monarchs of Idalium, Citium, Curium, Soli, &c., and the Phœnician king of Paphos, furnished him with workmen,[3] to whose skill we are probably indebted for the beautiful and elaborate bas-reliefs which adorn the edifices of his erection.

Esar-haddon must have reigned at least 13 years; possibly he may have reigned longer.[4] In B. C. 667, thirteen years after his accession, he was succeeded on the throne of Babylon by Saosduchinus; but this prince may have been a rebel, or a viceroy appointed to govern the country by the Assyrian monarch. Esar-haddon may have still continued to fill the throne of Assyria, where his great works seem to indicate a long and prosperous rule. He was succeeded by his son *Asshur-bani-pal*,[5] the prince for whom he had built a palace at *Shereef-Khan*, perhaps about the year B. C. 660.[6]

33. With *Asshur-bani-pal* II., the Sardanapalus of Abydenus, appears

[1] See Mr. Fox Talbot's pamphlet, pp. 17, 18. This translation is somewhat doubtful.

[2] See Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, ch. xxv. p. 599.

[3] This fact is recorded on an inedited fragment of Esar-haddon's time, in which the following names occur:—*Ekistuzi* of *Edial* (Ægisthus of Idalium), *Pisuagura* of *Kitthim* (Pythagoras of Citium), *Ki----* of *Tsilluimmi* (* * * of Salamis), *Itu-Dagan* of *Pappa* (Ithodagon of Paphos), *Erieli* of *Tsillu* (Euryalus of Soli), *Damatsu* of *Kuri* (Demo--- of Curium), *Rummizu* of *Tamizzi* (* * * of Tamissus), *Damutsi* of *Amti-Khadasti* (Demo ---- of Ammo-chosta), *Hunazig-gutsu* of *Liminni* (Onesi--- of Limenia), and *Puhali* of *Upridissa* (* * * of Aphrodisia).

[4] Polyhistor (according to Eusebius, Chron. Can. pars 1, p. 20) gave Esar-haddon a reign of only eight years. But as he ascribed no more than 18 years to Sennacherib, who certainly reigned 22, his testimony cannot be regarded as of much weight. The Canon, which may be considered to represent the real views of Berosus, made Esar-haddon reign 13 years *in Babylon*. Unless, therefore, he ascended the throne of Babylon during his father's lifetime, of which there is no atom of evidence, he must have reigned at least as long in Assyria. Dr. Brandis conjectures that Berosus gave him 28 years *in Assyria* (Rev. Assyr. Temp. Emend. p. 41); but of this I see no satisfactory proof.

[5] There is some doubt whether a Tiglath-Pileser, whose name has been found in some mutilated dynastic lists, may not have intervened between Esar-haddon and his son *Asshur-bani-pal*. M. Oppert inserts this monarch, and makes him reign from B.C. 668 to B. C. 660. (Rapport, &c., p. 50, and see the table opposite p. 52.)

[6] This date, and those which follow to the time of the fall of Nineveh (which is fixed to the year B. C. 625 by the accession in that year of Nabopolassar), must be regarded as *approximate*.

to have commenced the decadence of Assyria. His military expeditions had neither the extent nor the importance of the expeditions of former kings, and seem to have occupied him but for a small portion of his reign. He continued the war with Susiana, where he contended against the grand sons of Merodach-Baladan; and he likewise made incursions into Armenia; but the more distant expeditions of Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esar-haddon have no parallel in his annals. Hunting appears to have been his passion. A palace which he erected at Nineveh, in the immediate vicinity of that built by Sennacherib, was ornamented throughout with sculptured slabs representing him as engaged in the pursuit and destruction of wild animals.[7] The arts flourished under his patronage. There is a marked improvement in the sculptures wherewith he decorated his buildings, as compared with those of former kings. This is particularly apparent in the delineation of animals, which have a truth, a delicacy, a spirit, and an absence of conventionality, effectually distinguishing them from the representations of an earlier period.[8] Thus as the nation declined in military vigour the arts of peace, as so often happens, made rapid progress; and it is evident that, had no foreign conquest interfered to check the rising civilisation, Assyria might in many respects have anticipated the improved art of the Greeks.

34. *Asshur-bani-pal* may be supposed to have reigned from about B. C. 660 to B. C. 640. He was succeeded by a son, whose name is read somewhat doubtfully as *Asshur-emit-ili*, the last king of whom any records have been as yet discovered. Under him the decline of Assyria seems to have been rapid. No military expeditions can be assigned to his reign, and the works which he constructed are of a most inferior character. A palace built by him on the great platform at *Nimrud* or Calah —the chief monument of his reign which has come down to us—indicates in a very marked way the diminution in his time of Assyrian wealth and magnificence. It contained no great hall or gallery, and no sculptured slabs, but merely consisted of a number of rooms of small proportions, panelled by plain slabs of common limestone, roughly hewn and not more than 3½ feet high. The upper part of the walls above the panelling was simply plastered.[9] If *Asshur-emit-ili* was reduced to live in this building, we must suppose that the superb edifices of his ancestors had fallen into ruin, which could scarcely have taken place unless they had been injured by violence. It seems probable that, either through the invasions of the Medes, who were now growing into prominence,[10] or in

[7] These slabs, which were recovered by Col. Rawlinson, are now in the British Museum. The animals of chace include lions, wild horses, wild asses, stags, and antelopes.

[8] See Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, p. 459, where a similar observation is made with respect to some sculptures wherewith this prince adorned the palace of Sennacherib at Koyunjik.

[9] Ibid. p. 655.

[10] Herodotus assigns the first attack of the Medes on Nineveh to the last year of Phraortes, or B. C. 634. He represents a second attack as having followed closely on the accession of Cyaxares, which was in B. C. 633. The final invasion he would, apparently, have placed as late as B. C. 603. Between B. C. 632 and 603 (according to him) the Scyths were dominant throughout Western Asia.

the course of the Scythic troubles which belong to about the same period,[11] Assyria had been greatly weakened, her cities being desolated, and her palaces dismantled or destroyed. These disasters preceded the last attack of Cyaxares, and prepared the way for the fall of the mighty power which had so long been dominant in Western Asia. It is uncertain whether the last war with the Medes and final destruction of Nineveh fell into the reign of *Asshur-emit-ili*, the latest monarch of whom contemporary records have been found, or whether he had a successor in the Saracus of Berosus[12]—the Sardanapalus of the Greeks, under whom the final catastrophe took place. On the one hand, the number of years from the accession of Esar-haddon to the capture of Nineveh, which is but fifty-five, seems barely to suffice for the three reigns of a father, a son, and a grandson, whence we should conclude that *Asshur-emit-ili* was probably the last king. On the other, the difference between the names of Saracus and *Asshur-emit-ili* is so wide, and the authority of Berosus (from whom the notices of Saracus seem to come) so great, that we are tempted to suspect that *Asshur-emit-ili* may have been the last king but one, and Saracus (perhaps his brother) have succeeded him.[1]

The character commonly given of this king, and his conduct during the last siege of Nineveh, as they descend to us almost solely from Ctesias,[2] must be viewed with great doubt and suspicion.[3] The portrait of the effeminate voluptuary, waking up under circumstances of extreme peril to a sense of what his position required of him, displaying in the last struggle for his throne prodigies of valour, and closing all with a glorious death, is one of those Greek ideals of the Oriental character which by their artistic excellence and completeness betray their origin. The Sardanapalus of Ctesias, whose very name is a fiction,[4] must be regarded as a creation of that writer's fertile fancy, and not as an historical personage. Some traits of his character, as well as some incidents of his life, may have been taken from the real king, Saracus; but on

[11] Cf. Essay iii. § 9, pp. 325, 326.

[12] The name of Saracus is not found in the actual fragments of Berosus, but comes down to us from Abydenus (ap. Euseb. Chron. Can. i. p. 25), who appears to have drawn from him. (See Müller's Fragm. H. G. vol. iv. p. 279.)

[1] It must be noted, however, that Abydenus, from whom the name of Saracus comes, mentioned two kings only—Sardanapalus and Saracus—as successors of Esar-haddon—his Axerdis. This tends to identify Saracus with *Asshur-emit-ili.*

[2] Ap. Diod. Sic. ii. 23–8. The other Greek writers seem generally to have followed Ctesias. The only exceptions are Aristophanes (Aves, 958), Abydenus, and Polyhistor, the last two of whom drew from Berosus, while the first followed common report, or *perhaps* drew from Herodotus. We do not *know*, however, that either Herodotus or Aristophanes intended their Sardanapalus for the last king.

[3] On the weakness of Ctesias as an authority, see the Introductory Essay, ch. iii. pp. 59–61.

[4] There are writers who endeavour to find the name Saracus in Sardanapalus (see Brandis, pp. 32–3), and others who consider that Sardanapalus is a fair Greek equivalent for the actual name of the last monumental king, which they read as *Asshur-dan-il* (Oppert, Rapport, table opp. p. 52). But these views seem forced and overstrained. Nothing can be more evident to common sense than the essential diversity of the names *Asshur-emit-ili*, Sardanapalus, and Saracus. In the last we have the Assyrian elements "*Asshur*" and "*akh*," which, however, will not make a name without a third element.

the whole he belongs to the ideal rather than the actual, and is thus of no avail for history. Of the historical Saracus all that we distinctly know is,[5] that being attacked by the Medes under Cyaxares, and perhaps at the same time by the Chaldæans and Susianians,[6] he made Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar, his general, and sent him to take the command at Babylon; Nabopolassar, however, revolted, concluded a treaty with Cyaxares, and cemented the alliance by a marriage; after which, in conjunction with the Medes, he laid siege to Nineveh. Saracus defended his capital for a while, but at last, despairing of success, withdrew to his palace, and, firing it with his own hand, perished, with all belonging to him, in the conflagration.[7]

35. It has been already observed in another Essay,[8] that the circumstances of the siege, as detailed by Ctesias,[9] may very possibly have been correctly stated. It lasted, according to him, above two years, and was brought to a successful issue mainly in consequence of an extraordinary rise of the Tigris, which swept away a portion of the city wall, and so gave admittance to the enemy.[1] Upon this the Assyrian monarch, con-

[5] See the famous fragment of Abydenus: "Post quem (Sardanapalum) Saracus imperitabat Assyriis: qui quidem certior factus turmarum vulgi collectitiarum quæ à mari adversus se adventarent, continuò Busalussorum (*i. e.* Nebupalussorum) militiæ ducem Babylonem mittebat. Sed enim hic, capto rebellandi consilio, Amuhiam, Asdahagis Medorum principis filiam, nato suo Nabuchodrossoro despondebat; moxque raptim contra Ninum, seu Ninivem, urbem impetum faciebat. Re omni cognitâ, rex Saracus regiam Evoritam inflammabat. Tum vero Nabuchodrossorus, summæ rerum potitus, firmis mœniis Babylonem cingebat." (Ap. Euseb. Chron. Can. pars i. c. 9.) And compare Polyhistor (ap. eund. c. 5): "Post Sammughem imperavit Chaldæis Sardanapalus annos 21. Hic ad Asdahagem, qui erat Medicæ gentis præses et satrapa, copias auxiliares misit, videlicet ut filio suo Nabuchodrossoro desponderet Amuhiam e filiabus Asdahagis unam." So Syncellus says of Nabopolassar: *Οὗτος στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ Σαράκου τοῦ Χαλδαίων βασιλέως σταλεὶς, κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Σαράκου εἰς Νῖνον ἐπιστρατεύει· οὗ τὴν ἔφοδον πτοηθεὶς ὁ Σάρακος ἑαυτὸν σὺν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐνέπρησε, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν Χαλδαίων καὶ Βαβυλῶνος παρέλαβεν ὁ αὐτὸς Ναβοπαλάσαρος* (p. 396, ed. Dindorf.).

[6] The "force advancing *from the sea*," which Nabopolassar was sent against, would probably consist of these nations, who had been in arms against the Assyrians at least as late as the reign of *Asshur-bani-pal.* They can scarcely have been Scythians, as Brandis (following Niebuhr) supposes (Rev. Ass. Temp. Emend. p. 31).

[7] Mr. Layard (Nineveh and Babylon, p. 622, note) happily compares with this act the suicide of Zimri, king of Israel. "And it came to pass when Zimri saw that the city was taken, that he went into the palace of the king's house, and burnt the king's house over him, and died" (1 Kings, xvi. 18). Similar conduct on a larger scale is ascribed to the Xanthians and the Caunians (Herod. i. 176).

[8] Supra, Essay iii. § 9, pp. 327–328.

[9] Ap. Diod. Sic. ii. 27–8.

[1] The prophecy of Nahum contains more than one allusion to this feature in the destruction of the city. The mention of an "over-running flood" wherewith God should "make an end of the place," in ver. 8 of ch. i., might perhaps be metaphorical (comp. Isa. viii. 7–8, Dan. ix. 26, &c.); but this can scarcely be said of the two following passages:—

"They shall make haste to the wall thereof, and the defence shall be prepared. *The gates of the river shall be thrown open*, and the palace shall be dissolved" (ii. 5, 6).

"Behold, thy people in the midst of thee are women: *the gates of thy land shall be set wide open unto thine enemies:* the fire shall devour thy bars" (iii. 13).

sidering further resistance to be vain, fired his palace and destroyed himself. The conqueror completed the ruin of the once magnificent capital, by razing the walls and delivering the whole city to the flames.[2] Nineveh ceased to exist; and at the same time probably the other royal cities, or at least their palaces, were wasted with fire,[3] the proud structures raised by the Assyrian kings being reduced at once to that condition of ruined heaps which has been the effectual means of preserving a great portion of their contents for the entertainment and enlightenment of the present age. The fallen nation was never again able to raise itself.[4] Once only does it appear in rebellion, and then the position which it occupies is secondary, Media heading the revolt, which is from the Persians under Darius Hystaspes.[5] The strength of the race was exhausted, and the ruin of the capital, which seems not to have been rebuilt till the time of Claudius,[6] deprived the people of a rallying point, and probably contributed to render them that which they appear in their later history—the patient and submissive subjects of their Arian conquerors.

36. Having thus brought the line of Assyrian monarchs to an end, it will be convenient to tabulate the principal results; after which a few general remarks on the character and extent of the empire, and the civilisation of the people, may appropriately terminate this Essay.

[2] The recent excavations have shown that fire was a chief agent in the destruction of the Nineveh palaces. Calcined alabaster, masses of charred wood and charcoal, colossal statues split through with the heat, are met with in all parts of the Ninevite mounds, and attest the veracity of prophecy. (See Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, pp. 71, 103, 121, &c., and comp. Nahum ii. 13, and iii. 13 and 15.)

[3] The palaces at Khorsabad (Dur-Sargina) and Nimrud (Calah) show equal traces of fire with those of Nineveh (Koyunjik). See Layard's Nineveh and its Remains, vol. i. pp. 12, 27, 40, &c.; Nineveh and Babylon, pp. 351, 357, 359, &c.; Vaux's Nineveh and Persepolis, pp. 196–8; Botta, Letter ii. p. 26, Letter iii. p. 41, &c.

[4] So Nahum had prophesied: "Thy people is scattered upon the mountains, and no man gathereth them. *There is no healing of thy bruise*" (iii. 18, 19).

[5] See Essay iii. § 12.

[6] The legend Col. Niniva Claud. (Colonia Niniva Claudiopolis), which is found on coins of Trajan and Maximin, seems to show that Claudius, who established many colonies in the East, founded one on or near the site of Nineveh. A passage in Herodotus (i. 193) distinctly indicates that no town of Nineveh existed in his day. From the silence of Xenophon and the historians of Alexander, we may gather that the Persians never restored it. Strabo is ambiguous, but on the whole seems to describe a non-existent city. Nineveh re-appears for the first time in history towards the close of the reign of Nero (Tacit. Ann. xii. 13).

LATER ASSYRIAN EMPIRE.

B. C.	ASSYRIA.	CONTEMPORARY KINGDOMS.			
		BABYLON.	EGYPT.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.
747	Tiglath-Pileser. Invades Babylon.	Nabonassar.			
741	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	Ahaz.	
740	Takes tribute from Pekah. (?) Defeats Rezin.				
737	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	Pekah slain.
733	.. ..	Nadius.			
731	.. ..	Chinzinus and Porus.			
730	Shalmaneser.				
729	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	Hoshea.
726	Makes Hoshea tributary. (?)	Elulæus.	.. ..	Hezekiah.	
725	.. ..	.. ..	Sabaco I. (?)		
723	Besieges Samaria.				
721	Sargon (takes Samaria). Invades Babylon. Wars with Egypt.	Merodach-Baladan (Mardocempalus).	.. ..	.. ..	Samaria taken.
715	.. ..	.. ..	Sabaco II. (?)		
713	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	His illness. Embassy of Merodach-Baladan.	
710	Takes Ashdod.				
709	Expels Merodach-Baladan.	Arceanus (Sargon ?)			
704	.. ..	Interregnum.			
702	Sennacherib (his son). Expels Merodach-Baladan, and makes Belibus king of Babylon.	Belibus.			
700	Makes Hezekiah tributary. Wars with Egypt.	.. ..	.. ..	First attack of Sennacherib.	
699	Displaces Belibus.	Asshur-nadin-* (Assaranadius).			
698 (?)	Loses his army by miracle.	.. ..	.. ..	Second attack.	
697	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	Manasseh.	
693	.. ..	Regibelus.			
692	.. ..	Mesesimordachus.			
690	.. ..	.. ..	Tirhakah.		
688	.. ..	Interregnum.			
680	Esar-haddon (his son). Manasseh brought to him *at Babylon.*	Esar-haddon (Asaridanus).			
667	.. ..	Saosduchinus.			
664	.. ..	.. ..	Psammetichus.		
660 (?)	Asshur-bani-pal (his son)				
647	.. ..	Cinneladanus.			
642	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	Amon.	
640 (?)	Asshur-emit-ili (his son) (Saracus ?)				
639	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	Josiah.	
625	Destruction of Nineveh.	Nabopolassar.			

37. The independent kingdom of Assyria covered a space of six centuries and a half; but the empire cannot be considered to have lasted more than (at the utmost) five centuries. It commenced with Tiglath-Pileser I., about B. C. 1110, and it terminated with Asshur-bani-pal, or Sardanapalus, about B. C. 640. The limits of the dominion varied greatly during this period, the empire expanding or contracting according to the circumstances of the time and the personal character of the prince who occupied the throne. The extreme extent appears to have been

reached almost immediately before a rapid decline set in; that is to say during the reigns of Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esar-haddon, three of the most warlike of the Assyrian princes, who held the throne from B. C. 721 to about B. C. 660. During this interval Assyria was paramount over the portion of Western Asia included between the Mediterranean and the Halys on the one hand, the Caspian and the great Persian desert on the other. Southwards the boundary was formed by Arabia and the Persian Gulf; northwards it seems at no time to have advanced to the Euxine or to the Caucasus, but to have been formed by a fluctuating line which did not in the most flourishing period extend beyond the northern frontier of Armenia.[7] The countries included in this space and subjected within the period in question to Assyrian influence were chiefly the following:—Susiana, Chaldæa, Babylonia, Media, Matiênê or the country of the *Namri*, Armenia, Mesopotamia, parts of Cappadocia and Cilicia, Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine, Idumæa, and for a time Lower Egypt. Cyprus also was for some years a dependency. On the other hand, Persia Proper, Bactria, and Margiana, even Hyrcania, were beyond the eastern limit of the Assyrian sway, which towards the north upon this side did not reach farther than about the neighbourhood of Kasvin, and towards the south was confined within the mountain-barrier of Zagros. Similarly on the west, Phrygia, Lydia, Lycia, even Pamphylia, were independent, the Assyrian arms having never (so far as appears) penetrated beyond Cilicia or crossed the Halys.

38. The nature of the dominion established by the great Mesopotamian monarchy over the countries included within the limits indicated, will perhaps be best understood if we compare it with the empire of Solomon. Solomon "reigned over *all the kingdoms* from the river (Euphrates) unto the land of the Philistines and unto the border of Egypt: they *brought presents* and *served* Solomon all the days of his life."[8] The first and most striking feature of the earliest empires is, that they are a mere congeries of kingdoms: the countries over which the dominant state acquires an influence, not only retain their distinct individuality, as is the case in some modern empires,[9] but remain in all respects such as they were before, with the simple addition of certain obligations contracted towards the paramount authority. They keep their old laws, their old religion, their line of kings, their law of succession, their whole internal organisation and machinery; they only acknowledge an external suzerainty, which binds them to the performance of certain duties towards the Head of the Empire. These duties, as understood in the earliest times, may be summed up in the two words "homage" and "tribute;" the subject kings "serve" and "bring presents;" they are bound to acts of submission, must attend the court of

[7] For the natural limits of Armenia, see Essay ix. § 10.

[8] 1 Kings iv. 21. Compare ver. 24; and for the complete organisation of the empire, see ch. x., where it appears that the kings "brought every man his present, *a rate year by year*" (ver. 25); and that the amount of the annual revenue from all sources was 666 talents of gold (ver. 14). See also 2 Chron. ix. 13–28, and Ps. lxxii. 8–11.

[9] Our own, for instance, and the Austrian till 1849.

their suzerain when summoned,[1] unless they have a reasonable excuse, must there salute him as a superior, and otherwise acknowledge his rank;[2] above all, they must pay him regularly the fixed tribute which has been imposed upon them at the time of their submission or subjection, the unauthorised withholding of which is open and avowed rebellion.[3] Finally, they must allow his troops free passage through their dominions, and must oppose any attempt at invasion by way of their country on the part of his enemies.[4] Such are the earliest and most essential obligations on the part of the subject states in an empire of the primitive type, like that of Assyria; and these obligations, with the corresponding one on the part of the dominant power of the protection of its dependants against foreign foes, appear to have constituted the sole links[5] which joined together in one the heterogeneous materials of which that empire consisted.

39. It is evident that a government of the character here described contains within it elements of constant disunion and disorder. Under favourable circumstances, with an active and energetic prince upon the throne, there is an appearance of strength, and a realisation of much magnificence and grandeur. The subject monarchs pay annually their due share of "the regulated tribute of the empire;"[6] and the better to

[1] There are several cases of this kind in the inscriptions. The most remarkable is that of Esar-haddon, who "assembled at Nineveh twenty-two kings of the land of Syria, and of the sea-coast, and of the islands of the sea, and passed them in review before him" (Fox Talbot, p. 17). Perhaps the visit of Ahaz to Tiglath-Pileser (2 Kings xvi. 10) was of this character.

[2] Cf. Ps. lxxii. 11: "All kings shall fall down before him." This is said primarily of Solomon. The usual expression in the inscriptions is that the subject kings "kissed the sceptre" of the Assyrian monarch.

[3] See 2 Kings xvii. 4, and the inscriptions *passim*.

[4] Josiah seems to have perished in the performance of this duty (2 Kings xxiii. 29; 2 Chron. xxxv. 20–23).

[5] In some empires of this type, the subject states have an additional obligation,—that of furnishing contingents to swell the armies of the dominant power. But there is no clear evidence of the Assyrians having raised troops in this way. The testimony of the book of Judith is worthless; and perhaps the circumstance that Nebuchodonosor is made to collect his army from all quarters (as the Persians were wont to do) may be added to the proofs adduced above (note [8] on Book i. ch. 103) of the lateness of its composition. We do not find, either in Scripture or in the Inscriptions, any proof of the Assyrian armies being composed of others than the dominant race. Mr. Vance Smith assumes the contrary (Prophecies, &c., pp. 92, 183, 201); but the only passage which is important among all those explained by him in this sense (Isa. xxii. 6) is very doubtfully referred to an attack on Jerusalem *by the Assyrians*. Perhaps it is the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar which forms the subject of the prophetic vision, as Babylon itself has been the main figure in the preceding chapter. The negative of course cannot be proved, but there seem to be no grounds for concluding that "the various subject races were incorporated into the Assyrian army." An Assyrian army, it should be remembered, does not ordinarily exceed one, or at most two, hundred thousand men.

[6] This is an expression not uncommon in the Inscriptions. We may gather from a passage in Sennacherib's annals, where it occurs, that the Assyrian tribute was of the nature of a poll-tax. For when portions of Hezekiah's dominions were taken from him and bestowed on neighbouring princes, the Assyrian king tells us that "according as he increased the dominions of the other chiefs, so he augmented the amount of tribute which they were to pay to the imperial treasury."

secure the favour of their common sovereign, add to it presents, consisting of the choicest productions of their respective kingdoms.[7] The material resources of the different countries are placed at the disposal of the dominant power;[8] and skilled workmen[9] are readily lent for the service of the court, who adorn or build the temples and the royal residences, and transplant the luxuries and refinements of their several states to the imperial capital. But no sooner does any untoward event occur, as a disastrous expedition, a foreign attack, a domestic conspiracy, or even an untimely and unexpected death of the reigning prince, than the inherent weakness of this sort of government at once displays itself—the whole fabric of the empire falls asunder—each kingdom re-asserts its independence—tribute ceases to be paid—and the mistress of a hundred states suddenly finds herself thrust back into her primitive condition, stripped of the dominion which has been her strength, and thrown entirely upon her own resources. Then the whole task of reconstruction has to be commenced anew—one by one the rebel countries are overrun and the rebel monarchs chastised—tribute is re-imposed, submission enforced, and in fifteen or twenty years the empire has perhaps recovered itself. Progress is of course slow and uncertain, where the empire has continually to be built up again from its foundations, and where at any time a day may undo the work which it has taken centuries to accomplish.

To discourage and check the chronic disease of rebellion, recourse is had to severe remedies, which diminish the danger to the central power at the cost of extreme misery and often almost entire ruin to the subject kingdoms. Not only are the lands wasted, the flocks and herds carried off,[1] the towns pillaged and burnt, or in some cases razed to the ground, the rebel king deposed and his crown transferred to another, the people punished by the execution of hundreds or thousands,[2] as well as by an

[7] It is not always easy to separate the tribute from the presents, as the tribute itself is sometimes paid partly in kind; but in the case of Hezekiah we may clearly draw the distinction, by comparing Scripture with the account given by Sennacherib. The tribute in this instance was "300 talents of silver and 30 talents of gold" (2 Kings xviii. 14); the additional presents were, 500 talents of silver, various mineral products (probably coal and crystal and marbles), thrones and beds, and rich furniture, the skins and horns of beasts, coral, ivory, and amber.

[8] The Assyrian kings are in the habit of cutting cedar and other timber in Lebanon, Hermon, and Amanus. Esar-haddon derives marble from "some distant mountain." Wood is sometimes brought to Nineveh from "the land of Chaldæa" (Fox Talbot, pp. 7, 8, &c.).

[9] The most striking instance of this is contained in the inscription mentioned above (p. 388, note [3]), where the princes of Cyprus, Greek and Semitic, lend workmen to Esar-haddon. Sennacherib uses Phœnicians to construct his vessels on the Tigris and to navigate them.

[1] The numbers are often marvellous. Sennacherib in one foray drives off 7200 horses, 11,000 mules, 5230 camels, 120,000 oxen, and 800,000 sheep! Sometimes the sheep and oxen are said to be "countless as the stars of heaven."

[2] The usual modes of punishment are beheading and impaling. Asshur-dani-pal impales on one occasion "thirty bands of captives;" on another he beheads 600 warriors, and at the same time impales bands of captives on every side of the rebellious city; in a third instance he impales the whole garrison. Compare the conduct of Darius (Herod. iii. 159).

augmentation of the tribute money,[3] but sometimes wholesale deportation of the inhabitants is practised, tens or hundreds of thousands being carried away captive by the conquerors,[4] and either employed in servile labour at the capital,[5] or settled as colonists in a distant province. With this practice the history of the Jews, in which it forms so prominent a feature, has made us familiar. It seems to have been known to the Assyrians from very early times,[6] and to have become by degrees a sort of settled principle in their government. In the most flourishing period of their dominion—the reigns of Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon—it prevailed most widely and was carried to the greatest extent. Chaldæans were transported into Armenia,[7] Jews and Israelites into Assyria and Media,[8] Babylonians and Susianians into Palestine[9]—the most distant portions of the empire changed inhabitants, and no sooner did a people become troublesome from its patriotism and love of independence, than it was weakened by dispersion and its spirit subdued by a severance of all its local associations. Thus rebellion was in some measure kept down, and the position of the central or sovereign state was rendered so far more secure; but this comparative security was gained by a great sacrifice of strength, and when foreign invasion came, the subject kingdoms, weakened at once and alienated by the treatment which they had received, were found to have neither the will nor the power to give any effectual aid to their enslaver.[1]

40. Such, in its broad and general outlines, was the empire of the Assyrians. It embodied the earliest, simplest, and most crude conception which the human mind forms of a widely extended dominion. It was a "kingdom-empire," like the empires of Solomon, of Nebuchadnezzar, of Chedor-laomer,[2] and probably of Cyaxares, and is the best specimen of its class, being the largest, the longest in duration, and the best known of all such governments that has existed. It exhibits in a marked way both the strength and weakness of this class of monarchies

[3] This frequently takes place. (See Fox Talbot, pp. 14, 25, &c.) Hezekiah evidently expects an augmentation when he says, "That which thou puttest upon me I will bear" (2 Kings xviii. 14).

[4] It has been noticed (supra, p. 382) that Sennacherib carried into captivity from Judæa more than 200,000 persons, and an equal or greater number from the tribes along the Euphrates. The practice is constant, but the numbers are not commonly given.

[5] As the Aramæans, Chaldæans, Armenians, and Cilicians, by Sennacherib (supra, p. 381), and the numerous captives who built his temples and palaces, by Esarhaddon. The captives may be seen engaged in their labours, under task-masters, upon the monuments.

[6] See the annals of *Asshur-dani-pal* (about B. C. 900), where, however, the numbers carried off are small—in one case 500, in another 2500, in a third the choicest soldiers of a garrison. (See Fox Talbot, pp. 24, 25, 30.) Women at this period are carried off in vast numbers, and become the wives of the soldiery.

[7] By Sargon and some of his predecessors (see note [3] on Book i. ch. 181).

[8] 2 Kings xvii. 6, and supra p. 382.

[9] 2 Kings xvii. 24, and Ezra iv. 9, where the Susanchites and Elamites are mentioned.

[1] The case of Josiah (2 Kings xxiii. 29), which may appear an exception, does not belong to Assyrian, but to Babylonian history. See below, Essay viii. § 11.

[2] Gen. xiv. 1–12.

—their strength in the extraordinary magnificence, grandeur, wealth, and refinement of the capital; their weakness in the impoverishment, the exhaustion, and the consequent disaffection of the subject states Ever falling to pieces, it was perpetually reconstructed by the genius and prowess of a long succession of warrior princes, seconded by the skill and bravery of the people. Fortunate in possessing for a long time no very powerful neighbour,[3] it found little difficulty in extending itself throughout regions divided and subdivided among hundreds of petty chiefs,[4] incapable of union, and singly quite unable to contend with the forces of a large and populous country. Frequently endangered by revolts, yet always triumphing over them, it maintained itself for five centuries, gradually advancing its influence, and was only overthrown after a fierce struggle by a new kingdom[5] formed upon its borders, which, leagued with the most powerful of the subject states, was enabled to accomplish the destruction of the long dominant people.

41. In the curt and dry records of the Assyrian monarchs, while the broad outlines of the government are well marked, it is difficult to distinguish those nicer shades of system and treatment which no doubt existed, and in which the empire of the Assyrians differed probably from others of the same type. One or two such points, however, may perhaps be made out. In the first place, though religious uniformity is certainly not the law of the empire, yet a religious character appears in many of the wars,[6] and attempts seem to be made at least to diffuse everywhere a knowledge and recognition of the gods of Assyria. Nothing is more universal than the practice of setting up in the subject countries "the laws of Asshur" and "altars to the great gods." In some instances not only altars but temples are erected, and priests are left to superintend the worship and secure its being properly conducted.

[3] Babylonia and Susiana are the only large countries bordering upon Assyria which appear to have been in any degree centralised. But even in Babylonia there are constantly found cities which have independent kings, and Chaldæa was always under a number of chieftains.

[4] In the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser I. and *Asshur-dani-pal*, each city of Mesopotamia and Syria seems to have its king. Twelve kings of the Hittites, twenty-four kings of the Tibareni (*Tubal*) and twenty-seven kings of the *Partsu*, are mentioned by *Shalmanubar*. The Phœnician and Philistine cities are always separate and independent. In Media and *Bikni* during the reign of Esar-haddon, every town has its chief. Armenia is perhaps less divided: still it is not permanently under a single king.

[5] Although Assyria came into contact with Median tribes as early as the reign of *Shalmanubar* (B. C. 850), yet the Median kingdom which conquered Assyria must be regarded as a new formation—the consequence of a great immigration from the East, most probably led by Cyaxares. (See Essay iii. § 8.)

[6] Tiglath-Pileser I. commonly "attaches" conquered countries "to the worship of Asshur" (Inscription, pp. 38, 40, &c). *Asshur-dani-pal* says: "I established true religious worship and holy rites throughout the land of *Tsukhi*. As far as the land of Carduniash I extended the true religion of my empire. The people of Chaldæa, who were contemners and revilers of my religion, I crucified and slew them" (Fox Talbot, p. 22). Sennacherib: "The men of the city of *Khismi*, impious heretics, who from days of old had refused to submit to my authority, I put to death, according to my religious laws" (ibid. p. 3). And again: "I marched with my army against the people of Bisiya and Yaribbi-rebla, impious heretics" (p. 4). So Esarhaddon, p. 11.

Sennacherib goes so far as to say that he has "established his religion and laws over all the men who dwell in every land;"[7] but the history of Judæa is enough to show that the continuance of the national worship was at least tolerated, though some formal acknowledgment of the presiding deities of Assyria on the part of the subject nations may not improbably have been required in most cases.[8]

Secondly, there is an indication that in certain countries immediately bordering on Assyria endeavours were made from time to time to centralise and consolidate the empire, by substituting, on fit occasions, for the native chiefs Assyrian officers as governors. The persons appointed are of two classes—"collectors" and "treasurers." Their special business is, of course, as their names imply, to gather in the tribute due to the Great King, and secure its safe transmission to the capital; but they seem to have been, at least in some instances, entrusted with the civil government of their respective districts.[9] It does not appear that this system was ever extended very far. The Euphrates on the west, and Mount Zagros on the east, may be regarded as the extreme limits of the centralised Assyria. Armenia, Media, Babylonia, Susiana, Syria, Palestine, Philistia, retained to the last their native monarchs; and thus Assyria, despite the feature here noticed, kept upon the whole her character of a "kingdom-empire."

42. The civilisation of the Assyrians is a large subject, on which only a few remarks can be here offered. Deriving originally letters and the elements of learning from Babylonia, the Assyrians appear to have been content with the knowledge thus obtained, and neither in literature nor in science to have progressed beyond their instructors. The heavy incubus of a learned language[1] lay upon all those who desired to devote themselves to scientific pursuits, and, owing to this, knowledge tended to become the exclusive possession of a priest-class, which did not aim at progress, but was satisfied to hand on the traditions of former ages. To understand the genius of the Assyrian people we must look to their art and their manufactures. These are in the main probably of native growth, and from them we may best gather an impression of the national character. They show us a patient, laborious, painstaking people, with more appreciation of the useful than the ornamental, and of the actual than the ideal. Architecture, the only one of the fine arts which is essentially useful, forms their chief glory; sculpture, and still more painting, are subsidiary to it. Again, it is the most useful edifice—the palace or house—whereon attention is concentrated—the temple and the tomb, the interest attaching to which is ideal and spiritual, are secondary, and appear simply as appendages of the palace. In the sculpture it is the actual—the historically true—which the artist strives to represent. Unless in the case of a few mythic figures connected with the religion of the country, there is nothing in the Assyrian bas-reliefs which is not imitated from nature. The imitation is always laborious

[7] See the opening sentence of Bellinos's Cylinder (Fox Talbot, p. 1).

[8] It is probable that the altar which Ahaz saw at Damascus, and of which he sent a pattern to Jerusalem (2 Kings xvi. 10), was Assyrian rather than Syrian, and that he adopted the worship connected with it in deference to his Assyrian suzerain.

[9] See the "Assyrian Texts," pp. 5, 11, 16, &c. [1] See note [3] on Book i. ch. 181.

and often most accurate and exact. The laws of representation, as we understand them, are sometimes departed from, but it is always to impress the spectator with ideas in accordance with truth. Thus the colossal bulls and lions have five legs, but in order that they may be seen from every point of view with four—the ladders are placed *edgeways* against the walls of besieged towns, but it is to show that they are ladders, and not mere poles—walls of cities are made disproportionately small, but it is done, like Raphael's boat, to bring them within the picture, which would otherwise be a less complete representation of the actual fact. The careful finish, the minute detail, the elaboration of every hair in a beard, and every stitch in the embroidery of a dress, remind us of the Dutch school of painting, and illustrate strongly the spirit of faithfulness and honesty which pervades the sculptures, and gives them so great a portion of their value. In conception, in grace, in freedom and correctness of outline, they fall undoubtedly far behind the inimitable productions of the Greeks; but they have a grandeur and a dignity, a boldness, a strength, and an appearance of life, which render them even intrinsically valuable as works of art, and, considering the time at which they were produced, must excite our surprise and admiration. Art, so far as we know, had existed previously, only in the stiff and lifeless conventionalism of the Egyptians. It belonged to Assyria to confine the conventional to religion, and to apply art to the vivid representation of the highest scenes of human life. War in all its forms—the march, the battle, the pursuit, the siege of towns, the passage of rivers and marshes, the submission and treatment of captives—and the "mimic war" of hunting, the chace of the lion, the stag, the antelope, the wild horse, and the wild ass—are the chief subjects treated by the Assyrian sculptors; and in these the conventional is discarded; fresh scenes, new groupings, bold and strange attitudes perpetually appear, and in the animal representations especially there is a continual advance, the latest being the most spirited, the most varied, and the most true to nature, though perhaps lacking somewhat of the majesty and grandeur of the earlier. With no attempt to idealise or go beyond nature, there is a growing power of depicting things as they are—an increased grace and delicacy of execution; showing that Assyrian art was progressive, not stationary, and giving a promise of still higher excellence, had circumstances permitted its development.

The art of Assyria has every appearance of thorough and entire nationality; but it is impossible to feel sure that her manufactures were in the same sense absolutely her own. The practice of borrowing skilled workmen from the conquered states, which has been already noticed,[2] would introduce into Nineveh and the other royal cities the fabrics of every region which acknowledged the Assyrian sway; and plunder, tribute, and commerce would unite to enrich them with the choicest products of all civilised countries. Still, judging by the analogy of modern times, it seems most reasonable to suppose that the bulk of the manufactured goods consumed in the country would be of home growth. Hence we may fairly assume that the vases, jars, bronzes, glass

[2] Supra, p. 396.

bottles, carved ornaments in ivory and mother-of-pearl, engraved gems, bells, dishes, earrings, arms, working implements, &c., which have been found at Nimrud, Khorsabad, and Koyunjik, are *mainly* the handiwork of the Assyrians. It has been conjectured that the rich garments represented as worn by the kings and others were the product of Babylon,[3] always famous for its tissues; but even this is uncertain; and they are perhaps as likely to have been of home manufacture. At any rate the bulk of the ornaments, utensils, &c., may be regarded as native products. These are almost invariably of elegant form, and indicate a considerable knowledge of metallurgy and other arts,[4] as well as a refined taste. Among them are some which anticipate inventions believed till lately to have been modern. Transparent glass (which, however, was known also in ancient Egypt) is one of these;[5] but the most remarkable of all is the lens[6] discovered at Nimrud, of the use of which as a magnifying agent there is abundant proof.[7] If it be added to this, that the buildings of the Assyrians show them to have been well acquainted with the principle of the arch,[8] that they constructed aqueducts[9] and drains,[1] that they knew the use of the lever and roller,[2] that they understood the arts of inlaying,[3] enamelling,[4] and overlaying with metals,[5] and that they cut gems with the greatest skill and finish,[6] it will be apparent that their civilisation equalled that of almost any ancient country, and that it did not fall immeasurably behind the boasted achievements of the moderns. With much that was barbaric still attaching to them, with a rude and inartificial government, savage passions, a debasing religion, and a general tendency to materialism, they were towards the close of their empire, in all the arts and appliances of life, very nearly on a par with ourselves; and thus their history furnishes a warning—which the records of nations constantly repeat—that the greatest material prosperity may co-exist with the decline—and herald the downfal—of a kingdom.

[3] Quarterly Review, No. CLXVII. pp. 150–1.

[4] The ordinary Assyrian bronze is found to be composed of one part tin to ten parts copper, which is the exact proportion of the best bronze, both ancient and modern. The bell metal has, however, 14 per cent. of tin, which would make it ring better. In some cases two metals were used together without being amalgamated, iron (for instance) being overlaid either wholly or partially with bronze. (See Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, p. 191, and App. iii.)

[5] See above, p. 380.

[6] Layard, p. 197. The lens was of rock-crystal, with one plane and one convex face. It had, apparently, been ground on a lapidary's wheel, and was of somewhat rude workmanship.

[7] Long before the discovery of the Nimrud lens it had been concluded that the Assyrians used magnifying glasses, from the fact that the inscriptions were often so minute that they could not possibly be read, and therefore could not have been formed, without them.

[8] Layard, pp.126, 163, 165, &c.

[9] See the Bavian inscription, and also the cylinder of Bellino (Fox Talbot, p. 8).

[1] Layard, p. 163.

[2] See Mr. Layard's plates in his Nineveh and Babylon, opposite to pages 110 and 112.

[3] Nineveh and Babylon, p. 196.

[4] Nineveh and its Remains, vol. i. p. 50; Nineveh and Babylon, p. 358, &c.

[5] Nineveh and Babylon, p. 198. [6] Ibid. pp. 160–1, 602, et seqq.

ESSAY VIII.

ON THE HISTORY OF THE LATER BABYLONIANS.

1. Subordinate position of Babylonia from B. C. 1273 to B. C. 747. 2. Era of Nabonassar, B. C. 747—connexion of Nabonassar with Semiramis. 3. Successors of Nabonassar —Merodach-Baladan conquered by Sargon—Arceanus—Merodach-Baladan's second reign—invasion of Sennacherib. 4. Reign of Belibus. 5. Of *Asshur-nadin-adin*, Regibêlus, and Mesesimordachus—obscure period. 6. Esar-haddon assumes the crown of Babylon—his successors, Saosduchinus and Ciniladanus. 7. Nabopolassar —his revolt, and alliance with Cyaxares. Commencement of the Babylonian empire. 8. Duration of the empire—three great monarchs. 9. Nabopolassar—extent of his dominions. 10. Increase of the population. 11. Chief events of his reign —the Lydian war—the Egyptian war. 12. Accession of Nebuchadnezzar—his triumphant return from Egypt. 13. His great works. 14. His conquests. Final captivity of Judah. Siege and capture of Tyre. 15. Invasion of Egypt and war with Apries. 16. His seven years' lycanthropy. 17. Short reign of Evil-Merodach. 18. Reign of Neriglissar, the "Rab-Mag." 19. Change in the relations of Media and Babylon. 20. Reign of Laborosoarchod. 21. Accession of Nabonadius, B. C. 555—his alliance with Crœsus, king of Lydia—his defensive works, ascribed to Nitocris. 22. Sequel of the Lydian alliance. 23. Babylon attacked by Cyrus. 24. Siege and fall of Babylon. 25. Conduct of Belshazzar during the siege—his death. 26. Surrender and treatment of Nabonadius. 27. Revolts of Babylon from Darius. 28. Final decay and ruin.

1. The history of Babylon during the 526 years which Berosus assigned to the Upper dynasty of Assyria is, with few exceptions, a blank. The greatness of Babylonia was during the chief portion of this period eclipsed by that of Assyria, and the native historian, confessing the absence of materials,[1] passed at this point from the Babylonian to the Assyrian line of kings.[2] It cannot however be said with truth that the condition of Babylonia was that of a mere subject-kingdom. We know that at least on one occasion within the period here spoken of, a Babylonian monarch carried his arms deep into Assyria, penetrating even to the capital, and thence bearing away in triumph the sacred images of the Assyrian gods.[3] It is also plain from the Assyrian inscriptions that Babylonia had not only her own monarchs during this interval, but that they were practically independent, only submitting on rare occasions to irresistible force, and again freeing themselves when the danger was passed.[4] Although diminished in power by the

[1] Berosus declared that Nabonassar had collected all the records of former kings, and purposely destroyed them, in order that the Babylonians might reckon from him (Fr. 11 a.).

[2] This is indicated by the expression "de Semiramide quoque narrat quæ imperavit *Assyriis*" (Fr. 11). It is confirmed by the evident identity of the 526 years of the next dynasty with the 520 of Herodotus.

[3] Supra, Essay vi. p. 345, note [1], and Essay vii. p. 367.

[4] It is to be remarked that the kings of Assyria of the upper dynasty in no case take the title of King of Babylon. The most powerful monarchs of this line are all

independence of her former vassal, and even thrown into the shade by that vassal's increasing greatness, she yet maintained an important position, and during the whole time of the upper dynasty in Assyria was clearly the most powerful of all those kingdoms by which the Assyrian Empire was surrounded.

2. About the middle of the eighth century (B. C.) it would seem that a change took place at Babylon, the exact character of which it is very difficult to determine. The era of Nabonassar (B. C. 747), which has no astronomical importance, must be regarded as belonging to history, and as almost certainly marking the date of a great revolution. What the peculiar circumstances were under which the revolution was made, is still uncertain. The double connexion of Semiramis, with Pul on the one hand,[5] and with Babylonian greatness on the other,[6] makes it probable that she was personally concerned in the movement, though in what capacity it is difficult to determine. The conjecture that she was a Medo-Armenian princess, sister of *Ardhista*, who reigned about this time at Van; that she married Pul, and then, joining his enemies, called in her Arian relatives against him; and that finally, after the establishment of a new dynasty in Assyria under Tiglath-Pileser II., she descended upon Babylon either as a refugee or a conqueror, and there reigned conjointly with Nabonassar, her husband, or her son[7]—although undoubtedly very ingenious, and well worthy of the attention of historical students, rests upon too slender a basis of ascertained fact to challenge acceptance, until it has been further corroborated. That some connexion existed between Nabonassar and Semiramis, as well as between the latter and Pul, seems almost certain,[1] but the nature of the connexion is at present very obscure. We may hope that future discoveries will throw light upon this difficult point, and restore to a definite place in Babylonian history the great queen now removed from the proud position which she once occupied in the supposed annals of Assyria.

3. It is uncertain whether Nabonassar established his family upon the throne. He is followed in the list of Ptolemy by four obscure kings,[2] whose reigns are all included within the space of twelve years.

engaged in wars with the Babylonian kings, Babylon being in the earlier times the assailant, but in the later suffering invasion. Tiglath-Pileser I. wars with *Merodach-adan-akhi*; Sardanapalus I. (*Asshur-dani-pal*) with *Nebubaladan*; Shalmanubar, in his eighth year, with *Merodach-nadin-adin* and his brother; Shamas-iva, with *Merodach-* * *. The Babylonians are in no case spoken of as rebels.

[5] Supra, Essay vii. p. 373.

[6] Herod. i. 184; Strab. ii. p. 120; Diod. Sic. ii. 7–10.

[7] See the communications of Col. Rawlinson to the Athenæum, Nos. 1377 and 1381. Herodotus supposes a transfer of the seat of government from Nineveh to Babylon on the destruction of the former city (i. 178). Is this a trace of the transfer of the old royal line of Assyria to Babylon on its expulsion from Nineveh by Tiglath-Pileser?

[1] This appears to be generally admitted. Compare Clinton (F. H. vol. i. p. 279, note [f]), Volney (Recherches, part iii. p. 79), Larcher (Hérodote, vol. i. p. 468), Bosanquet (Journal of Asiatic Society, vol. xv. part ii. p. 280), and Vance Smith (Prophecies, pp. 66–7). It rests *mainly* on the synchronism between the date of Herodotus for Semiramis (5 generations before Nitocris, or about B. C. 740), and the acknowledged date of the accession of Nabonassar (B. C. 747).

[2] We do not know whether these kings were independent, or subject to Assyria.

Of these four reigns absolutely nothing is known beyond the term of their duration.[3] Nabonassar himself reigned fourteen years, after him Nadius two, then Chinzinus and Porus conjointly five, and finally Ilulæus (or Elulæus) the same number. These short reigns appear to indicate internal troubles, such as are known to have occurred later in the history.[4] Of Mardoc-empadus (or Mardoc-empalus[5]), the fifth king, who is now identified beyond a doubt with the Merodach-Baladan of Isaiah,[6] some facts of interest are related, his name appearing both in the Assyrian inscriptions and in Scripture. We gather from the former, that he was attacked by Sargon in his twelfth year, after that king's second Syrian expedition,—that he was conquered and driven out,—and that his crown fell to the Assyrian monarch, who is thought by some to have assumed it himself,[7] but who more probably conferred it upon one of his sons,[8] the Arceanus of the Canon. From Scripture we learn that at an earlier period of his reign, probably about the time that Sargon was be-

On the one hand there is no evidence of the subjugation of Babylonia between Nabonassar, who was certainly independent (Beros. Fr. 11 a), and the conquest by Sargon. On the other the rapid succession of the kings would look like a change of viceroys.

[3] Mr. Bosanquet (Fall of Nineveh, p. 40) identifies the Ilulæus or Elulæus of the Canon with the king of Tyre of the same name, who is mentioned by Josephus following Menander (Ant. Jud. ix. 14, § 2), and who appears to be the *Luliya*, king of *Sidon*, defeated in his third year by Sennacherib. He even goes so far as to say (I know not on what ground), that the two kings "have always been supposed to be the same." Nothing can well be more improbable than the government of Babylon by a Phœnician prince, while Assyria was dominant over the whole country lying between Babylonia and Egypt.

[4] As from the close of the reign of Arceanus to the accession of Aparanadius, and again between Mesesimordachus and Esar-haddon.

[5] The correction of Mardoc-empalus for Mardoc-empadus (ΜΑΡΔΟΚΕΜΠΑΛΟΥ for ΜΑΡΔΟΚΕΜΠΑΔΟΥ), which was first made by Bunsen (Egypt's Place in Univ. Hist. vol. i. p. 726), fully deserves acceptance.

[6] Chevalier Bunsen (l. s. c.) correctly explains the mode by which the word Merodach-Baladan became Mardoc-empal, viz. by the omission of the last element, *adan*, and the substitution of *mp* for *b*, as more nearly equivalent to it in sound than the Greek *β*, which was pronounced like *v*. The identity of Merodach-Baladan with Mardoc-empalus is proved by the inscriptions of Sargon, which, in exact agreement with the Canon, assign to this Babylonian king a reign of 12 years. Sennacherib's inscriptions show that he had a second short reign, which is the one specially referred to by Eusebius (Chron. Can. pars i. c. 5, ad init.).

It has been urged that the Merodach-Baladan of the inscriptions cannot be the king of the name who is mentioned in Scripture, because the latter is called "the son of *Yagina*," while the former is "the son of Baladan" (see Mr. Bosanquet's Sacred and Profane Chronology, p. 62, &c.). But in Scripture the word son means no more than descendant (see 2 Kings ix. 2 and 20; Matt. i. 1, &c.), and Merodach-Baladan may as easily have been the son of Baladan, and yet the son of Yagina, as Jehu the son of Nimshi and yet the son of Jehoshaphat. The father of Merodach-Baladan may perhaps appear in Ptolemy's Canon under the name of Jugæus, if that is the true reading instead of Elulæus.

[7] The name of Ἀρκέανος in the Canon is regarded as representing the word Sargon or Sargina, the *s* having dropped, and the *k* replacing the *g*. This is of course phonetically possible, but there is no instance of an initial *s* having dropped from any other Assyrian name.

[8] Polyhistor spoke of a "brother of Sennacherib" as king of Babylon immediately before Hagisa (Euseb. Chron. Can. l. s. c.).

sieging Ashdod and (perhaps) threatening Hezekiah,[9] Merodach-Baladan, having heard of the astronomical wonder which had been observed in Judæa in connexion with Hezekiah's illness, sent ambassadors to him with letters and a present, ostensibly to congratulate him on his recovery, and to make inquiries concerning the phenomenon.[1] To the Babylonians undoubtedly such a marvel would possess peculiar interest; but it may be suspected that the object of the embassy was, at least in part, political, and that some project was afloat for establishing a league among the powers chiefly threatened by the progress of Assyria,[2] like that which a hundred and fifty years later was formed by Crœsus against the Persians.[3] It may have been a knowledge of this design which induced Sargon in his twelfth year to turn the full force of his arms against the Babylonian monarch, who, unable to cope with his mighty adversary in the field, was obliged to seek safety in flight, and to watch in exile for an opportunity of recovering his sovereignty. The opportunity came after the lapse of a few years. Towards the close of Sargon's reign, when age or infirmity may have weakened his grasp upon the empire, fresh troubles broke out in Babylonia. Arceanus ceased to be king of Babylon in B. C. 704, and an interval followed, estimated in the Canon at two years, during which the country was either plunged in anarchy or had a rapid succession of masters, none of whom reigned for more than a few months.[4] The last of these was Merodach-Baladan; he succeeded a certain Acises or Hagisa, of whom nothing is known, except that after having been king for thirty days he was slain by this prince.[5] Merodach-Baladan then enjoyed a second reign, only, however, for half a year;[6] he was almost immediately attacked by Sennacherib, who had no sooner mounted the throne (B. C. 702) than he led an expedition to the south, defeated Merodach-Baladan with his allies the Susianians, and forced him once more to flee for his life.[7] Sennacherib then entered

[9] 2 Kings xx. 6: "I will deliver thee and this city out of the hand of the king of Assyria, and I will defend this city for mine own sake, and for my servant David's sake. The king of Assyria here mentioned is perhaps Sargon rather than Sennacherib.

[1] 2 Kings xx. 12: "He had heard that Hezekiah was sick." 2 Chron. xxxii. 31: "In the business of the ambassadors of the princes of Babylon, who sent unto him to inquire of the wonder that was done in the land."

[2] This would explain Hezekiah's "showing his treasures" (2 Kings xx. 13–5); they were the proof of his ability to support the expense of a war. Compare the conduct of Orœtes (Herod. iii. 122-3). Another party to the proposed alliance was probably Egypt. (See Isa. xx. 6.)

[3] Herod. i. 77.

[4] If a king reigned less than a year, his name was omitted from the Canon. Hence there is no mention of Hagisa, of Merodach-Baladan's second reign, of Laborosoarchod, of the Pseudo-Smerdis, of Xerxes II., or of Sogdianus.

[5] So Polyhistor, who probably follows Berosus: "Postquam regno defunctus est Senecheribi frater, et post Hagisæ in Babylonios dominationem, qui quidem nondum expleto 30mo imperii die a Marudacho Baldane interemptus est, Marudachus ipse Baldanes tyrannidem invasit mensibus sex, donec eum sustulit vir quidam nomine Elibus, qui et in regnum successit." (See Euseb. Chron. Can. pars i. c. 5.)

[6] See the preceding note.

[7] See the record of this campaign on Bellino's Cylinder (Fox Talbot, pp. 1, 2).

and plundered the capital, after which he ravaged the whole country, destroying seventy-nine cities, and 820 villages, burning the palaces of the kings, and carrying off the skilled workmen and the women. Having taken this signal vengeance and brought Babylonia completely into subjection, he committed the government to an Assyrian named *Belib* or Belibus, the son of an officer of his court[8]—the same undoubtedly who is mentioned by Polyhistor under the name of Elibus, and who appears under his proper designation in the Canon of Ptolemy.

4. Belibus, the Assyrian, ruled Babylon for the space of three years —from B. C. 702 to B. C. 699. Polyhistor writes of him as if he had risen up against Merodach-Baladan, and dethroned him by his own unassisted efforts,[9] but it can scarcely be doubted that Sennacherib gives a truer account of the transaction. On the retirement of the Assyrian troops, the party of Merodach-Baladan seems to have recovered strength, and being supported by *Susub*, king of the Susianians, to have again become formidable. This led to a second invasion of Babylonia by Sennacherib, in his fourth year, B. C. 699, when *Susub* was defeated, the cities which still adhered to Merodach-Baladan destroyed, Belibus apparently removed, and a more powerful governor established in the person of *Asshur-nadin-** the eldest son of the Assyrian monarch.

5. *Asshur-nadin-**, who may be safely identified with the Aparanadius, or Assaranadius, of the Canon, appears by that document to have continued in the government of Babylon for six years—*i. e.* from B. C. 699 to B. C. 693. He was succeeded by a certain Rêgebêlus, or Irigebêlus, who reigned for a single year, after which a king named Mesêsemordachus held the throne for the space of four years. It is uncertain whether these monarchs were viceroys, like Belibus and *Asshur-nadin-**, holding their crowns under Sennacherib; or whether they were not rather native princes, ruling in their own right, and successfully maintaining the independence of their country. If a record of the later years of Sennacherib should hereafter be found, it will probably throw light on this question. Meanwhile we must be content to remain in doubt concerning the condition of Babylonia at this time, as well as during the next period of eight years, where the Canon records no names of kings, either because the rulers were rapidly changed, or because the country was in a state of anarchy.

6. Light once more dawns upon us with the year B. C. 680, when Esar-haddon, who had probably mounted the throne of Assyria about that time, determined to place the crown of Babylon on his own head, instead of committing it to a viceroy. This prince, as has been already observed,[1] probably held his court, at least occasionally, in Babylon, where many records of his rule have been discovered. He administered the government for thirteen years—from B. C. 680 to B. C. 667—and it must have been within this space that Manasseh, the son of Hezekiah, having been guilty of some political offence, was brought as a prisoner

[8] Sennacherib calls him "the son of him who was governor over the young men educated within his (Sennacherib's) palace." Compare Polyhistor's "*vir quidam* nomine Elibus."

[9] See above, note [5].

[1] Essay vii. p. 387.

to the Assyrian king *at Babylon*,[2] where he suffered detention for a while, returning, however, by the clemency of his suzerain, to resume the kingdom which he had so nearly forfeited. Esar-haddon appears to have been a little disquieted in his administration of the affairs of Babylon by the pretentions of the sons of Merodach-Baladan, who had still the support of the Susianians. Having, however, conquered and slain one, and received the submission of another, whom he established in a government on the shores of the Persian Gulf,[3] he probably found his position so secure that he was emboldened to revert to the ordinary and established practice of the Assyrians—that of governing the provinces by means of subject-kings or viceroys. Accordingly, in B. C. 667, thirteen years after his accession, he handed over the Babylonians to a certain Saosduchinus[4] (*Shamas-dar-oukin ?*), who continued to administer the government for twenty or twenty-one years, and was succeeded by the last of the subject-kings, Ciniladanus, who was perhaps his brother.[5] Ciniladanus is said to have held the throne for twenty-two years—from B. C. 647 to B. C. 625. Of the history of the Babylonians during these two reigns scarcely anything is known at present,[6] their continued sub-

[2] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11–13: "The Lord brought upon them the captains of the king of Assyria, which took Manasseh among the thorns, and bound him with fetters, and carried him to Babylon. And when he was in affliction he besought the Lord his God, and humbled himself greatly before the God of his fathers; and prayed unto him, and he was entreated of him, and heard his supplication, and brought him again to Jerusalem into his kingdom."

[3] Fox Talbot, p. 12.

[4] M. Oppert suggests that the real name of this king was *Shamas-dar-oukin* (Rapport, p. 50). It is not yet explained why Polyhistor called him Sammughes (see Euseb. Chron. Can. pars i. c. 5, § 2).

[5] Polyhistor placed between Esar-haddon and Nebuchadnezzar the following kings:—

Sammughes, who reigned	21 years.
His brother . .	21 "
Nabupalasar . .	20 (21)

These three kings clearly correspond to the under-named in the Canon:—

Saosduchinus, who reigned	20 years.
Ciniladanus . .	22 "
Nabopolasar . .	21 "

The kings of Abydenus, sometimes identified with these (Clinton, F. H. vol. i. App. ch. iv. p. 278; Bosanquet, Fall of Nineveh, p. 41), are an entirely distinct list. They are Assyrian, not Babylonian. Nergilus is a brother of Sennacherib, not otherwise known, whom we may suppose to have reigned a few weeks or a few days, and then to have fallen a victim to Sennacherib's murderer, Adrammelech (Abydenus' Adrammeles). Axerdis, who puts Adrammeles to death, is Esar-haddon, *Axer* representing the element *Asshur*, and *dis* the element *adin*. The glorious reign assigned to Axerdis, who ruled Lower Syria and Egypt, tallies with this view. Sardanapalus, the next king, is *Asshur-bani-pal*, the son and successor of Esar-haddon; and Saracus is apparently *Asshur-emit-ili*, though here there is a disagreement of name. (See above, Essay vii. p. 390.)

[6] Some light may hereafter be thrown on this subject by the annals of *Asshur-bani-pal*, which exist, but have not yet been decyphered. It appears from them that war still continued to be waged between Assyria on the one hand, and Lower Chaldæa, assisted by Susiana, on the other. Asshur-bani-pal opposes the grandsons of Merodach-Baladan.

jection to the Assyrians being only proved by the authority which Saracus, the last Assyrian monarch, appears to have exercised over their country.

7. The part taken by Babylon in the war which issued in the destruction of Nineveh has been already mentioned, both in the essay on Median,[7] and in that on Assyrian history.[8] The last Assyrian king, threatened on the one hand by the Medes, on the other by an army advancing from the seaboard, which may be conjectured to have consisted chiefly of Susianians, appointed to the government of Babylon, where he was to act against this latter enemy, his general, Nabopolassar (*Nabu-pal-uzur*), while he himself remained at Nineveh to meet the greater danger. Nabopolassar, however, proved faithless to the trust reposed in him, and on receiving his appointment, determined to take advantage of the position thus gained to further his own ambitious ends. He entered into negotiations with Cyaxares, the Median monarch by whom Assyria was threatened, and having arranged terms of alliance with him and cemented the union by a marriage between his own son, Nebuchadnezzar,[9] and Amuhia or Amyitis,[10] the daughter of Cyaxares, he sent or led[1] a body of troops against his suzerain, which took an active part in the great siege whereby the power of Assyria was destroyed.[2] The immediate result of this event was, not merely the establishment of Babylonian independence, but the formation of that later Babylonian empire, which, short as was its continuance, has always been with reason regarded as one of the most remarkable in the history of the world.

8. The rise and fall of this empire was comprised within a period considerably short of a century. Six kings only occupied the throne during its continuance, and of these but three had reigns of any duration. Nabopolassar, who founded the empire, Nebuchadnezzar, who raised it to its highest pitch of glory, and Nabonidus, or Labynetus, under whom it was destroyed, are the three great names whereto its entire history attaches.

9. Of Nabopolassar, the founder of the empire, whose alliance with Cyaxares[3] decided the fall of Nineveh and the consequent ruin of the

[7] See Essay iii. p. 327. [8] Essay vii. p. 391.

[9] Abydenus is the great authority for these statements. His words have been already given (see Essay vii. p. 391, note [5]). He is confirmed, to some extent, by Polyhistor (Euseb. Chron. Can. c. 5, § 3), and by Berosus, who said that Nebuchadnezzar was married to a Median princess (Fr. 14).

[10] So Syncellus gives the name (p. 396), but the Armenian Eusebius has Amuhia twice (pars i. c. 5, § 3, and c. 9, § 2).

[1] Polyhistor made him *send* the troops: "Is ad Asdahagem, qui erat Medicæ gentis præses et satrapa, copias auxiliares misit" (ap. Euseb. i. c. 5, § 3). Abydenus, on the other hand, represented him as commanding them in person: "contra Ninevem urbem impetum faciebat." So Syncellus, *οὗτος στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ Σαράκου τοῦ Χαλδαίου βασιλέως σταλεὶς, κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Σαράκου εἰς Νῖνον ἐπιστρατεύει* (l. s. c.)

[2] The active part which the Babylonians took in the siege is witnessed (besides the authorities already quoted) by Josephus (Ant. Jud. X. v. § 1) and the book of Tobit (xiv. 15). It is certainly curious that Herodotus makes no mention of it.

[3] I suppose Cyaxares to have been the real ally of Nabopolassar, 1. because the

Assyrians, the historical notices which remain to us are scanty. We have already seen that he was appointed by Saracus, the last king of Assyria, to take the command at Babylon, and that he immediately rebelled, united his arms with those of the Median king, and gave him effectual aid in the last siege of the Assyrian capital. By this bold course he secured not only the independence of his own kingdom, but an important share in the spoils of the mighty empire to whose destruction he had contributed. While the northern and eastern portions of the Assyrian territory were annexed by Cyaxares to his own dominions, the southern and western—the valley of the Euphrates from Hit to Carchemish, Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine, and perhaps a portion of Egypt—passed under the sceptre of the king of Babylon.[4] Judæa was at this time governed by Josiah, who probably felt no objection to the change of masters; and as the transfer of allegiance thus took place without a struggle, we do not find any distinct mention of it in Scripture. There is, however, no reason to doubt that the Babylonian dominion was at once extended to the borders of Egypt, where it came in contact with that of the Psammetichi; and the result is seen in wars which shortly arose between the two powers, wars which were very calamitous to the Jews, and eventually led to their transplantation.

10. It is not improbable that, besides an augmentation of territory, Babylon gained at this time a great increase in its population. It appears to be certain that Nineveh was not only taken, but destroyed,[5] and the bulk of the inhabitants would thus become the captives of the conquerors. Babylon would undoubtedly receive her full share of the prisoners, and hence would have at her disposal from the very foundation of the empire a supply of human labour capable of producing gigantic results. Nabopolassar availed himself of this supply to commence the various works which his son afterwards completed; and its existence is a circumstance to be borne in mind when we come to speak of the immense constructions of that son, Nebuchadnezzar.

11. Nabopolassar occupied the throne for twenty-one years—from B. C. 625 to B. C. 604—when he was succeeded by his son Nebuchadnezzar. The chief known events of his reign are the assistance which he lent to Cyaxares against Alyattes, and the war in which he was engaged with Neco. If the Lydian war of Cyaxares has been rightly placed between B. C. 615 and B. C. 610,[6] it must have preceded the attack of Neco, which was in B. C. 609 or 608. Whether Nabopolassar was engaged in

capture of Nineveh is assigned to him by Herodotus; 2. on chronological grounds, because he reigned from B. C. 633 to B. C. 593; 3. because his name corresponds with the Assuerus of the book of Tobit (xiv. 15). The fact that Polyhistor and Abydenus both speak of Asdahages (Astyages), is to be explained by the use of that term *as a title* by the Median kings generally. (See Essay iii. p. 323, note [7], and p. 327, note [2].)

[4] This appears sufficiently in Scripture, where the Babylonian monarchy succeeds to the Assyrian as paramount over Judæa. It is distinctly declared by Berosus, who says that Egypt, Cœle-Syria, and Phœnicia were ruled by a satrap receiving his appointment from Nabopolassar (Fr. 14).

[5] See Diod. Sic. ii. 7 and 28; Herod. i. 193; Ezek. xxxi. 11–17; Nahum iii. 18, &c.

[6] See Essay iii. p. 329.

the war from its commencement, or only sent troops when the Medes had been several times defeated,[7] it is impossible to determine. Nothing is known, excepting that in the great battle which was stopped by the eclipse said to have been predicted by Thales, a Babylonian prince—the leader undoubtedly of a Babylonian contingent—was present; and that, as the most important person, next to Cyaxares, on the Median side, he acted as one of the mediators by whose intercession the war was brought to a close, and friendly relations established between the kingdoms of Lydia and Media.[8] Whether this prince was Nabopolassar himself, his son Nebuchadnezzar, or another son, of whom there is but this mention, must be regarded as uncertain.[9] This is, however, a matter of small consequence. What is important is to find that the alliance between the Babylonians and the Medes continued, and that it was now for a second time brought into active operation. No fear or jealousy was as yet entertained;[1] Babylonia was ready to help Media, as Media will be found a little later quite ready in her turn to lend assistance to Babylon.

The Egyptian war of Nabopolassar seems to have commenced in his 17th year, B.C. 609, by a sudden invasion of his territory on the part of Neco, the son of Psammetichus. Josiah, king of Judah, moved by a chivalrous sentiment of fidelity, and not regarding the warnings of Neco as coming "from the mouth of God,"[2] though in a certain sense they may have been divinely inspired,[3] went out with the small force which he could hastily raise against the larger and well-appointed host of the Egyptians. Naturally enough he was defeated, and the Egyptian king pressed forward through Syria towards the Euphrates, which he made the boundary between his own empire and that of the king of Babylon.[4] The Babylonian governor of these countries—if indeed he was a distinct person from Neco himself, which may be doubted[5]—proved a traitor, and Neco returned triumphant to Egypt, passing through Jerusalem on his way, where he deposed Jehoahaz, a younger son of Josiah, whom the Jews had made king in the room of his father, and gave the crown to Jehoiakim, the elder brother;[6] after which he

[7] Herod. i. 74. [8] Compare Essay i. § 17.

[9] See note [8] on Book i. ch. 74. The most probable supposition is that Herodotus has made a mistake in the name. His Babylonian history is exceedingly incorrect and imperfect. (See the Introductory Essay, ch. ii. p. 65.)

[1] Herodotus tells us that a strong feeling of jealousy was entertained in the time of Nitocris, who, according to him, was the mother of the last king (i. 185).

[2] 2 Chron. xxxv. 22: "He (Josiah) hearkened not unto the words of Necho *from the mouth of God.*"

[3] That is, in the sense that Caiaphas is said to have "prophesied," when he urged upon the Jews that it was "expedient that one man should die for the people" (John xi. 50–1).

[4] 2 Kings xxiv. 7.

[5] I suspect that Neco himself is the person whom Berosus represented as satrap of Egypt, Cœle-Syria, and Phœnicia, receiving his authority from Nabopolassar. In the same way Polyhistor made Cyaxares (Asdahages) satrap of Media (Euseb. Chron. Can. pars i. c. v. § 3).

[6] "Jehoahaz was twenty and *three* years old when he began to reign, and reign-

seems to have taken Cadytis or Gaza.[7] Nabopolassar was at this time weak from age, and perhaps suffering from ill health.[8] Neco appears to have retained his conquests for three or four years. But "in the fourth year of Jehoiakim,"[9] (B. C. 605 or 604), Nabopolassar, feeling his inability to conduct a war, sent his son Nebuchadnezzar at the head of a large army against the Egyptians. The two hosts met at Carchemish on the Euphrates, and a battle was fought in which the Babylonian prince was completely victorious. Neco "fled apace"[1]—Nebuchadnezzar advanced—Jehoiakim submitted to him and was allowed to retain his throne[2]—the whole country as far as "the river of Egypt" was recovered, and so severe a lesson read to the Egyptian king, that he "came not again any more out of his land,"[3] but remained henceforth on the defensive.

12. Meanwhile Nabopolassar died at Babylon (B. C. 604), after having reigned one and twenty years.[4] Nebuchadnezzar,[5] who was in Egypt or upon its borders when the news reached him, hastily arranged affairs in that quarter, and returned with all speed, accompanied only by his light troops, to the capital. He appears to have felt some anxiety about the succession, which, however, proved needless, as he found the throne kept vacant for him by the Chaldæans. The bulk of his army and his numerous captives—Jews, Phœnicians, Syrians, and Egyptians—arrived later, having followed the usual route, while Nebuchadnezzar had crossed the desert—probably by way of Tadmor or Palmyra. The captives were planted in various parts of Babylonia,[6] and their numbers, added to that of the Assyrian prisoners, gave Nebuchadnezzar that "unbounded command of naked human strength"[7] which enabled him to cover his whole territory with gigantic works, the remains of which excite admiration even at the present day.

ed three months in Jerusalem" (2 Kings xxiii. 31). "Jehoiakim was twenty and *five* years" when, immediately upon his brother's deposition, he was appointed to succeed him (ibid. ver. 36).

[7] See Herod. ii. 159, and compare Jerem. xlvii. 1, where we are informed that a Pharaoh, who is almost certainly Pharaoh-Necho, "smote Gaza."

[8] *Οὐ δυνάμενος ἔτι κακοπαθεῖν* is the expression of Berosus (Fr. 14).

[9] Jer. xlvi. 2: "The army of Pharaoh-Necho king of Egypt, which was by the river Euphrates in Carchemish, which Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon smote in the fourth year of Jehoiakim." This is probably the battle to which Berosus alludes when he says: *Συμμίξας δὲ Ναβουχοδονόσορος τῷ ἀποστάτῃ καὶ παραταξάμενος αὐτοῦ τε ἐκράτησε, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τὴν αὑτοῦ βασιλειαν ἐποιήσατο* (l. s. c.)

[1] Jer. xlvi. 5. [2] 2 Kings xxiv. 1. [3] Ibid. ver. 7.

[4] Beros. Fr. 14. The cuneiform remains of Nabopolassar are very scanty, consisting only of a few tablets—containing orders on the imperial treasury—which were found at Warka (Loftus, p. 221–2), and are now in the British Museum. Nothing is very remarkable in them except that he takes the title reserved for lords paramount, thereby showing that he was independent.

[5] I adopt this form of the name as that with which we are most familiar. The true orthography, however, is *Nabu-kuduri-uzur*, which is well represented by the Nebuchadrezzar (נְבוּכַדְרֶאצַּר) of Ezekiel and Jeremiah, and the Nabucodrossor of Abydenus and Megasthenes.

[6] These particulars are all recorded by Berosus (Fr. 14).

[7] Grote's History of Greece, vol. iii. p. 401.

13. Of all the works of Nebuchadnezzar, the most extraordinary seem to have been the fortifications of the capital. A space of above 130 square miles,[8] five or six times the area of London, was enclosed within walls, which have been properly described as "artificial mountains,"[9] their breadth being above 80 feet, and their height between 300 and 400 feet (!), if we may believe the statements of eye-witnesses.[1] This wall alone must have contained—unless the dimensions are exaggerated—above 200,000,000 yards of solid masonry, or nearly twice the cubic contents of the great wall of China.[2] Inside it ran a second, somewhat less thick, but almost as strong,[3] the exact dimensions of which are nowhere given.[4] Nebuchadnezzar appears to have built the latter entirely, as a defence for his "inner city;"[5] but the great outer wall was an old work which he merely repaired and renovated.[6] At the same time he constructed an entirely new palace—the ruins of which remain in the modern *Kasr*—a magnificent building, which he completed in fifteen days![7] Another construction (probably) of this monarch's was the great canal of which Strabo speaks[8] (and which may be still

[8] This calculation is based on the measurements of Strabo, which probably came from Aristobulus. If we were to accept the statement of Herodotus with respect to the circumference of Babylon, we should have to raise the area of the city from 130 to 200 square miles.

[9] Grote, History of Greece, vol. iii. p. 397, note.

[1] Herodotus makes the height 200 royal cubits, which is *at least* 337 feet, 8 inches —possibly 373 feet, 4 inches. (See note [7] on Book i. ch. 178.) Ctesias gives 50 fathoms, or 200 ordinary cubits, somewhat more than 300 feet. It has been said that this authority is valueless, since the walls had been destroyed by Cyrus (Beros. Fr. 14), and by Darius (Herod. iii. 159). But probably they had only been *breached* by these kings. Herodotus and Ctesias speak of them as existing in their day (vide infra, p. 425, note [5]); and Abydenus expressly states that the wall raised by Nebuchadnezzar continued to the conquest of Alexander (*τειχίσαι δὲ αὖθις Ναβουχοδονόσορον τὸ μέχρι τῆς Μακεδονίων ἀρχῆς διαμεῖναν ἐὸν χαλκόπυλον.* Ap. Euseb. Chron. Can. pars. i. c. 10, § 2.) No doubt the wall gradually sank in height from want of repairs, and hence a portion of it, which Xenophon saw (Anab. II. iv. § 12), was in his day no more than a hundred feet, while by the time of Alexander the general height was perhaps 75 feet. (Cf. Strab. xvi. p. 1048.)

[2] The great wall of China is 1200 miles long, from 20 to 25 feet high, and from 15 to 20 feet broad. It was estimated (in 1823) to contain more material than all the buildings of the British empire put together (Transactions of Asiatic Soc., vol. i. p. 6, note).

[3] Herod. i. 181.

[4] The Standard Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar gives the circumference of his "inner city" as 16,000 cubits, or about 5 English miles. (See note [6] on Book i. ch. 178, and note [10] on ch. 181.)

[5] *Τῆς ἔνδον πόλεως.* Beros. Fr. 14.

[6] The old wall was ascribed to the mythic founder Belus. Abydenus says: *Λέγεται. . . .Βῆλον. . . .Βαβυλῶνα τείχει περιβαλεῖν· τὸ δὲ χρόνῳ τῷ ἱκνευμένῳ ἀφανισθῆναι· τειχίσαι δὲ αὖθις Ναβουχοδονόσορον, κ.τ.λ.* (Euseb. Chron. Can. pars i. c. 10, § 2.) The Standard Inscription also speaks of the great wall as *rebuilt*.

[7] This fact (?) is recorded in the Standard Inscription, and was mentioned also by Berosus. (See Fr. 14. *καὶ τειχίσας ἀξιολόγως τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τοὺς πυλῶνας κοσμήσας ἱεροπρεπῶς, προσκατεσκεύασε τοῖς πατρικοῖς βασιλείοις ἕτερα βασίλεια ἐχόμενα αὐτῶν· ὧν τὸ μὲν ἀνάστημα καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν πολυτέλειαν περισσὸν ἴσως ἂν εἴη λέγειν πλὴν ὡς ὄντα μεγάλα καὶ ὑπερήφανα, συνετελέσθη ἡμεραῖς πεντεκαίδεκα.*) Some writers exaggerated this feat, and said that all the fortifications were completed in fifteen days. (Abyden. Fr. 9.)

[8] Strab. xvi. p. 1052.

distinctly traced),[9] running from Hit, the Is of Herodotus, to the bay of Graine in the Persian Gulf, a distance of from 400 to 500 miles, large enough to be navigated by ships, and serving at once for purposes of trade, for irrigation, and for protection against attacks from the Arabs. From these instances we may judge of the scale on which his other great works were constructed. He built or rebuilt almost all the cities of Upper Babylonia, Babylon itself, upon the bricks of which scarcely any other name is found, Sippara, Borsippa, Cutha, Teredon, Chilmad,[1] &c.; he formed aqueducts,[2] and constructed the wonderful hanging gardens at Babylon;[3] he raised the huge pyramidal temples at Borsippa, and Akkerkuf, which still remain in the Birs-i-Nimrud and the Nimrud-Tepessé,[4] together with a vast number of other shrines not hitherto identified;[5] he formed the extensive reservoir near Sippara, 140 miles in circumference;[6] he built quays and breakwaters along the shores of the Persian Gulf;[7] he made embankments of solid masonry at various points of the two great streams;[8] and finally he greatly

[9] Col. Rawlinson has traced the course of this canal, which is now entirely choked up, from Hit almost to the bay of Graine.

[1] The fact of his rebuilding Babylon is vouched for by Berosus (ap. Joseph. l. s. c.), *τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πόλιν καὶ ἑτέραν ἔξωθεν προσχαρισάμενος καὶ ἀνακαινίσας*. It is this which enables Nebuchadnezzar to say, in the book of Daniel, "Is not this great Babylon *that I have built?*" (Dan. iv. 30). The other cities are assigned to him either because his name is found exclusively upon their bricks, or because they are expressly declared to be his in the inscriptions.

[2] These are mentioned in the Standard Inscription and in the Armenian Eusebius (Chron. Can. pars i. c. 11, § 3).

[3] Berosus ap. Joseph. (l. s. c.); Abyden. ap. Euseb. Chron. Can. pars i. c. 10, p. 26. The former writer thus described this "wonder of the world": "Within the precincts of the royal palace Nebuchadnezzar raised up to a vast height a pile of stone substructions, giving them as far as possible the appearance of natural hills; he then planted the whole with trees of different kinds, and thus constructed what is called the hanging garden; all which he did to pleasure his wife, who had been brought up in Media, and delighted in the scenery of mountain regions." Ctesias appears to have furnished the dimensions of the hanging garden which are found in Diodorus (ii. 10). According to this writer it was a square of 400 feet.

[4] The inscribed bricks of these two buildings all bear his name. The construction and dedication of the Borsippa temple (the Birs-i-Nimrud) is described in the cylinders which Col. Rawlinson found in it (see Loftus's Chaldæa, pp. 29–30), and noticed in the Standard Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, of which the India House slab is the most perfect copy. With respect to the size of these buildings, the Borsippa temple (which was built in stages like the temple of Belus at Babylon, and the great Pyramid of Saccara) covered an area about two-thirds of that of the Pyramid of Mycerinus. The present height, according to Capt. Jones's survey, is rather more than 150 feet; the present circumference is said to be above 2000 feet (Rich, First Memoir, p. 36; Ker Porter, vol. ii. p. 320). Originally the base was a square of 272 feet. The temple at *Akkerkuf* is far smaller. Its height has been estimated at about 130 feet, its circumference at 300. (Rich's First Memoir, p. 41; Ker Porter, vol. ii. p. 277.)

[5] An account is given of these in the Standard Inscription referred to above.

[6] Abydenus ap. Euseb. (Præp. Evang. ix. 41). *Ὑπὲρ τῆς Σιππαρηνῶν πόλιος λάκκον ὀρυξάμενος, περίμετρον μὲν τεσσαράκοντα παρασαγγέων, βάθος δὲ ὀργυιέων εἴκοσι, κ.τ.λ.* It was constructed for purposes of irrigation.

[7] Abyden. ap. eund. (l. s. c.). *Ἐπετείχισε δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης τὴν ἐπίκλυσιν.*

[8] If we might presume that Nitocris was the wife of Nebuchadnezzar, and that the

beautified, if he did not actually rebuild the famous temple of Belus.[9]

14. During the time that he was constructing these great works, Nebuchadnezzar still prosecuted his military enterprises with vigour. Soon after his departure from Syria, Judæa rebelled, expecting (according to Josephus[10]) to be assisted by the Egyptians, and Phœnicia appears about the same time to have thrown off the yoke.[1] Nebuchadnezzar, having called in the aid of Cyaxares, king of Media, led in person the vast army[2]—composed of the contingents of the two nations—which marched to chastise the rebels.[3] He immediately invested Tyre, the chief of the Phœnician cities, but finding it too strong to be taken by assault, he left there a sufficient force to continue the siege, and marched against Jerusalem.[4] Jehoiakim, seeing that the Egyptians did not stir,

works ascribed to her were really for the most part his (Heeren's As. Res. vol. ii. p. 179), then the great embankments along the Euphrates to the north of Babylon (Herod. i. 185) would be of his making. At any rate he constructed some works of this character; for instance, the embankment at Baghdad, an enormous mass of brickwork, which has been supposed to be of the age of the Caliphs, but which Col. Rawlinson has found to date from the time of Nebuchadnezzar. (See the Assyrian Commentary, p. 77, note.)

[9] Berosus ap. Joseph. (contr. Ap. i. 20). Αὐτὸς δὲ (ὁ Ναβουχοδονόσορος) ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου λαφύρων τό τε Βήλου ἱερὸν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κοσμήσας φιλοτίμως, κ.τ.λ. The Standard Inscription also mentions the restoration. The remains of the temple of Belus still exist in the mound called the Mujelibé by Rich, but now known to the Arabs universally as *Babil*. This is an immense pile of brick, in shape an oblong square, facing the four cardinal points, 730 yards in circumference, and from 100 to 140 feet high. (See Rich's First Memoir, p. 28.) Two of the sides, those facing north and south, are almost exactly a stadium in length. The other two are shorter. One is four-fifths, the other two-thirds of a stadium. All the inscribed bricks hitherto discovered at the Mujelibé bear the name of Nebuchadnezzar.

[10] Antiq. Jud. x. 6.

[1] Josephus says that Nebuchadnezzar began the siege of Tyre in the seventh year of his reign (contr. Apion. i. 21). It was in this or the following year (compare Jer. lii. 28, with 2 Kings xxiv. 12) that he invaded Judæa for the second time.

[2] According to Polyhistor, who is the chief authority for the facts here stated, the joint army consisted of 10,000 chariots, 120,000 cavalry, and 180,000 infantry (Fr. 24).

[3] Antiq. Jud. vii. 4; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6.

[4] In this arrangement of the events of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, I differ from Mr. Kenrick (Phœnicia, pp. 385–6). He considers it "evident" that the attack on Tyre followed the capture (final?) of Jerusalem. His grounds are:—1. The opening words of Ezekiel's 26th chapter: "It came to pass in the eleventh year" (B. C. 586), "in the first day of the month, that the word of the Lord came unto me saying, Son of man, because that Tyrus hath said against Jerusalem, Aha, she is broken that was the gates of the people, she is turned unto me; I shall be replenished now that she is laid waste: therefore thus saith the Lord, I am against thee, O Tyrus, and I will cause many nations to come up against thee." 2. The improbability of Nebuchadnezzar engaging in the siege of Tyre, "while a place of such strength *in his rear* as Jerusalem was still unsubdued." And, 3. The inconsistency between the statement of Josephus that the siege began in Nebuchadnezzar's seventh year, and his own reckoning of the interval between the capture of Jerusalem and the accession of Cyrus. It may be replied, 1. That Ezek. xxvi. certainly shows that the *capture* of Tyre did not precede the fall of Jerusalem, but proves nothing with respect to the first attack. 2. That the improbability is exactly the reverse of that stated, since Jerusalem is not in the rear of an invader advancing from Babylon through Cœle-Syria against Tyre, but Tyre is in the rear of one who advances upon Jeru-

submitted, but Nebuchadnezzar punished him with death, establishing Jeconiah his son as king in his room.[5] Shortly afterwards however, becoming suspicious of the fidelity of this prince, who had probably shown symptoms of rebellion, he came against Jerusalem for the third time, deposed Jeconiah, whom he carried away captive with him to Babylon, and put Zedekiah, uncle to Jeconiah, upon the throne.[6] Tyre meanwhile continued to resist all the efforts that were made to reduce it, and it was not until the thirteenth year from the first investment of the place that the city of merchants fell.[7] A few years before its fall, the final rebellion of Jerusalem had taken place.[8] The accession of a new and enterprising monarch in Egypt, Uaphris, the Apries of Herodotus, and the Pharaoh-Hophra of Scripture,[9] gave the Jews hopes of once more recovering their independence. Zedekiah revolted, sending ambassadors to Egypt to entreat Apries to espouse his quarrel.[1] Although the application seems to have been favourably received, the Egyptians were slow to move, and Nebuchadnezzar had reached Jerusalem and formally invested the city, before Apries advanced to their relief.[2] On the news

salem. And, 3. That the years given by Josephus from the Tyrian annals are calculated to the accession of Cyrus *in Persia*, as is evident in the passage itself (contr. Ap. i. 21, *ἐπὶ τούτου*—scil. Εἰρώμου—Κῦρος Περσῶν ἐδυνάστευσεν), and that *they exactly fill up the interval*, if we make a single correction from the Armenian version of Eusebius. From the seventh of Nebuchadnezzar (B. C. 598) to the first of Cyrus in Persia (B. C. 558) is 40 years, which are made up within a few months, by the 13 years of Ithobaal, the 10 of Baal, the 2 months of Etnibaal or Ecnibaal, the 10 months of Chelbes, the 3 months of Abbaal, the 6 years of Mytgon and Gerastartus, the 1 year of Balator, the 4 years of Merbal, and the *four* (not fourteen) years of Hirom,—in all 39 years and 3 months.

[5] Joseph. Ant. Jud. x. 7; Jer. xxii. 18, and xxxvi. 30. The non-arrival of expected succours from Egypt is indicated, 2 Kings xxiv. 7.

[6] 2 Kings xxiv. 11–17; Joseph. Ant. Jud. x. 8.

[7] Josephus, citing the Tyrian histories (*τὰς τῶν Φοινίκων ἀναγραφάς*), says, *ἐπολιόρκησε Ναβουχοδονόσορος τὴν Τύρον ἐπ' ἔτη δεκατρία.* He also quotes Philostratus to the same effect (Ant. Jud. x. 11, § 2). He does not positively say that Tyre was taken. Heeren (As. Nat. vol. ii. p. 11) throws some doubt on the fact of the capture, which (he observes) "rests upon the prophecy of Ezekiel (ch. xxvi.) alone," and is contradicted by a later passage in the same prophet (xxix. 18), which "shows that the attempt to subdue it failed." But the capture is prophesied by Jeremiah as well as Ezekiel (Jer. xxvii. 3–6); and by Ezekiel in such positive terms that we cannot question the fact without denying the inspiration of the prophet, and by implication that of Scripture generally. Nor is the passage in the 29th chapter at all inconsistent with the notion that Tyre had been taken. It may only mean that Nebuchadnezzar had obtained no *sufficient* recompense for the toil and expense of the siege. Mr. Kenrick thinks that the continental Tyre (Palætyrus) was taken, but that the island Tyre escaped. He rightly rejects Jerome's account of a mole or dam thrown by Nebuchadnezzar across the strait, but he very insufficiently meets the suggestion that the Babylonians being masters of the rest of Phœnicia, would have a strong naval force, and may have taken the island by a blockade. He too, like Heeren, supposes that prophecy can remain unfulfilled (Phœnicia, p. 390). The threats of Ezekiel are clearly directed especially against the Island City (see Ezek. xxvi. 15–18, xxvii. 32, xxviii. 2, &c.).

[8] In the ninth year of Zedekiah (2 Kings xxv. 1; Jer. xxxix. 1, &c.), three years before the fall of Tyre.

[9] Jer. xliv. 30.

[1] Ezek. xvii. 15. "He rebelled against him in sending his ambassadors into Egypt, that they might give him horses and much people."

[2] Jer. xxxvii. 5; Joseph. Ant. Jud. x. 9.

of his approach Nebuchadnezzar raised the siege, and marched to encounter the more powerful enemy. According to Josephus,[3] a battle was fought in which Apries was completely defeated, but the narrative of Scripture rather implies that the Egyptian troops retired on the advance of the Babylonians, and avoided an engagement.[4] The siege of Jerusalem was resumed, and pressed with such vigour, that in the third year from the first appearance of Nebuchadnezzar before the walls, the city fell. Zedekiah was taken prisoner, his eyes were put out, and he was carried to Babylon. The city and temple were burnt, the walls levelled with the ground, and the greater part of the inhabitants transplanted to the banks of the Euphrates.[5] Tyre seems to have capitulated in the next year (B. C. 585).[6]

15. After these successes the Babylonian monarch appears to have indulged in a brief repose. In the 5th year however from the destruction of Jerusalem, he again led an army into the field,[7] and proceeded through Syria and Palestine into Egypt,[8] which was still under the rule of Apries. Here again his arms triumphed. Josephus relates that he put the reigning monarch to death, and set up another king in his room;[9] but this is inconsistent with both chronology and history, and is not at all required (as Josephus may have imagined) by the prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel.[1] Apries probably fled into some stronghold, while Nebuchadnezzar ravaged the open country, and took many of the towns. It does not however appear that he made any permanent conquest of Egypt, which ten or twelve years afterwards is found acting as an autonomous state, and attempting the reduction of the distant settle-

[3] Antiq. Jud. x. 9.

[4] Jer. xxxvii. 5–7. "Then Pharaoh's army was come forth out of Egypt: and when the Chaldæans that besieged Jerusalem heard tidings of them, they departed from Jerusalem. Then came the word of the Lord unto the prophet Jeremiah, saying, Thus saith the Lord, the God of Israel, Thus shall ye say to the king of Judah, that sent you unto me to enquire of me: Behold Pharaoh's army, which is come forth to help you, shall return to Egypt into their own land."

[5] 2 Kings xxv. 1–10; Jer. lii. 1–14.

[6] The capture of Jerusalem was "in the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar" (Jer. lii. 12). Tyre was invested in his seventh year, and besieged thirteen years. This would bring its capture into Nebuchadnezzar's twentieth year.

[7] Joseph. Ant. Jud. x. 9.

[8] It is not unlikely that this attack was provoked by aggressions on the part of Egypt. Herodotus tells us that Apries marched an army to attack Sidon, and fought a battle with the king of Tyre by sea (ii. 161). These acts would have constituted an aggression upon Babylonia at any part of the reign of Apries. They are likely to have followed the humiliation of Phœnicia by Nebuchadnezzar, and the withdrawal of the Babylonian forces after the fall of Tyre.

[9] Antiq. Jud. l. s. c.

[1] The strongest passage is the well-known one in Jeremiah (xliv. 30), where Apries is mentioned by name. "Behold, I will give Pharaoh-Hophra, king of Egypt, into the hands of his enemies, and into the hands of them *that seek his life*." But, 1. this need not mean that he should be put to death, for in the same passage Zedekiah, who was not put to death, is said to have been delivered "into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, his enemy, and *that sought his life*;" and, 2. the reference need not be to Nebuchadnezzar—the enemies spoken of may be Amasis and his party. The other passages (Ezek. xxx. 21–4, xxxii. 31–2) are even less determinate.

ments of Cyrêné and Barca.[2] Probably he was content to return with his spoil and his captives, having sufficiently resented the affront which had been offered him, and secured his dominions in that quarter from any further attack.

16. The remainder of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar—a period of about 18 years—is not distinguished by any known event of historical importance.[3] The embellishment of his capital, and the great works of public utility which he had commenced in various parts of his kingdom, may have principally occupied him. During seven years however, out of the eighteen, he was incapacitated from performing the duties of his station by the malady sent to punish his pride, a form, apparently, of the madness called Lycanthropy.[4] It is impossible to fix exactly either the commencement or the termination of this attack. We may gather from Scripture that he reigned for some years after his recovery from it;[5] but neither Scripture nor Josephus furnishes us with any exact chronology for this portion of his life.

17. After a reign of forty-three years, the longest recorded of any Babylonian monarch, Nebuchadnezzar died (B. C. 561). He was succeeded by Illoarudamus, or Evil-Merodach,[6] who is declared, by the united testimony of the best authorities, to have been his son.[7] This prince reigned, according to the Astronomical Canon, but two years, and was followed by Nerigassolassarus, or Neriglissar, whom Berosus[8] and Abydenus[9] represent to have been the husband of his sister. Ac-

[2] According to Josephus (Antiq. Jud. x. 10), Egypt was invaded in the 23rd year of Nebuchadnezzar, which was B. C. 582. The expedition of Apries against Cyrene was B. C. 571 or B. C. 570.

[3] It may be suspected that Nebuchadnezzar invaded Egypt a second time about B. C. 570 (Ezek. xxix. 17–20), when he deposed Apries and set up Amasis, who was perhaps his tributary. (See App. to Book ii. ch. 8, § 37.) The fables of Megasthenes—who made Nebuchadnezzar march along Africa and cross into Spain, subdue that country, and plant his captives on the shores of the Euxine (Fr. 22)—are not to be regarded as history.

[4] See on this subject the paper of Welcker in his "Kleine Schriften" (vol. iii. pp. 157 et seqq.): "Die Lycanthropie ein Aberglaube und eine Krankheit." Colonel Rawlinson once thought that he had found a reference to the illness in the Standard Inscription, but he now explains the passage differently.

[5] Otherwise it could scarcely be said that he was afterwards "established in his kingdom, and excellent majesty was added unto him" (Dan. iv. 36).

[6] That these two names represent one and the same king is evident, not so much from any resemblance between them, which is but slight, as from the year assigned for the accession of each, which, both in Scripture and in the Astronomical Canon, is the forty-fourth from the accession of Nebuchadnezzar. For, as the first year of Jehoiachin's captivity was the 8th of Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings xxiv. 12), the 37th year of his captivity would have been the 44th of Nebuchadnezzar, if he had lived so long. But he died after a reign of 43 years, according to the Canon (confirmed in this point by Josephus, Berosus, Abydenus, &c.). It was therefore the first year of his successor, Illoarudamus. Scripture expressly states that it was the first year of Evil-merodach (2 Kings xxv. 27). Probably the name Illoarudamus (ΙΛΛΟΑΡΟΥΔΑΜΟΣ) has been corrupted from Illoamordachus (ΙΛΛΟΑΜΟΡΔΑΧΟΣ).

[7] Berosus (ap. Joseph. contr. Apion. i. 21), Abydenus (ap. Euseb. Chron. Can. i. 10), Polyhistor (ap. eund. i. 5), Josephus (Ant. Jud. x. 11).

[8] Berosus says expressly, Εὐειλμαράδουχος ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ Νηριγλισσοόρου ἀνῃρέθη. (Ap. Joseph. cont. Ap. l. s. c.)

[9] Abydenus calls Neriglissar less definitely the κηδεστὴς of Evil-merodach. (Ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. ix. 41.)

cording to these writers Neriglissar obtained the throne by the murder of his brother-in-law, who is accused by Berosus of provoking his fate by lawlessness and intemperance.[10] The single action by which Evil-Merodach is known to us—his compassionate release of Jehoiachin from prison in the first year of his reign, and kind treatment of him during the remainder of his life[1]—is very remarkably in contrast with this unfavourable estimate of his character.

18. Of Neriglissar (*Nergal-shar-uzur*), the successor of Evil-Merodach, who ascended the throne in B. C. 559, very little is known beyond the fact of his relationship to the monarch whom he succeeded, and the bloody deed by which he obtained possession of the supreme power. It is probable, though not certain, that he was the "Nergal-sharezer, the Rab-Mag," who, nearly thirty years previously, accompanied the army of Nebuchadnezzar to the last siege of Jerusalem, and who was evidently at that time one of the chief officers of the crown.[2] He bears the title of Rab-Mag in the inscriptions,[3] and calls himself the son of "*Bil-zikkar-iskun*,[4] king of Babylon," who may possibly have been the "chief Chaldæan" said by Berosus[5] to have watched over the kingdom between the death of Nabopolassar and the return of Nebuchadnezzar from Egypt to assume the government. Considerable remains have been found of a palace which Neriglissar built at Babylon. He was probably advanced in life when he ascended the throne,[6] and hence he held it but four years, or rather three years and a-half;[7] dying a natural death in B. C. 556, and leaving the crown to his son, Laborosoarchod, or Labossoracus, who, though a mere boy, appears to have been allowed quietly to assume the sceptre.[8]

[10] Προστὰς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνόμως καὶ ἀσελγῶς.

[1] 2 Kings xxv. 27–30. "And it came to pass in the seven-and-thirtieth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin king of Judah, in the twelfth month, on the seven-and-twentieth day of the month, that Evil-merodach king of Babylon, in the year that he began to reign, did lift up the head of Jehoiachin out of prison; and he spake kindly to him, and set his throne above the throne of the kings that were with him in Babylon, and changed his prison garments: and he did eat bread continually before him all the days of his life. And his allowance was a continual allowance given him of the king, a daily rate for every day, all the days of his life."

[2] Jerem. xxxix. 3 and 13-4. Gesenius (Lex. p. 388, E. T.) understands by *Rab-Mag*, "the chief of the Magi," but this interpretation is very doubtful.

[3] The title in the inscriptions reads as *Rubu emga.* It is of Hamite origin, and appears in some of the earliest legends. The meaning is in all probability "chief priest."—[H. C. R.]

[4] This is the Semitic or Assyrian reading of the name. The Hamite or Babylonian form, which is that occurring on the Cambridge Cylinder, should probably be read as "*Bel-mu-ingar*," the meaning of which is, "Bel appoints a name."—[H. C. R.]

[5] Fr. 14. Παραλαβὼν δὲ (ὁ Ναβουχοδονόσορος) τὰ πράγματα διοικούμενα ὑπὸ τῶν Χαλδαίων καὶ διατηρουμένην τὴν βασιλείαν ὑπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου αὐτῶν, κ. τ. λ.

[6] If we identify him with the Nergalsharezer of Jeremiah, and regard him as at least 30 when he held high office at the siege of Jerusalem (B. C. 586), he must have been *at least* 57 at his accession.

[7] The nine months of Laborosoarchod, which are omitted from the Canon, must be deducted from the adjoining reigns to obtain their real length.

[8] Beros. Fr. 14. Compare Abyd. Frs. 8 and 9.

19. Neriglissar, during his brief reign of less than four years, must have witnessed the commencement of that remarkable revolution which was in a short time to change completely the whole condition of Western Asia. The year following his accession is most likely that in which Cyrus dethroned Astyages,[9] and established the supremacy of the Persians from the deserts of Carmania to the banks of the Halys. How this event affected the relations of Babylonia towards foreign powers we are nowhere distinctly informed; but there can be little doubt that its tendency must have been to throw Babylon into an attitude of hostility towards the Arian race, and to attach her by a community of interests to the Lydian and Egyptian kingdoms. A tie of blood had hitherto united the royal families of the two great empires which had divided between them the spoils of Assyria: this tie was now broken, or greatly weakened.[10] Mutual benefits—a frequent interchange of good offices—had softened the natural feelings of hostility between Medes and Babylonians—Scytho-Arians and Semites—the worshippers of Ormazd or of the elements, and the devotees of Bel and Nebo. But these services, rendered to or received from the Medes, could count as nothing in the eyes of that new race, which had swept away the Median supremacy, and which already aspired to universal dominion. Babylon must at once have feared that terrible attack, which, although delayed by circumstances for twenty years, manifestly impended over her from the moment when king Astyages succumbed to the superior genius of Cyrus.

20. Laborosoarchod,[1] the son of Neriglissar, sat upon his father's throne but nine months. He is said to have given signs of a vicious disposition, and thereby to have aroused the fears or provoked the resentment of his friends and connexions. A conspiracy was formed against him among his courtiers, and he was put to a cruel death.[2] The conspirators then selected one of their number, a man of no very great eminence previously,[3] and placed him upon the vacant throne. This

[9] The date of B. C. 529 for the accession of Cambyses is fixed by the Canon of Ptolemy, as well as by the numbers of Herodotus, and may be regarded as absolutely certain. The year to be assigned for the defeat of Astyages will depend upon the length of the reign of Cyrus. This is given at 29 (Herodotus), 30 (Ctesias and Dino), and 31 years (Syncellus, &c.). The authority of Herodotus far outweighs that of Ctesias and Dino; besides which his is an exact, theirs may be only a *round* number. The accession of Cyrus must thus be regarded as falling into the year B. C. 558.

[10] Broken, if Cyrus was no relation to Astyages, as Ctesias said (Pers. Exc. § 2); greatly weakened, if he was grandson of Astyages on the mother's side (Herod. i. 108).

[1] The true reading of this name is very doubtful. It has not been found upon the monuments. Josephus gives it in one place as Labosordachus (Ant. Jud. x. 11, § 2), in another, where he professes to quote Berosus (see the next note), as Laborosoarchodus. According to the Greek Eusebius (Præp. Ev. ix. 41) Abydenus used the form Labassoarascus, according to the Armenian Eusebius he spoke of Labossoracus (Chron. Can. pars i. c. 10). The uniformity with which the initial *L* is used tells against Niebuhr's view, that we have in Laborosoarchod "the same roots" as in Nebuchadrezzar (Lectures on Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 38, E. T.). M. Oppert conjectures the native form to have been *Irib-akhi-mardoc* (Rapport, p. 51).

[2] *Λαβοροσοάρχοδος ἐκυρίευσε μὲν τῆς βασιλείας παῖς ὢν, μῆνας ἐννεα· ἐπιβουλευθεὶς δὲ διὰ τὸ πολλὰ ἐμφαίνειν κακοήθη, ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἀπετυμπανίσθη.* Berosus ap. Joseph. contr. Ap. i. 21. Abydenus agrees (Frs. 8 and 9), but is briefer.

[3] The expression used by Berosus is "a certain Nabonnedus, a Babylonian" (Να

was Nabonidus, or Nabonadius,[4] the last king, the Labynetus II. of Herodotus.

21. The accession of Nabonadius (*Nabu-nit* or *Nabu-nahit*), B. C. 555, nearly synchronises with the commencement of the war between Cyrus and Crœsus. It was probably in the very first year of his reign that the ambassadors of the Lydian king arrived with their propositions of a grand confederation of nations against the power which was felt to threaten the independence of all its neighbours. It was the bold conception of Crœsus to unite the three lesser monarchies of the East against the more powerful fourth; and Nabonadius was scarcely seated upon the throne before he was called upon to join in a league with Egypt and Lydia, whereby it was hoped to offer effectual resistance to the common enemy.[5] The Babylonian prince entered readily into the scheme. He was, to all appearance, sufficiently awake to his own danger. Already were those remarkable works in course of construction, which, being attributed by Herodotus to a queen. Nitocris—the mother, according to him, of the last Babylonian monarch[6]—have handed her name down to all later ages. These defences, which Herodotus speaks of as constructed against the Medes,[7] were probably made really against Cyrus, who, upon his conquest of the Median empire, appears to have fixed his residence at Agbatana,[8] from which quarter it was that he after-

θόννηδός τις τῶν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος). Abydenus remarked that he was not related to his predecessor (ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. ix. 41.) It has generally been supposed that Herodotus regarded him as the son of his first Labynetus, the prince who assisted Cyaxares against the Lydians (Clinton, F. H. vol. ii. p. 372–3; Jackson, Chron. Ant. vol. i. p. 421), but there is no proof of this. Herodotus merely asserts that he was the son of *a* Labynetus (i. 188). He does not state the rank of his father, or say anything to identify him with the former Labynetus. And there would be a difficulty in his supposing the son of that monarch to be contemporary with the great-grandson of Cyaxares. By the monuments Nabu-nahit appears to have been the son of a certain *Nabu-* *-dirba*, who is called "Rab-Mag," like Neriglissar, and was therefore a person of considerable official rank.

[4] There are two distinct forms of this prince's name, both in classical writers and in the Inscriptions. In the latter his name is ordinarily *Nabu-nit*, or, as it is now read, *Nabu-nahit*, but sometimes the form *Nabu-imduk* or *Nabu-induk* is used. The classical writers express the former by Nabonidus, Nabonadius, Nabonnedus, or (as Herodotus) by Labynetus—the latter may be traced in the Nabannidochus of Abydenus (Fr. 9), and the Naboandelus (Naboandechus?) of Josephus (Ant. Jud. x. 11, § 2). [*Nabu-nahit* is the Semitic or Assyrian, and *Nabu-induk* the Hamite or Babylonian form. The one is a mere translation of the other, and the two forms are used indifferently. The meaning is, "Nebo blesses" or "makes prosperous."—H. C. R.]

[5] Herod. i. 77.

[6] The Nitocris of Herodotus still figures in history upon his sole authority. She was evidently unrecognised by Berosus—she has no place in the Canon—and no trace of her appears in the Inscriptions. Her Egyptian name is singular, but not inexplicable, since we may easily imagine one of Nebuchadnezzar's nobles marrying an Egyptian captive. The theories which regard her as the wife of Evil-merodach (Wesseling ad Herod. i. 185), or of Nebuchadnezzar (Heeren, As. Nat. vol. ii. p. 179, E. T.; Niebuhr, Lectures on Anc. Hist. vol. i. p. 37; Clinton, F. H. vol. i. p. 279 note), are devoid of any sure foundation, and present considerable difficulties. Herodotus distinctly connects her with his second Labynetus, and only indistinctly with any former king. Perhaps on the whole it is most probable that he regarded her as at once the wife of his first Labynetus (Nebuchadnezzar?) and the mother of his second (Nabu-nahit); but it does not seem possible that she can really have filled both positions.

[7] Herod. i. 185.

[8] Herod. i. 153.

wards marched upon Babylon.[9] They belong, in part at least, to the reign of Nabonadius, as is evident both from a statement of the native historian, and from the testimony of the inscriptions. The river walls, one of the chief defensive works which Herodotus ascribes to his Nitocris, are distinctly assigned by Berosus to Nabunahit,[1] and the bricks which compose them, one and all, bear upon them the name of that monarch.[2]

Of the other defensive works ascribed to Nitocris—the winding channel dug for the Euphrates at some distance above Babylon,[3] and the contrivance for laying under water the whole tract of land towards the north and west of the city[4]—no traces appear to remain, and it seems certain that the description which Herodotus gives of them is at least greatly exaggerated.[5] Still we may gather from his narrative, that besides improving the fortifications of the city itself, Labynetus endeavoured to obstruct the advance of an enemy towards Babylon, by hydraulic works resembling those of which so important a use has frequently been made in the Low Countries. It has been supposed by some,[6] that in connexion with the defences here enumerated, and as a part of the same system of obstruction, a huge wall was built across Mesopotamia from the Tigris to the Euphrates, to secure the approaches to the city upon that side of the river. The "Median Wall" of Xenophon[7] is regarded as a bulwark of this description, erected to protect Babylonia against the incursions of the Medes, and this was no doubt the notion which Xenophon entertained of it; but the conjecture is probable,[8] that the barrier within which the Ten Thousand penetrated was in reality a portion of the old wall of Babylon itself, which had been broken down in places, and suffered to fall into decay by the Persians. The length of 70 miles which Xenophon ascribes to it,[9] is utterly unsuitable for a mere line of wall across the tract between the two streams; for the

[9] Otherwise he would not have been brought into contact with the Gyndes (the modern *Diyálah*) on his road to Babylon.

[1] Ἐπὶ τούτου (Nabonnedus) τὰ περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τείχη τῆς Βαβυλωνίων πόλεως ἐξ ὀπτῆς πλίνθου καὶ ἀσφάλτου κατεκοσμήθη. Berosus, ap. Joseph. contr. Ap. l. s. c

[2] Athenæum, No. 1377.

[3] Herod. i. 185. It need not be supposed that Herodotus himself "sailed down the Euphrates to Babylon" (Grote's Hist. of Greece, vol. iii. p. 404, note [1]), in which case his description would be authoritative. He speaks rather as if his information came from others—the travellers (merchants?) who were wont to pass from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates, and then to descend the river to Babylon.

[4] Ibid. l. s. c. The work which Herodotus calls a reservoir (ἔλυτρον) seems really to have had this object. He allows that in its ordinary condition it was empty (i. 191).

[5] See note [1] on Book i. ch. 185. The travellers from whom Herodotus got his account of the winding course of the Euphrates above Babylon, may have been deceived by passing several villages of the name of Ardericca, and believing them to be the same. Ardericca was a common name. (See Herod. vi. 119.)

[6] See Heeren's Asiatic Nations, vol. ii. p. 132; Grote's Greece, vol. iii. pp. 394 and 404.

[7] Anab. I. vii. § 15.

[8] See a paper read before the Geographical Society by Col. Rawlinson in 1851.

[9] Twenty parasangs, or 600 stades, are a little more than 69 miles. If Xenophon's informants meant this for the circuit of Babylon, they went even beyond Herodotus, who made the circuit 480 stades (i. 178).

streams are not more than 20 or 30 miles apart, from the point where the Euphrates throws off the Saklawiyeh canal—more than a degree above Babylon—to the near vicinity of the city; and such a work as the supposed "wall of Media" would naturally have been carried across where the distance between the rivers was the shortest.[1] Herodotus too would scarcely have ignored such a bulwark, had it really existed, or have failed to inform us how Cyrus overcame the obstacle.[2] We may therefore omit the "Median wall" from the Babylonian defences, and consider them to have consisted of an outer and an inner circuit of enormous strength, of high walls along the river banks, and of certain hydraulic works on the north, whereby the approach of an enemy could be greatly impeded.[3] With these securities against capture Nabonadius appears to have been content, and he awaited probably without much fear the attack of his powerful neighbour.

22. Within two years of the time when Nabonadius, at the instance of Crœsus, joined the league against the Persians, another embassy came from the same quarter with tidings that must have been far from satisfactory. Nabonadius learned that his rash ally had ventured single-handed to engage the Persian king, and had been compelled to fall back upon his own capital. He was requested to get ready an army, and in the spring to march to the general rendezvous at Sardis, whither the Lydian monarch had summoned all his allies.[4] Nabonadius no doubt would have complied, but the course of events proceeded with such rapidity, that it was impossible for him to give any assistance to his confederate. Herald followed on herald, each bringing news more dismal than the last. Cyrus had invaded Lydia—had marched on Sardis—Crœsus had lost a battle, and was driven within his walls—Nabonadius was entreated to advance to his relief immediately.[5] A fortnight afterwards, when perhaps the troops were collected, and were almost ready to march, tidings arrived that all was over—the citadel had been surprised—the town was taken—Crœsus was a prisoner, and the Persian empire was extended to the Ægean Probably Nabonadius set to work with fresh vigour at his defences, and may even have begun at once to lay in those stores of provisions, which are mentioned as accumulated in the city when, fifteen years later, its siege took place.[6]

[1] Mr. Grote (Hist. of Greece, vol. iii. p. 394) speaks of the wall as situated "*a little* to the north of that point where the two streams most nearly approach one another." But if we accept Xenophon's measurement, we cannot place the wall lower than between Hit and Samara, which is *more than a degree* above the point where the streams approach the closest.

[2] Mr. Grote sees this difficulty (p. 404, note [1]), but puts it aside with the remark that the wall "was not kept up with any care, even in Herodotus's time." But if it was a hundred feet high in Xenophon's time, it must have been visible enough fifty years earlier.

[3] The passage of Berosus, where these works seem to be mentioned, is very obscure, and appears to refer to some former occasion on which the city had been besieged, and taken or injured by means of the river. (*πρὸς τὸ μηκέτι δύνασθαι τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας τὸν ποταμὸν ἀναστρέφοντας ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν κατασκευάζειν, ὑπερεβάλετο τρεῖς μὲν τῆς ἔνδον πόλεως περιβόλους, τρεῖς δὲ τῆς ἔξω τούτων.* Ap. Joseph. cont. Apion. l. s. c.)

[4] Herod. i. 77.

[5] Herod. i. 81.

[6] Ib. i. 190. *Σιτία ἐτέων κάρτα πολλῶν.*

23. A pause of fifteen years gave certainly every opportunity for completing such arrangements as were necessary for the defence of the town. It may be thought that even the territory might have been secured against hostile invasion, if a proper strategic use had been made of the natural barriers furnished by the two broad and deep rivers, and the artificial obstructions, consisting of canals, dykes, and embankments with which the whole country was covered. The preservation of the capital, however, seems to have been all that was attempted. This is evidenced by the nature of the defences constructed at this period, and still more by the care taken to provision the city for a siege. It was probably hoped that the enormous height and thickness of the walls would baffle all attempts to force an entrance on the part of the besiegers, and that the quantity of corn laid up in store, and the extent of land within the defences on which fresh crops might be raised,[7] would render reduction by blockade impracticable. The whole mass of the population of the country might easily take shelter within the space enclosed by the great walls; and so Babylon, like Athens in the Peloponnesian war, intended to surrender its territory to the enemy to be ravaged at pleasure, and to concentrate all efforts on the defence of the metropolis. When Cyrus, at the end of the fifteen years, appeared before the walls, a single battle was fought, to try whether it was necessary to submit to a siege at all; and when the victory declared for the Persians, the Babylonians very contentedly retired within their defences, and thought to defy their enemy.[8] Thenceforth "the mighty men of Babylon forebore to fight—they remained in their holds."[9] We are not informed how long the siege lasted, but no second effort seems to have been made to drive away the assailants.

24. After a time Cyrus put in execution the stratagem, which (it may be conjectured) he had resolved to practise before he left Agbatana. By the dispersion of the waters of the Gyndes,[1] his army had perhaps gained an experience which it was important for them to acquire before attempting to deal with the far mightier stream of the Euphrates, where any accident—the weakness of a floodgate, or the disruption of a dyke—might not only have disconcerted the scheme on which the taking of Babylon depended, but have destroyed a large portion of the Persian army. The exact mode by which Cyrus drained the stream of its water is uncertain. Herodotus relates that it was by turning the river into

[7] It must be borne in mind that the walls of Babylon, like those of most Oriental towns, enclosed rather populous districts than cities. It is quite impossible that a tract containing above 130 square miles should have been one-half covered with houses. On the other hand, it is highly probable that as much as nine-tenths may have consisted of gardens, parks, *paradises*, and even mere fields and orchards. (Compare Q. Curt. v. 1, § 27.) During a siege the whole of this could be used for growing corn. Hence the confidence of the Babylonians (λόγον εἶχον τῆς πολιορκίας οὐδένα).

[8] Herod. i. 190. Berosus agreed in speaking of a single battle (ap. Joseph. contr Ap. l. s. c.).

[9] Jer. li. 30.

[1] The Gyndes is identified, almost to a certainty, with the Diyálah, by the fact that it was crossed by boats on the road between Sardis and Susa after the Greater and the Lesser Zab (Herod. v. 52.) The Diyálah is the only stream of this magnitude between the Lesser Zab and the Kerkhah (Choaspes), on which Susa stood.

the receptacle excavated by Nitocris, when she made the stone piers of the bridge within the town.[2] Xenophon records a tradition that it was by means of two new cuttings of his own, from a point of the river above the city to a point below it.[3] Both agree that he entered the city by the channel of the Euphrates, and that he waited for a general festival which was likely to engage the attention of the inhabitants, before turning the stream from its natural bed.[4] If the sinking of the water had been observed, his plan would have been frustrated by the closing of the city water-gates, and his army would have been caught, as Herodotus expresses it, "in a trap."[5]

25. The city was taken at the extremities long ere the inhabitants of the central parts had a suspicion of their danger. Then it may well be that "one post ran to meet another, and one messenger to meet another, to show the king of Babylon that his city was taken at one end."[6] According to Berosus, indeed, Nabonadius was not in Babylon, but at Borsippa, at the time when Babylon was taken, having fled to that comparatively unimportant city when his army was defeated in the field.[7] He seems, however, to have left in Babylon a representative in the person of his son, whom a few years previously he had associated with him in the government. This prince, whose name is read as *Bil-shar-uzur*, and who may be identified with the Belshazzar of Daniel,[8] appears to have taken the command in the city when Nabonadius threw himself, for some unexplained reason, into Borsippa, which was undoubtedly a strong fortress, and was also one of the chief seats of Chaldæan learning,[9] but which assuredly could not compare, either for magnificence or for strength, with Babylon. Belshazzar, who was probably a mere youth, left to enjoy the supreme power without check or control, neglected the

[2] Herod. i. 191. [3] Xen. Cyrop. vii. v. 10.
[4] Herod. l. s. c.; Xen. Cyrop. vii. v. 15. [5] Ὡς ἐν κύρτῃ. [6] Jer. li. 31.
[7] Ναβόννηδος ἡττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ συνεκλείσθη εἰς τὴν Βορσιππηνῶν πόλιν (ap. Joseph. contr. Ap. i. 21).
[8] Ch. v. Two difficulties still stand in the way of this identification, which (if accepted) solves one of the most intricate problems of ancient history. The first is the relationship in which the Belshazzar of Scripture stands to Nebuchadnezzar, which is throughout represented as that of son (verses 2, 11, 13, 18, &c.); the second is the accession, immediately after Belshazzar, of "Darius the Mede." With respect to the first of these, it may be remarked that although Nabonadius was not a descendant, or indeed any relation, of Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar may have been, and very probably was. Nabu-nahit, on seizing the supreme power, would naturally seek to strengthen his position by marriage with a daughter of the great king, whose son, son-in-law, and grandson had successively held the throne. He may have taken to wife Neriglissar's widow, or he may have married some other daughter of Nebuchadnezzar. Belshazzar may thus have been grandson of Nebuchadnezzar *on the mother's side.* It is some confirmation of these probabilities, or possibilities, to find that the name of Nebuchadnezzar was used as a family name by Nabu-nahit. He must certainly have had a son to whom he gave that appellation, or it would not have been assumed by two pretenders in succession, who sought to personate the legitimate heir of the Babylonian throne.

On the difficulty presented by the reign of Darius the Mede in Babylon, some remarks have already been made in the Essay, "On the Great Median Empire" (Essay iii. § 11).
[9] Strab. xvi. p. 1050. Strabo also says that it was famous for its manufacture of linen.

duty of watching the enemy, and gave himself up to enjoyment. The feast of which we read in Daniel, and which suffered such an awful interruption, may have been in part a religious festivity,[1] but it indicates nevertheless the self-indulgent temper of the king, who could give himself so entirely up to merriment at such a time. While the king and his "thousand nobles"[2] drank wine out of the sacred vessels of the Jews, the Persian archers entered the city, and a scene of carnage ensued. "In that night was Belshazzar slain."[3] Amid the confusion and the darkness, the young prince, probably unrecognised by the soldiery, who would have respected his rank had they perceived it,[4] was struck down by an unknown hand, and lost his life with his kingdom.

26. Cyrus then, having given orders to ruin the defences of the city,[5] proceeded to the attack of Borsippa, where Nabonadius still maintained himself. But the loss of his capital and his son had subdued the spirit of the elder prince, and on the approach of the enemy he at once surrendered himself.[6] Cyrus treated him with the gentleness shown commonly by the Persians to those of royal dignity,[7] and assigned him a residence and estates in Carmania, forming a sort of principality, which has been magnified into the government of the province.[8] Here, according to Berosus, he ended his days in peace. Abydenus, however,

[1] See Herod. i. 191. *τυχεῖν γάρ σφι ἐοῦσαν ὁρτήν.* The religious character of the festival is indicated in the book of Daniel by the words—"They drank wine, *and praised the gods* of gold, and of silver, of brass, of iron, &c." (verse 4).

[2] Dan. v. 1.

[3] Ibid. verse 30.

[4] Crœsus nearly lost his life in the same way, amid the confusion consequent upon the taking of his capital by assault, but was spared as soon as his rank was indicated (Herod. i. 85).

[5] We are generally told, when the capture of Babylon by an enemy is related, that the defences are *demolished.* Berosus said that Cyrus ordered the outer defences to be razed to the ground (*συντάξας τὰ ἔξω τῆς πόλεως τείχη κατασκάψαι*, Fr. 14, sub fin.). Herodotus makes Darius *remove* the wall, and tear down the gates, adding that Cyrus had left them standing (*τὸ τεῖχος περιεῖλε, καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀπέσπασε· τὸ γὰρ πρότερον ἑλὼν Κῦρος τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐποίησε τούτων οὐδέτερον*, iii. 159). Arrian tells us that Xerxes razed to the ground (*κατέσκαψε*) the temple of Belus (Exp. Alex. vii. 17; compare iii. 16). In every case there is undoubtedly an exaggeration. The conqueror was satisfied to dismantle the city, without engaging in the enormous and useless labour of demolition. He broke, probably, large breaches in the walls, which sufficed to render the place defenceless. When a revolt occurred, these breaches were hastily repaired, and hence Babylon could stand repeated sieges—one at the hand of Cyrus, a second and third during the reign of Darius, and a fourth during that of Xerxes (Ctes. Exc. Pers. § 22). The walls must have remained at least to this last occasion; and certainly Herodotus writes as if he had himself seen them (Herod. i. 178 and 181; see Mr. Grote's note, Hist. of Greece, vol. iii. pp. 395–8). Ctesias too appears to have represented himself as an eye-witness of their grandeur (cf. Diod. Sic. ii. 7. *τὸ ὕψος ἄπιστον τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, ὥς φησι Κτησίας ὁ Κνίδιος*). Abydenus, it must be remembered, expressly declared that the wall of Nebuchadnezzar continued to the Macedonian conquest (see above, page 412, note [1]), and St. Jerome says that the old walls of Babylon had been repaired and served as the enclosure of a park in his day (Comment on Esaiam. xiv. vol. iii. p. 115).

[6] Beros. Fr. 14 sub fin.

[7] See Herod. iii. 15, and note ad loc.

[8] Berosus only said—*χρησάμενος Κῦρος φιλανθρώπως (τὸν Ναβόννηδον), καὶ δοὺς οἰκητήριον αὐτῷ Καρμανίαν, ἐξέπεμψεν ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας·* But Abydenus declared—*Τὸν δὲ (Ναβαννίδοχον) Κῦρος ἑλὼν Βαβυλῶνα, Καρμανίης ἡγεμονίῃ δωρέεται* (Fr. 9).

states that he gave offence to Darius, who deprived him of his possessions, and forced him to quit Carmania.[9]

27. It is possible that Nabonadius was involved in one of those revolts of Babylon from Darius, where his name was certainly made use of to stir the people to rebellion, and so incurred the displeasure of the Great King. Twice at least in the reign of that monarch a claimant to the Babylonian crown came forward with the declaration, "I am Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabonadius," and each time the magic of the name was sufficient to seduce the Babylonians from their allegiance. Babylon stood two sieges, one at the hands of Darius himself, the other at the hands of one of his generals. On the first occasion two great battles were fought, at the passage of the Tigris, and at Zazana on the Euphrates,[1] Babylon thus offering a stouter resistance to the Persian arms under the leadership of the pretended son of Nabonadius, than it had formerly offered under Nabonadius himself. The siege which followed these battles is probably that which Herodotus intended to describe in the concluding chapters of his third Book; but very little historical authority can be considered to attach to the details of his description.[2]

Whatever ravages were inflicted on the walls and public buildings of Babylon by the violence of the Persian monarchs, or the slow operation of time, there is reason to believe that it remained the second city in the Persian empire down to the time of the conquest by Alexander. The Persian court resided for the larger portion of the year at the great Mesopotamian capital;[3] and when Alexander overran the whole territory of the Achæmenian kings it appears to have attracted a far larger share of his regard than any other city.[4] Had he lived, it was his intention that Babylon should be restored to all her ancient splendour, and become the metropolis of his wide-spread empire. This intention was frustrated by his death, and the disputes among his successors transferred the seat of government, even for the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, into Syria. From this time Babylon rapidly declined. Seleucia upon the Tigris, which arose in its vicinity, drew away its population,[5] and the very materials of the ancient Chaldæan capital were gradually removed and used in the construction of a new and rival city. Babylon shortly "became heaps,"[6] and realised the descriptions of prophecy.[7] The or-

[9] Ap. Euseb. Chron. Can. pars I. c. x.

[1] Behist. Inscr. Col. I. Par. 16–19; Col. II. Par. 1.; Col. III. Par. 13–4.

[2] The Behistun Inscription is conclusive, as far as negative evidence can be, against the details of the siege given in Herodotus. After a careful and elaborate account, contained in two entire paragraphs, of the war which preceded the siege, we hear simply, "Then Naditabirus, with the horsemen, his well-wishers, fled to Babylon. *I both took Babylon* and seized that Naditabirus" (Col. II. Par. 1). The details cannot belong to the second siege, in the reign of Darius, since the city was not then taken by Darius in person, but by Intaphres (Col. III. par. 14). It is probable, therefore, that if any such circumstances as those related by Herodotus ever took place, it was, as Ctesias asserted, on occasion of the revolt from Xerxes. Col. Rawlinson sees reason to doubt the whole tale. (Note on the Beh. Inscript. p. xvi.)

[3] See Brisson. de Regn. Pers. i. pp. 58–9.

[4] Cf. Arrian. Exped. Alex. vii. 17, 19, 21; Strab. xvi. p. 1049.

[5] Plin. H. N. vi. 30.

[6] Jer. li. 37.

[7] Isa. xiii. 19–22: "And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the

dinary houses rapidly disappeared; the walls sank, being either used as quarries[8] or crumbling into the moat from which they had risen: only the most elevated of the public buildings retained a distinct existence, and these shrunk year by year through the ceaseless quarrying. Finally the river exerted a destructive influence on the ruins, especially on those lying upon its right bank, on which side it has always a tendency to run off.[9] Perhaps under these circumstances there is more reason to be surprised that so much of the ancient town still exists than that the remains are not more considerable. The ruins near Hillah extend over a space about three miles long and rather more than two miles broad, and are in some parts 140 feet above the level of the plain.[1] They still furnish building materials to all who dwell in the vicinity, and have clearly suffered more from the ravages of men than from the hand of time.[2] The following account of their present condition from the pen

Chaldees' excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their fold there. But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there. And the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces, and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged." Jer. li. 41: "How is Sheshach taken! and how is the praise of the whole earth surprised! how is Babylon become an astonishment among the nations! The sea is come up upon Babylon; she is covered with the multitude of the waves thereof. Her cities are a desolation, a dry land, and a wilderness, a land wherein no man dwelleth, neither doth any son of man pass thereby." Jer. l. 39, 40: "A drought is upon her waters, and they shall be dried up; for it is the land of graven images, and they are mad upon their idols. Therefore the wild beasts of the desert with the wild beasts of the islands shall dwell there, and the owls shall dwell therein; and it shall be no more inhabited for ever, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation." Compare the descriptions of Mr. Rich (First Memoir, pp. 17–34), Ker Porter (vol. ii. pp. 336–392), and Mr. Layard (Nin. and Babylon, pp. 491–509). The following summary from the last-named writer is striking: "Besides the great mound, other shapeless heaps of rubbish cover for many an acre the face of the land. The lofty banks of ancient canals fret the country like natural ridges of hills. Some have been long choked with sand; others still carry the waters of the river to distant villages and palm-groves. On all sides, fragments of glass, marble, pottery, and inscribed brick, are mingled with that peculiar nitrous and blanched soil, which, bred from the remains of ancient habitations, checks or destroys vegetation, and renders the site of Babylon a naked and a hideous waste. Owls" (which are of a large grey kind, and often found in flocks of nearly a hundred) "start from the scanty thickets, and the foul jackal skulks through the furrows." (Nineveh and Babylon, p. 484.)

[8] For the rapidity with which a line of wall will disappear when quarrying has once begun, compare Dennis's Etruria, vol. ii. pp. 292–4. Mr. Rich, who is surprised at the disappearance of the walls of Babylon, remarks that "they would have been the first object to attract the attention of those who searched for bricks" (First Memoir, p. 44).

[9] See Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, pp. 492–3; and compare Loftus's Chaldæa, p. 18.

[1] Rich, pp. 19 and 28.

[2] All the descriptions agree in this. Mr. Layard shows that the quarrying still continues. "To this day," he says, "there are men who have no other trade than that of gathering bricks from this vast heap, and taking them for sale to the neighbouring towns and villages, and even to Baghdad. There is scarcely a house in Hillah which is not built of them" (Nineveh and Babylon, p. 506).

of a recent traveller may well close this sketch of the history of ancient Babylon.

"The ruins at present existing stand on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, and are inclosed within an irregular triangle formed by two lines of ramparts and the river, the area being about eight miles. The space contains three great masses of building—the high pile of unbaked brickwork called by Rich 'Mujellibe,' but which is known to the Arabs as 'Babel;' the building denominated the 'Kasr' or palace; and a lofty mound upon which stands the modern tomb of Amrám-ibn-'Alí. Upon the western bank of the Euphrates are a few traces of ruins, but none of sufficient importance to give the impression of a palace. . . . .

"During Mr. Layard's excavations at Babylon in the winter of 1850, Bábel, the northern mound, was investigated, but he failed to make any discovery of importance beneath the square mass of unbaked brickwork, except a few piers and walls of more solid structure. According to the measurement of Rich, it is nearly 200 yards square and 141 feet high. It may be suggested that it was the basement on which stood the citadel (?). From its summit is obtained the best view of the other ruins. On the south is the large mound of Mújellibe, so called from its 'overturned' condition. The fragment of ancient brick masonry called the Kasr, which remains standing on its surface, owes it preservation to the difficulty experienced in its destruction. The bricks, strongly fixed in fine cement, resist all attempts to separate the several layers. Their under sides are generally deeply stamped with the legend of Nebuchadnezzar. Not far from this edifice is the well known block of basalt, roughly cut to represent a lion standing over a human figure. This, together with a fragment of frieze, are the only instances of *bas-reliefs* hitherto discovered in the ruins. . . . . On the south of the Mújellibe is the mound of Amrám.

"Various ranges of smaller mounds fill up the intervening space to the eastern angle of the walls. The pyramidal mass of El Heimar, far distant in the same direction, and the still more extraordinary pile of the Birs Nimrúd in the south-west, across the Euphrates, rise from the surrounding plain like two mighty tumuli designed to mark the end of departed greatness. Midway between them the river Euphrates, wending her silent course towards the sea, is lost amid the extensive date-groves which conceal from sight the little Arab town of Hillah. All else around is a blank waste, recalling the words of Jeremiah:—'Her cities are a desolation, a dry land, and a wilderness, a land wherein no man dwelleth, neither doth any son of man pass thereby.'"[3]

[3] Loftus's Chaldæa and Susiana, pp. 17–20.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE BABYLONIAN EMPIRE.

B. C.	Babylonia.	Contemporary Kingdoms.			
		Media.	Egypt.	Lydia.	Judah.
625	Nabopolassar.	8th year of Cyaxares.	89th year of Psamatik I.	Alyattes.	15th year of Josiah.
615	.. ..	Cyaxares attacks Lydia.	.. ..	Attacked by Cyaxares.	
610	Makes peace between Cyaxares and Alyattes.	.. ..	Neco.	Peace made.	
608	Attacked by Neco.	.. ..	Invades Syria. Defeats Josiah.	.. ..	Jehoahaz 3 m. Jehoiakim.
605	Sends Nebuchadnezzar against Neco.	.. ..	Defeated at Carchemish by Nebuchadnezzar.	.. ..	Submits to Nebuchadnezzar.
604	Nebuchadnezzar.				
602	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	Rebels.
598	Besieges Tyre.				
597	Besieges Jerusalem.	Assists Nebuchadnezzar.	.. ..	.. ..	Jehoiachin 3 m. Zedekiah.
594	.. ..	.. ..	Psamatik II.		
593	.. ..	Astyages.			
588	Second siege of Jerusalem.	.. ..	Apries.	.. ..	Attacked by Nebuchadnezzar.
586	Takes Jerusalem.	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	Taken prisoner.
585	Takes Tyre.				
581	Invades Egypt.	.. ..	Attacked by Nebuchadnezzar.		
570	Second invasion of Egypt (?).	.. ..	Again attacked.		
569	.. ..	.. ..	Amasis.		
568	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	Crœsus.	
561	Evil Merodach.	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	Jehoiachin released.
559	Neriglissar.				
558	.. ..	Deposed by Cyrus.			
556	Laborosoarchod.				
555	Nabonidus. Alliance with Crœsus.	.. ..	Makes alliance with Crœsus.	Alliance with Egypt and Babylon.	
554	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	Conquered by Cyrus.	
539	Associates Belshazzar (?).				
538	Conquered by Cyrus.				

ESSAY IX.

ON THE GEOGRAPHY OF MESOPOTAMIA AND THE ADJACENT COUNTRIES.

1. Outline of the Physical Geography—Contrast of the plain and the highlands. 2. Division of the plain—Syrian or Arabian Desert—Great Mesopotamian valley. 3. Features of the mountain region—Parallel chains—Salt lakes. 4. Great plateau of Iran. 5. Mountains enclosing the plateau—Zagros—Elburz—Southern or coast chain—Hala and Suliman ranges. 6. Low countries outside the plateau—(i.) Southern—(ii.) Northern—(iii.) Eastern. 7. River-system of Western Asia—(i.) Continental rivers—*Syhun* — *Jyhun*—*Helmend*, &c.—*Kur*—*Aras*—*Sefid-Rud*—*Aji-Su*—*Jaghetu*, &c.—*Barada*—Jordan—(ii.) Oceanic rivers—Euphrates—Tigris—their affluents—viz. Greater *Zab*, Lesser *Zab*, *Diyaleh*, *Kerkhah*, and *Karun*—Indus—Affluents of Indus, *Sutlej*, *Chenab*, &c.—*Rion*—*Litany* and Orontes. 8. Changes in the Physical Geography—(i.) in the low country east of the Caspian—(ii.) in the valley of the Indus—(iii.) in Lower Mesopotamia. 9. Political Geography—Countries of the Mesopotamian plain—(i.) Assyria—position and boundaries—Districts—Adiabênê, &c.—(ii.) Susiana or Elymais—(iii.) Babylonia—Position—Districts—Chaldæa, &c.—(iv.) Mesopotamia Proper. 10. Countries of the mountain region—(i.) Armenia—Divisions—(ii.) Media—(iii.) Persia Proper—Paraetacênê, Mardyênê, &c.—(iv.) Lesser mountain countries—Gordiæa—Uxia, &c.—11. Countries west of the Mesopotamian plain—(i.) Arabia—(ii.) Syria—Divisions—Commagênê, Cœle-Syria, Palestine—(iii.) Phœnicia—Cities. 12. Conclusion.

1. The geographical features of Western Asia are in the highest degree marked and striking. From the great mountain-cluster of Armenia Proper, situated between the 38th and 41st parallels, and extending from long. 38° to 45° E. from Greenwich, descend two lofty ranges to the right and to the left,[1] forking at an angle of about forty degrees, and enclosing within them a vast triangular plain, measuring at its base, which is nearly coincident with the 30th parallel, fifteen degrees of longitude, or about 900 miles. This plain itself may be subdivided, by a line running from the mouth of the *Shat-el-Arab* to a point a little south of the city of Aleppo, into two nearly equal triangles, lying respectively towards the north-east and the south-west. These two portions are of very unequal elevation, the eastern triangle being for the most part a low plain little removed from the level of the rivers which water it, while the western is comparatively high ground, attaining in parts an elevation of from 1000 to 2000 feet.[2]

2. The latter of the two tracts is with scanty exceptions woodless and streamless, consisting of the Syrian and part of the Arabian desert,

[1] To the right is the range of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, which is prolonged through Palestine to the desert of Tij; to the left Zagros, or the Kurdish Hills, which forms the modern boundary between Turkey and Persia.

[2] The plain between Aleppo and the Euphrates has been reckoned at 1100 or 1200 feet (see Col. Chesney's Euphrates Expedition (vol. i. p. 411): that of *Djedur*, which stretches eastward from the foot of the Anti-Lebanon to the Arabian desert, at about 2000 feet (ibid. p. 501.)

a country never more than thinly inhabited by a nomad population, and with difficulty traversed, except near its upper angle, by well-appointed caravans carrying with them abundant supplies of water. The other or eastern tract is the great Mesopotamian valley. It is formed by the divergent streams of the Tigris and Euphrates, which, rising from different sides of the same mountain-range, begin by flowing eastward and westward, leaving between them in their upper course a broad region, which is at first from 200 to 250 miles across, but which rapidly narrows below the 36th parallel until it is reduced in the neighbourhood of Baghdad to a thin strip of land, not exceeding the width of 20 miles. Here the two rivers seem about to unite, but repenting of their intention they again diverge, the Tigris flowing off boldly to the east, and the Euphrates turning two points to the south, until the distance between them is once more increased to about 100 miles. After attaining to the maximum of divergence between *Kantara* and *Al Khudr*, the great rivers once more flow towards one another, and uniting at *Kurnah*, nearly in the 31st degree of latitude, form the *Shat-el-Arab*, which runs in a single stream nearly to *Mohamrah*, when it divides into two slightly divergent channels, which enter the Persian Gulf almost exactly in lat. 30°. To the tract lying between the rivers, which is Mesopotamia Proper, if we regard the etymology of the term, must be added—to complete our second triangle—first, a narrow strip of cultivable land lying along the Euphrates between its waters and the desert; and secondly, a broader and more important territory east of the Tigris, enclosed between that stream and the chain of Zagros, the eastern boundary of the plain region. This country, which is cooled by breezes from the adjacent mountain-range, and abundantly watered by a series of streams which flow from that high tract into the Tigris, must have been at all times the most desirable portion of the productive region known generally as Mesopotamia.

3. The most remarkable feature of the mountain-ranges surrounding this vast flat, is their tendency to break into numerous parallel lines. This feature is least developed on the western or Syrian side, yet even there, Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, and the two ridges east and west of the Jordan, are instances of the characteristic in question, which is far more strongly and distinctly marked on the north and east, in Armenia and Kurdistan. North of the plain, between Diarbekir and the Euxine, no less than four parallel ridges of great height, and separated from each other by deep gorges, enclose and guard the low region;[3] while eastward, in Kurdistan[4] and Luristan,[5] besides ranges of hills, three, four, or five mountain-chains are to be traced, intervening between the great plain

[3] See Col. Chesney's Euphrates Expedition, vol. i. ch. iv. pp. 67–70.

[4] See the Journal of the Geographical Society, vol. xi. p. 21.

[5] This district, which twenty years ago was almost unknown, has been thoroughly explored by the enterprise of British travellers, particularly Col. Rawlinson and Mr. Layard. (See the Journal of the Geograph. Society, vol. ix. part i. art. 2; vol. x. part i. art. 1; vol. xvi. art. 1, &c.; and cf. Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, chs. xvii. and xviii.) The parallelism of the ranges is expressly noted by the latter writer (Nineveh and Babylon, p. 373; Geograph. Journ. vol. xvi. p. 50).

and the high region of Persia. On the side of Mesopotamia these ridges are for the most part bare and stony, but in the interior of Kurdistan and in the north of Armenia their flanks are clothed with forests of walnut and other trees, while green valleys smile below, and in summer "the richest pastures enamel the uplands."[6] The mountains rise in places considerably above the snow-line, and are believed occasionally to attain an elevation of from 13,000 to 15,000 feet.[7]

Another feature of the mountain-region enclosing the great plain, common both to its eastern and western portions, is the occurrence in it of large lakes, the waters of which do not reach the sea. These lakes are of two very opposite characters. On the east, they lie at a vast elevation, 4000 or 5000 feet above the sea-level, while on the west they occur along that remarkable depression which separates the mountains of Palestine Proper from the high ground lying east of the Jordan. The sea of Tiberias is 652 feet, and the Dead Sea 1312 feet below the level of the Mediterranean; lake *Urumiyeh* is 4200, and the lake of Van 5400 feet above the same. The waters of all (excepting Tiberias, through which the Jordan flows) are of a very similar character; they are heavily impregnated with salt, which so greatly raises their specific gravity that they are little affected by storms, and possess extraordinary buoyancy.[8]

[6] Mr. Layard says: "We had now left the *naked hills* which skirt the Assyrian plains, and entered the wooded districts of Kurdistan" (Nineveh and Babylon, p. 375). And with regard to the region north of Assyria he observes: "At the back of Trebizond, as indeed along the whole of this bold and beautiful coast, the mountains rise in lofty peaks, and are wooded with trees of enormous growth and admirable quality, furnishing an unlimited supply for commerce or war. . . . In spring the choicest flowers perfume the air, and luxuriant creepers clothe the limbs of gigantic trees. In summer the richest pastures enamel the uplands, and the inhabitants of the coasts drive their flocks and herds to the higher regions of the hills. The forests . . . . form a belt from 30 to 80 miles in breadth along the Black Sea. Beyond the dense woods cease. . . . . They are succeeded by still higher mountains, mostly rounded in their forms, some topped with eternal snow, barren of wood, and even of vegetation except during the summer, when they are clothed with Alpine flowers and herbs" (ibid. pp. 6–7).

[7] In traversing the country between Mosul and Lake Van, Mr. Layard crossed several passes on which the snow lay in August, and which exceeded 10,000 feet. He estimates the *Toura Jelu*, "probably the highest mountain in central Kurdistan," at "not under, if it be not above, 15,000 feet" (p. 430). Farther south the *Rowanduz* attains to the height of 10,568 feet (Geograph. Journ. vol. xi. part i. p. 64). In the most southern part of the Zagros chain, Mr. Layard says the summits are "frequently within the range of perpetual snow" (Journal of Geograph. Society, vol. xvi. p. 49). In Armenia, about Lake Van, Col. Chesney mentions the peaks of *Ala Tagh*, *Sapan*, *Nimrud*, and *Mut Khan*, as all above the snow line (Euphrates Exp. vol. i. p. 69).

[8] These properties have long been noticed as attaching to the Dead Sea (Tacit. Hist. v. 6): "Lacus immenso ambitu . . . . neque vento impellitur, neque pisces aut suetos aquis volucres patitur. Incertæ undæ superjecta ut solido ferunt; periti imperitique nandi perinde attolluntur." Compare Joseph. Bell. Jud. iv. 8; Strab. xvi. p. 1086; Plin. H. N. v. 16. And for modern testimonies to the extraordinary buoyancy, see Dr. Robinson's Biblical Researches, vol. ii. p. 213, and Mr. Kinglake's Eothen, ch. xiii. ad fin. The same qualities are found, however, still more strikingly in the Lake of Urumiyeh, of which Col. Rawlinson gives the following account: "The specific gravity of the water, from the quantity of salt which it retains in

4. Eastward of the lofty chain of Zagros, which, running in a direction nearly from north-west to south-east, shuts in the great plain of Western Asia on the side of the continent, the traveller comes upon a second level region contrasting strongly with that which lies upon the opposite side of the range. The Mesopotamian flat and the great parts of the Assyrian desert form a continuous lowland, in no place more than a few hundred feet above the sea-level; the great plain of *Iran* east of Mount Zagros is a high plateau or table-land, possessing an average elevation of above 4000 feet,[9] and seldom sinking below 3000—the height of Skiddaw and Helvellyn. Its shape is an irregular rectangle or oblong square, the northern boundary being formed by the mountain-chain called sometimes *Elburz*, which runs eastward from Armenia, and, passing south of the Caspian, joins the *Hindoo Koosh* above Cabul, the eastern by the *Suliman* and *Hala* ranges, which shut in upon the west the valley of the Indus, the western by Mount Zagros, and the southern by a lower line of hills which runs nearly parallel with the coast, and at no great distance from it, along the entire length of Persia and Beloochistan, from *Bushire* to *Kurrachee.* This parallelogram extends in length more than 20 degrees or above 1100 miles, while in breadth it varies from seven degrees or 480 miles, (its measure on the west along Mount Zagros) to nearly ten degrees or 690 miles, which is the average of its eastern portion. It contains about 600,000 square miles, thus exceeding in size the united territory of Prussia, Austria, and France.

It is calculated that two-thirds of this elevated region are absolutely and entirely desert.[1] The rivers which flow from the mountains surrounding it are, with a single exception—that of the Etymander or *Helmend*—insignificant, and their waters almost always lose themselves, after a course proportioned to their volume, in the sands of the interior. Only three, the *Helmend*, the *Bendamir*, and the river of *Ghuznee*, have even the strength to form lakes—the others are absorbed in irrigation,

solution, is great; so much so indeed that the prince's vessel, of 100 tons burthen, when loaded, is not expected to have more draught than three or four feet at utmost. The heaviness of the water also prevents the lake from being much affected with storms. . . . A gale of wind can raise the waves but a few feet; and as soon as the storm has passed they subside again into their deep, heavy, death-like sleep" (Journal of Geogr. Soc. vol. x. part i. p. 7). In Lake Van the features seem to be less marked. The water in some places is "quite salt" (Brant in Geograph. Journ. vol. x. p. 384), in others only "slightly brackish" (ibid. vol. iii. p. 50; vol. x. p. 403). Cattle drink it, and it produces a species of fish; whereas in Lake Urumiyeh and in the Dead Sea no living creatures are found excepting zoophytes (ibid. vol. x. part i. p. 7; Humboldt's Aspects of Nature, vol. ii. p. 75, E. T.; Wagner's Reise, vol. ii. p. 136). Lake Van, too, breaks into "high waves" under a storm (Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, p. 415).

[9] Col. Chesney calls the elevation 5000 feet (Euphrat. Exp. vol. i. p. 65), but this is above the average. The level of Teheran, which is probably as great as that of almost any part of the plain, is no more than 4000 feet (Geograph. Journ. vol. viii. p. 112).

[1] See Chesney's Euphrates Exp. vol. i. p. 78. The "Great Salt Desert" is said to extend 400 miles from *Kashan* to Lake *Zerrah*, and 250 miles from *Kerman* to *Mazanderan.* The Sandy Desert of *Sigistan* is reckoned at from 400 to 450 miles in its greatest length, and in its greatest width at above 200 miles. (See Kinneir's Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire, pp. 20 and 222.)

or sucked up by the desert. Occasionally a river, rising within the mountains, forces its way through the barrier, and so contrives to reach the sea. This is the case, especially on the south, where the coast-chain is pierced by a number of streams, some of which have their sources at a considerable distance inland.[2] On the north the *Heri-rud*, or river of Herat, in a similar way makes its escape from the plateau, but only to be absorbed, after passing through two mountain-chains, in the sands of the *Kharesm.* Thus by far the greater portion of this region is desert throughout the year, while, as the summer advances, large tracts, which in spring were green, are burnt up—the rivers shrink back towards their sources—the whole plateau becomes dry and parched—and the traveller wonders that any portion of it should be inhabited.[3]

It must not be supposed that the entire plateau of which we have been speaking, is to the eye a single level and unbroken plain. This is not even the character of the Mesopotamian lowland; and still less is it that of the upland region under consideration. In the western portion the plains are constantly intersected by "brown, irregular, rocky ridges;"[4] rising to no great height, but serving to condense the vapours held in the air, and furnishing thereby springs and wells of inestimable value to the inhabitants. In the southern and eastern districts "immense" ranges of mountains are said to occur,[5] and the south-eastern as well as the north-eastern corners of the plateau[6] are little else than confused masses of giant elevations. Vast flats, however, are found. In the Great Salt Desert which extends from *Kashan* to lake *Zerrah* or *Dharrah*, in western Affghanistan, and in the sandy desert of *Sigistan*, which lies east and south of lake Zerrah, reaching from near *Farrah* to the *Mekran* mountains, plains of above a hundred miles in extent seem to occur[7]—sometimes formed of loose sand, which the wind raises into hillocks,[8] sometimes hard and gravelly,[9] or of baked and indurated clay.[1]

[2] Especially the *Dusee* or *Punjgur* river, which rises near Nushky, in lat. 29° 40′, long. 65° 5′, and falls into the sea near *Gwattur*, in lat. 25° long. 62° nearly.

[3] "A dreary, monotonous, reddish-brown colour," says Col. Chesney, "is presented by everything in Iran, including equally the mountains, plains, fields, rocks, animals, and reptiles. For even in the more favoured districts, the fields which have yielded an abundant crop are so parched and burnt before midsummer, that if it were not for the heaps of corn in the villages near them, a passing stranger might conclude that a harvest was unknown in that *apparently* barren region" (Euphrates Exp., vol. i. p. 79).

[4] Ibid.

[5] See Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 210.

[6] Affghanistan and Beloochistan Proper. (See Chesney, vol. i. ch. viii., and Kinneir, p. 211.)

[7] This appears sufficiently from the account given by Kinneir of Lieutenant Pottinger's journey, Persian Empire, pp. 216–218). But see also Pottinger's Travels (pp. 132–8, &c.), and the diaries of Dr. Forbes and Serjeant Gibbons in the Journal of the Geographical Society (vol. xi. pp. 136–56; vol. xiv. pp. 145–179).

[8] "The sand of this desert is of a reddish colour, and so light that when taken into the hand the particles are scarcely palpable. It is raised by the wind into longitudinal waves, which present on the side towards the point from which the wind blows a gradual slope from the base, but on the other side rise perpendicularly to the height of 10 or 20 feet, and at a distance have the appearance of a new brick wall" (Kinneir, p. 222).

[9] Ibid. p. 217. Compare the "Geographical Notes" of Mr. Keith Abbot (Geograph. Journ. vol. xxv. art. 1).

[1] Chesney, vol. i. p. 79. Ferrier's Caravan Journeys, p. 403.

5. The mountain tracts surrounding this great plateau are for the most part productive and capable of sustaining a numerous population. Zagros especially is a delightful region. The outer ranges indeed, particularly on the side of Assyria, are stony and barren, but in the interior the scenery assumes a character of remarkable beauty and grandeur; forests of walnut, oak, ash, and plane thickly clothe the ranges of parallel hills, along the sides of which are terraces cultivated with rice, wheat, and other grain, while frequent gardens and orchards, together with occasional vineyards, diversify the scene, the deep green valleys producing cotton, tobacco, hemp, Indian corn, &c., and numerous clear and sparkling streams everywhere leaping from the rocks and giving life and freshness to the landscape.[2] Towards the north, the outer barrier of the Zagros range, on the side of Iran, appears to be the most elevated of the many parallel ridges.[3] It rises up for the most part abruptly from the high plains in this quarter, with snow-clad summits and dark serrated flanks, forming a gigantic barrier between the upper and lower regions,[4] traversed with difficulty by a few dangerous passes, and those only open during seven months of the year.[5]

The northern or Elburz range, which, starting from the ridge of *Zenjan*,[6] in long. 48°, proceeds south-east and east along the southern shores of the Caspian, and thence stretches across by *Meshed* and *Herat* to Cabool, is in its western portion a comparatively narrow tract, consisting for the most part of a single ridge not exceeding 20 miles in breadth, rocky and barren on its southern face, full of precipices, and cleft occasionally into long, narrow, and deeply scarred transverse valleys.[7] In places, however, this range too breaks into two or more parallel lines of hills, between which streams are found (like the *Shah Rud* and the *Sefid Rud*), in which case its character approaches to the richness of the Zagros district.[8] On the northern flanks overhanging *Ghilan* and *Mazanderan* the mountains are clothed nearly to their summits with dwarf oaks, or with shrubs and brushwood, while lower down the slopes are covered with forests of elms, cedars, chesnuts, beeches, and cypress-trees.[9] The average height of the range in this part is from 6000 to 8000 feet, while here and there still loftier peaks arise, like the volcanic cone of *Demavend*, the snowy summit of which is 14,700 feet above the sea-level.[1] More to the east, beyond *Damaghan*, in about long. 55°, the character of

[2] See Layard's Nineveh and Babylon (pp. 367–375), Chesney's Euphrat. Exp. (vol. i. pp. 122–3), and the communications of Mr. Ainsworth, the Baron de Bode, Mr. Layard, and Col. Rawlinson, in the Journal of the Geographical Society (vol. xi. p. 21, &c.; vol. xii. p. 75, &c.; vol. xvi. art. 1; and vol. x. part i. art. 2).

[3] Journal of Geograph. Society, vol. x. part i. p. 22.

[4] Ibid. pp. 15 and 30. [5] Ibid. p. 20.

[6] Col. Chesney makes the *Massula* range the commencement of this chain (Euphr. Exp. p. 73), but it was found by Col. Rawlinson that the ridge between *Zenjan* and the *Sefid Rud* considerably exceeded in height the *Massula* mountains (Geograph. Journal, vol. x. part i. p. 61).

[7] See Ker Porter's Travels, vol. i. p. 357.

[8] See Geograph. Journal, vol. viii. p. 102, and vol. x. part i. p. 62.

[9] Chesney, Euphr. Exp. vol. i. p. 217; Geograph. Journal, vol. viii. p. 103.

[1] So Mr. Ainsworth (Geograph. Journ. vol. viii. part i. p. 112), but the map accompanying his route says 14,800.

the range alters; its elevation becomes less, while its width greatly increases. It spreads out suddenly to a breadth of full 200 miles,[2] and is divided longitudinally into ridges, separating valleys which communicate with each other by passes or defiles, and are rich, well inhabited, and well cultivated.[3] This character continues to about long. 64°, where the chain once more contracts itself. Between the points indicated, the range presents to the desert on the south a slope called *Atak*, or "the Skirt," which is capable of being made highly productive, and is covered with the ruins of great cities, but it is now nearly a wilderness.

The southern and eastern chains are less accurately known than the others. The southern may be regarded as commencing between Bushire and Shiraz. It is at first a considerable distance from the sea, but approaches the coast nearly in long. 55°, and then runs along parallel to it at a distance of a few miles, having an elevation of about 5000 feet near Cape Jask, and then decreasing in height until, a little west of the Indus, it is lost in the Hala mountains.[4] The eastern chain follows nearly the course of the Indus valley, which it shuts in upon the west; it consists of the Hala and Suliman ranges, the latter of which attains in some places the elevation of 12,000 feet.[5] These mountains are, on the Indus side, arid and sterile;[6] their western flank can scarcely be said to be as yet known.

6. Outside the mountains enclosing the great table-land of Iran, on the south, the north, and the east, the traveller descends to low and level countries, which have now to be described briefly.

(i.) The southern tract, which commences from the river *Tab* or *Hindyan*, about a degree north of Bushire, is a thin strip of territory, varying along the shores of the Persian Gulf from 60 to 20 miles in width,[7] and near the mouth of the gulf contracting to a very narrow space indeed,[8] after which it seldom exceeds about eight or ten miles,[9] occasionally falling short of that breadth, and in one place—at *Chobar* or *Choubar*—almost suffering interruption by the advance of the mountains to the very edge of the sea. The character of this tract is peculiar. It is watered for six months of the year by a number of streams, some flowing from the coast-chain, others from a more inland mountain-range; but these streams fail almost entirely during the summer, when the natives depend upon well-water, which is generally of a bad quality.[10] The

[2] See Geograph. Journ. vol. viii. p. 308. [3] Ibid., and comp. pp. 313–4.

[4] Chesney, p. 73. This writer says of the eastern portion of the range: "Where it has been examined, the formation is sandstone, limestone, gypsum, clays, and marls. The brown, bare, and furrowed appearance belonging to the first of these rocks, seems to be the prevailing character of this part of the chain, the sides and crests of which are generally deprived of vegetation; but the valleys, where they happen to be irrigated, produce the plantain, date, and other fruits, as well as grain."

[5] This is the estimated height of the Takht-i-Suliman, the loftiest peak of the chain. (See Col. Chesney's map at the end of his second volume.)

[6] Journal of Geograph. Society, vol. iii. p. 131, and vol. xiv. p. 197.

[7] See Kinneir's Persian Empire, pp. 56, 68, &c.

[8] Especially at Cape *Jask*, where the mountains "approach almost the edge of the sea" (Kinneir, p. 203). [9] Ibid.

[10] See Col. Chesney's Euphrates Exp. vol. i. p. 178. Kinneir, pp. 57–8, and p. 205.

country between the streams is dry, sandy, and arid, and the general character of the strip, both towards the east [1] and towards the west,[2] is one of desolation. In the centre, however, from *Gwattur* to Cape *Jask*, where the streams are most frequent, there is fine pasturage, and abundant crops are produced—the population supported being considerable.[3]

(ii.) The tract of country outside the northern mountain-line divides itself into two distinct and strongly contrasted districts. Beginning upon the west, it consists in the first place of a narrow belt of rich alluvial land along the southern shores of the Caspian, varying in width from five to thirty miles, and in length extending above 300.[4] This is by far the most romantic and beautiful province in the modern kingdom of Persia. Forests of oak, elm, beech, and box cover the hills; the vegetation is luxuriant; flowers and fruit of the most superb character are produced; lemons, oranges, peaches, pomegranates, besides other fruits, abound; rice, hemp, sugar-canes, and mulberries are cultivated with success; and the district is little less than one continuous garden.[5] Nature, however, has accompanied these advantages with certain drawbacks; the low countries suffer grievously from inundations through the swelling of the streams;[6] and the waters which escape from the river-beds stagnate in marshes, whose pestilential exhalations render the provinces of *Ghilan*, *Mazanderan*, and *Asterabad* about the most unhealthy in Persia.[7] Eastward of the belt of land thus characterised, the low country suddenly acquires new and quite different features. From the south-eastern angle of the Caspian an immense and almost boundless plain—the desert of Khiva or Kharesm—stretches northwards 800 miles to the foot of the *Moughojar* hills, and eastward an equal distance to the neighbourhood of Balkh. This vast tract, void of all animal life, without verdure or vegetation,[8] depressed in parts (according to some accounts) below the level of the ocean—the desiccated bed, as Humboldt thinks,[9] of a sea which once flowed between Europe and Asia, joining the Arctic Ocean with the Euxine—separates more effectually than a water-barrier between the Russian steppes and the country of *Khorasan*, and lies like a broad dry moat outside the rampart of the Elburz range. It is sandy and salt;[10] and is scarcely inhabited excepting towards the skirts of the hills that fringe it, and along the courses of the rivers that descend from

[1] Kinneir, p. 203.

[2] Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. i. p. 2. Kinneir, p. 70.

[3] Kinneir, p. 203–4. [4] Chesney, vol. i. p. 216.

[5] See Kinneir, p. 38, and pp. 159–162. Chesney, vol. i. pp. 216–7. And compare Major Todd's journey through Mazanderan (Geograph. Journ. vol. viii. pp. 102–4). [6] Chesney, p. 80. Geograph. Journ. vol. viii. p. 103.

[7] Kinneir, p. 166. Chesney, p. 216. Fraser's Travels near the Caspian Sea, p. 11.

[8] Mouravieff (quoted by De Hell) says of it: "This country exhibits the image of death, or rather of the desolation left behind by a great convulsion of nature. Neither birds nor quadrupeds are found in it; no verdure nor vegetation cheers the sight, except here and there at long intervals some spots on which there grow a few stunted shrubs" (Travels in the Steppes of the Caspian Sea, E. T. p. 326). The account given by Sir A. Burnes is less poetical, but in its main features similar. (See the summary in the Geographical Journal, vol. iv. pp. 305–311.)

[9] See Geograph. Journ. vol. xii. p. 278. Ibid. vol. iv. pp. 309–310, &c.

those hills, and struggle—vainly, except in one or two instances[1]—to force their way to the sea of Aral or the Caspian.

(iii.) The valley of the Indus, which lies along the Eastern mountains, is near the sea a broad tract,[2] very low and swampy, yielding however abundant crops of rice, and capable of becoming richly productive under proper cultivation.[3] A vast sandy desert encloses the entire valley upon the east, reaching from the Great Runn of Cutch nearly to the vicinity of Ferozepoor, a distance of above 500 miles. Between the desert and the mountains is a space never less than fifty or sixty miles in breadth, and sometimes expanding to 100 or 150 miles, which is all capable of being irrigated, and might equal the borders of the Nile in productiveness. The most remarkable expansion is on the western side of the river, from the 27th to the 29th parallels, where the triangular plain of *Cutchi Gandava* intervenes between the mountains and the Indus, having its apex at *Dadur*, 120 miles from the river, and its base reaching from *Mittun Kote* to lake *Manchur*, a distance of 230 miles. A portion of this plain is exceedingly rich and fertile, but part is barren and sandy; the whole however is capable of being made into a garden by skilful and well-managed irrigation.[4] Above *Mittun Kote* begins the well-known country of the Punjaub, another triangle—equilateral, or nearly so[5]—between the points of *Gumpier* at the junction of the *Chenab* with the Indus, *Attock* at the junction of the river of Cabul with the same stream, and *Bulaspoor* at the point where the Sutlej issues from the mountains. This region, which derives its name from the five great rivers whereby it is watered, is richly productive along their courses; but the wide spaces between the streams are occupied by deserts, either of sand or clay, in some places bare, in others covered with thick jungle, or with scattered tamarisk-bushes, in either case equally unfitted for the habitation of man, and at present thinly dotted over with a few scattered villages.

7. The River-System of Western Asia, like its other geographical features, is peculiar. North of a line drawn from Erzeroum along Zagros into Luristan, and thence across Kerman and Beloochistan, in a direction a little north of east, to the Suliman mountains, the Hindoo

[1] The *Jyhun* and *Syhun* (ancient Oxus and Jaxartes) are almost the only rivers of this tract which succeed in maintaining themselves against the absorbing power of the desert. The *Murgaub*, the *Heri Rud*, the river of *Meshed*, and various minor streams, are lost in the sands, like the rivers of central Iran. The *Kohik*, or river of Bokhara, terminates in a small lake (Lake *Dengir*).

[2] The Delta of the Indus, in the widest extent of the term, extends 125 miles along the coast, from the *Koree* mouth to near *Kurrachee*. The true Delta, between the *Pitee* and *Mull* mouths, is 70 miles (Geograph. Journ. vol. iii. p. 115). For the rapid changes in the Delta and in the course of the river, see Geograph. Journ. vol. viii. art. 25; and vol. x. p. 530.

[3] See Kinneir, p. 228, and Burnes's Memoir on the Indus (Geograph. Journ. vol. iii. p. 113, et seqq.).

[4] See the Journal of the Geographical Society, vol. xiv. p. 198, and compare Kinneir, p. 213.

[5] The base, from *Gumpier* to *Bulaspoor*, is about 390 miles; the eastern side, from *Bulaspoor* to *Attock*, 320; and the western side, from *Attock* to *Gumpier*, 380 miles.

Koosh, and the chain of the *Kuen Lun* above *Ladak*, the rivers as far as the 50th parallel in Asia, and the 60th in Europe, fail of reaching the circumambient ocean, either losing themselves in the sands, or else terminating in lakes, which are larger or smaller according to the volume of the streams forming them, and the exhalant force of the sun in their respective latitudes. The principal of these lakes or inland seas are the Caspian and the Aral, the former of which receives the waters of the *Wolga*, the *Ural*, the united *Kur* and *Aras*, the *Kouma*, the *Terek*, the *Sefid Rud*, the *Jem*, and the *Attruk;* while the latter is produced by the combined streams of the *Jyhun* (Oxus) and the *Syhun* or *Sir* (Jaxartes). Thus into these two reservoirs—recently one, according to Humboldt[6]—are drained the waters of a basin 2000 miles in length, from the source of the Wolga to that of the *Sir* or *Syhun*, and 1800 miles in breadth from the head-streams of the *Kaama* in northern Russia to those of the *Sefid Rud* in Kurdistan. In the deserts beyond the *Syhun*,[7] in the highland of Thibet,[8] and in the great Iranic plateau, are a number of similar but smaller salt-lakes, while throughout these regions the phenomenon of the gradual disappearance of a river in the sands, either with or without irrigation, is of very frequent occurrence. Besides these inland or "continental" streams (as they have been called[9]) whose waters do not reach the sea, Western Asia contains a considerable number of *oceanic* rivers, the chief of which are the Indus, the Euphrates, and the Tigris, while among those of lesser importance may be named the *Tchoruk* or river of *Batum*, the *Rion* or ancient Phasis, the Orontes, the Litany, the *Jerahie*, the *Tab* or *Hindyan*, the *Dusee* or *Bougwur*, and the *Puralee* or *Beila* river. A more particular description will now be given of the principal of these streams—so far, at least, as they belong to Asia.

(i.) Among the "continental" rivers of Western Asia those of the greatest importance are, the *Syhun*, the *Jyhun*, and the *Helmend* on the east; on the west, the *Kur*, the *Aras*, and the *Sefid Rud*.

The *Syhun* rises from two sources on the northern flank of the Thian-shan mountain-chain, the more easterly of which is in long. 77°. It flows at first nearly due west between the *Gakchal* and *Alatau* ranges, but near *Kokand* (in long. 69° 50′) it bends southward, and, making a complete sweep by *Khojend*, pursues a northern course for above two degrees (140 miles), after which it turns north-west, and then still more west, finally reaching the sea of Aral near its north-eastern extremity. At first, while it runs between the two lines of mountain, it receives on both sides numerous tributaries, but on issuing into the plain at *Kokand*, and proceeding upon its northern course, skirting the *Alatau*

[6] Asie Centrale, vol. ii. p. 296.

[7] The principal lakes of this region are, Lake *Balkach* in lat. 45°, long. 77°, Lake *Telekoul* in lat. 45°, long. 66°, and Lake *Aksakal* in lat. 47° 50′, long. 63° 50′.

[8] Lakes *Temourton* and *Lob* are the most western of these. Eastward they continue at intervals along the whole tract between the Kien-lun and the Thian-shan to the frontiers of China.

[9] See Mr. Keith Johnston's Atlas of Physical Geography, 'Hydrology,' No. 5, p. 13.

hills, it ceases to obtain feeders from the left, and at length leaving the hills altogether (in long. 66° 50′), and proceeding across the desert, its supplies fail entirely, and it gradually diminishes in volume, partly from the branches which it throws out, but still more from evaporation, until, where it reaches the sea, it is diminished to one-half of the breadth which it had before quitting the mountains in the vicinity of *Otrar*.[1] It has a course, without including meanders, of above a thousand miles,[2] and is in places from 200 to 250 yards wide.

The *Jyhun* rises from an alpine lake[3]—lake *Sir-i-kol*—lying on the western side of the *Bolor* mountain-chain in lat. 37° 40′, long. 73° 50′. After a rapid descent from the high elevation of the lake, during which it pursues a serpentine course, flowing first south-west, then nearly west, then north-west by north, and at last curving round so as to run almost due south, the Jyhun issues from the hills on receiving from the south-east the waters of the river *Kokeha*, and follows a direction at first almost due west, and then from the latitude of Balkh till it crosses the 40th parallel, north-west by west, after which it bends still more to the north, and passing Khiva enters the Aral lake at its south-western corner by three branches. It is increased by a multitude of small streams from the right, and by some from the left, until it passes *Kilef*, when it fairly enters upon the plain, across which it runs without receiving a single tributary[4] till lat. 40°, after which a few small streams reach it from the hills which skirt the plain upon the north-east. Near *Kilef* it is 800 yards wide, after which it diminishes in breadth, but increases in depth, till in the latter part of its course it is weakened by means of canals drawn off from it for the purpose of irrigation. Its whole course, including the principal sweeps, but exclusive of meanders, is about 1200 miles.[5]

The *Helmend*, or Etymander, rises between Bamian and Cabul from the south-western angle of the Hindoo Koosh, and flows in a slightly waving line from north-east to south west across Affghanistan, a distance of 500 miles, to *Palaluk*, after which it sweeps round to the north, and then proceeds by an irregular course bearing generally north-west by west to lake Zerrah. The only important tributary which it is known to receive is a stream from the east[6] formed by the junction of the *Urghandab* and the *Turnuk*, the two rivers between which lies the city of

[1] This description is chiefly drawn from the excellent map (No. 91) published in the Library Atlas of the Useful Knowledge Society.

[2] Mr. Keith Johnston estimates the length of the Syhun at 1208 miles (Phys. Atl. 'Hydrology,' No. 5, p. 14).

[3] Lieut. Wood found the elevation of Lake *Sir-i-kol* to be 15,600 feet (Geograph. Journal, vol. x. p. 536); which is higher than that of the sacred lakes of *Manasa* and *Ravanahadra* in the loftiest region of Middle Thibet, whose level is barely 15,000 feet. (See Humboldt's Aspects of Nature, vol. i. p. 82, E. T.)

[4] A number of streams flow from the hills *towards* the Jyhun in the middle part of its course, but fail of reaching it. The most remarkable are the *Bund-i-Burbur*, or river of Balkh; the *Murgaub*, or river of Merv; the *Heri-rud*, or river of Herat; and the *Kohik*, or river of Bokhara.

[5] See map (No. 91) in the Library Atlas, and compare Col. Chesney's delineation. Mr. Keith Johnston's estimate is 1400 miles (loc. sup. cit.).

[6] Chesney, vol. i. p. 166.

Kandahar. The *Helmend* is from 60 to 90 yards wide at *Girisk*, but increases to above 300 yards after receiving its great tributary,[7] and at *Palaluk*[8] attains a width of 400 yards. It has a course exceeding 600 miles.

With the Helmend may be joined those other streams of the Iranic plateau (the *Gonsir*, or river of *Hamadan*—the ancient Ecbatana—the *Zendarud*, or river of Isfahan, the *Bendamir*, or river of Persepolis, the *Jare-rud*, the river of Ghuznee, &c.) which descend from the mountains enclosing it, and flow inwards towards a common centre, but stagnate after a time, either expanding into lakes, or more commonly sinking imperceptibly amid the dry sands of the desert. In the same connexion must be mentioned the other feeders of lake Zerrah besides the Helmend, namely, the *Haroot-rud*, which flows into it from the north, the *Farrah-rud*, which descends from the north-east, and the river of *Khash* which comes in nearly from the east. These streams are none of any great magnitude, but they have an importance disproportionate to their size, arising out of their value in a country where water is so scarce, and where cultivation depends so greatly upon irrigation.

The *Kur* and *Aras*, which unite at *Djavat*, are, together with the *Sefid Rud*, the streams which carry off the drainage of the mountain-country lying between the western shore of the Caspian and a ridge which may be regarded as a continuation of Zagros, forming the watershed between the continental and the oceanic rivers. The two streams rise within a few miles of each other in lat. 40° 40′, long. 42° 40′,[9] and flow at first in nearly opposite directions, the *Kur* a little east of north and the *Aras* almost due south, till they are 140 miles apart in long. 44°. After this they flow to the east, and approach somewhat in the neighbourhood of *Erivan*, where the distance between them is not more than 100 miles. The Aras then turns suddenly southward, on receiving the waters of lake Sivan, and the interval between the streams increases to 130 miles, but in long. 46° the Aras ceasing to flow south, and in long. 47° beginning to draw a little towards the north, while the Kur, which for a short space had flowed north of east, in long. 47° turns to the south-east, the two rivers gradually draw together, till they unite in long. 48° 40′. The course of the Kur up to this point is reckoned at about 750 miles, and that of the Aras at an almost equal distance.[10] Both are considerable streams, the Kur being 90 yards wide, and from 10 to 20 feet deep at Tiflis,[1] and the Aras being 50 yards wide at *Gurgur*,[2] and 40 as high up as *Karakala*,[3] just below its junction with the *Arpatchai*. Both have

[7] See Ferrier's Caravan Journeys, pp. 428–9. The average depth of the Helmend in the latter part of its course is from 1½ to 2 fathoms (ibid.). [8] Kinneir, p. 191.

[9] See Col. Chesney's Euphrates Expedition, vol. i. p. 10. Some regard the *Bingol-Su* as the true *Aras*. This branch rises near Erzeroum, in lat. 39° 25′, long. 41° 20′ (Geograph. Journ. vol. x. p. 445).

[10] Chesney, pp. 10 and 12. This estimate, however, includes the lesser windings of the streams.

[1] Ibid. p. 10.

[2] See Ker Porter's Travels, vol. i. p. 215. Kinneir says it was 80 yards wide at Megree, north of Tabriz, when he crossed it in 1810 (Persian Empire, p. 321).

[3] Ker Porter, vol. ii. p. 640.

numerous tributaries, the Kur receiving a number of important streams from the flanks of the Caucasus, of which the chief are the *Aragbor*, and the united *Alazani* and *Yori* rivers, while on the other side it is also augmented by various feeders from the high ground separating its basin from that of the Aras; this latter river being supplied with a constant succession of affluents[4] from the mountains which close it in on both sides from its rise to its entrance on the plain of *Moghan* in long. 47° nearly. In spring and early summer these rivers both swell enormously, from the melting of the snows:[5] hence the difficulty of maintaining bridges over them which drew notice in Roman times,[6] a difficulty attested apparently by the many ruins of ancient bridges upon their course,[7] yet which is proved not to be insuperable.[8] The united Kur and Aras flow across the plain of Moghan, a distance of 110 miles,[9] to the Caspian, which the main stream enters in lat. 39° 50′.

The *Sefid-Rud* drains the tract of high ground immediately south of the basin of the Aras:[1] its true source is in the province of *Ardelan* or Kurdistan Proper, in lat. 35° 45′, long. 46° 45′ nearly, where it is known as the *Kizil Uzen*. It proceeds with a general direction of N. E. by E. to the Caspian Sea, but makes one enormous bend in its course between long. 48° and 49° 15′, running first N. W., then N., and then N. N. W. as far as lat. 37° 30′. Here it turns the flank of the great range north of *Zenjan*,[2] and, sweeping round suddenly, flows south-east between that range and the *Massula* hills to *Menjil* (in lat. 36° 40′, long. 49° 15′); after which it resumes its original direction, forces a way through the Massula chain, and runs towards the N. E. across the low country of *Ghilan* to the Caspian. Its course is reckoned at 490 miles. The chief tributaries which it receives are the river of *Zenjan*, the *Miana*, and the *Shah-rud*.[3]

Westward of the Caspian, intervening between it and the great mountain-chain which forms the watershed between the continental and oceanic rivers, is the separate basin of lake *Urumiyeh*, fed by a number of streams flowing into it on all sides but the north, the most important of

[4] Twenty-one tributaries of the Aras are enumerated by Col. Chesney (Euphrat. Exp. vol. i. pp. 8–10).

[5] See Ker Porter's Travels, vol. i. p. 215. Chesney, vol. i. p. 10. The Kur, which in the dry season averages 93 yards at Tiflis, in the time of the floods expands to 233 yards.

[6] Cf. Virg. Æn. viii. 728, "Indomitique Dahæ, et *pontem indignatus* Araxes," and compare his imitators (Claudian. Rufin. i. 376; Sidon. Apoll. Paneg. Auth. 441).

[7] See Ker Porter's Travels, vol. ii. pp. 610, 641, &c.

[8] Col. Chesney mentions three bridges over the Aras, one, that of Shah Abbas, north of Tabriz; another at *Kopri Kieui;* and the third at *Hassan Kaleh* (Euphrat. Exp. vol. i. p. 11).

[9] Chesney's Euph. Exp. vol. i. p. 11.

[1] The basin of Lake *Urumiyeh* intervenes partially between the basins of the *Aras* and the *Sefid Rud*. Two rivers principally feed this lake, the *Jaghetu*, which enters it from the south, and the *Aji*, or river of Tabriz, which flows in from the east. This latter stream rises from Mount *Sevilan;* and its valley, which slopes westward, is interposed between the *Sefid Rud* and *Aras* basins, whose slant is towards the Caspian.

[2] Vide supra, § 5.

[3] See Col. Chesney's Euphrat. Exp. vol. i. pp. 190–1, and compare Geograph. Journ. vol. iii. part i. p. 11, and vol. x. part i. p. 64.

which are the *Ají Su* or river of Tabriz, the *Jaghetu*, and the *Tatau.* The *Ají Su* rises from Mount *Sevilan* (in lat. 38° 10′, long. 47° 45′), in two streams, which flow towards the south-west a distance of some 40 miles, when they unite, and the river thus formed proceeds somewhat north of west for 50 miles further, where a large affluent is received from the south in about long. 46° 50′. The *Ají Su* shortly after this changes its course suddenly, and once more runs south of west, passing through the immense plain of Tabreez, and leaving that city on its left bank at about five miles' distance; after which it bends rather more to the south, and enters the lake of Urumiyeh in the remarkable bay which indents its eastern shore, in lat. 37° 48′, long. 45° 40′. Its entire course, exclusive of the lesser windings, is about 180 miles, or somewhat more than that of the Thames and Severn. The *Jaghetu* and *Tatau* flow into lake Urumiyeh from the south. The former, which is the superior stream, rises in the pass of *Naükhan*, on the eastern side of Zagros, in lat. 35° 40′, long. 46° 30′ nearly, and has a general course of N. N. W. to the south-eastern shore of the lake, which it enters in lat. 37° 13′, long. 45° 52′. It receives one important tributary from the east, the *Saruk* or river of *Takhti-Suleïman*, the northern Ecbatana; and has a course of 130 or 140 miles. The *Tatau* is a smaller river descending from the district of *Sardasht.* Its earlier course is north along the line of the 46th degree of longitude, which it quits in lat. 36° 54′, bending away to the north-west, and leaving between its stream and the *Jaghetu* the fertile plain of *Miyandab.* It falls into the lake at its south-eastern angle, and has a course of 80 or 90 miles.[4]

Still further to the west, and separated altogether from the great region of continental streams which we have been considering, is a small tract lying very nearly upon the Syrian coast, the waters of which, equally with those of Iran and of Central Asia, are land-locked, and fail of reaching the sea. This tract, which extends from the source of the *Barada* (in lat. 32° 50′) upon the north, to the shores of the Dead Sea on the south, consists of the two strongly contrasted valleys of the *Barada* and the Jordan, with the tributary streams of those rivers. The *Barada* rises from the south-eastern flank of Anti-Lebanon, and flows at first nearly south, in a gorge parallel to the chain, but soon leaves the mountains and takes a direction almost south-east through a broad and rich valley expanding gradually into a plain, across which it proceeds to run, seeming as if it would force its way through the desert, and fall into the Persian Gulf or the Euphrates. For this, however, its force is insufficient. It is greatly weakened by being divided into a number of different channels above Damascus,[5] which are used for irrigation, and

[4] See Geograph. Journ. vol. iii. art. 1, and vol. x. part i. art. 1.

[5] Col. Chesney enumerates nine of these (Euphrat. Exped. vol. i. p. 502). The river first splits into two streams, one of which does not further subdivide, but passes in a single channel along the northern side of the city. This branch has perhaps a right to be considered as the ancient Pharpar. (See Benjamin of Tudela, as quoted by Col. Chesney.) The other branch, which may be regarded as the Abana, is further subdivided into eight channels, which pass either through the city or south of it, and all reunite before the northern branch again joins the southern. For a

fertilise the extensive gardens around that town. Although these streams reunite below the town, and the *Barada* flows once more for a short distance in a single stream, though moreover it receives in this part of its course two considerable tributaries from the south-west, the *Nahr-el-Berde* and the *Awaadj*, yet in spite of all it shortly after loses itself in the extensive marsh which, under the name of *Bahr-el-Merdj*, spreads eastward towards the desert, extending from the point where the *Barada* enters it, a distance of nine miles, and having an average width of about two miles.[6] The course of the Barada, exclusive of meanders, does not exceed 40 miles.

From the opposite side of Anti-Lebanon, at a point nearly parallel with its culminating height, the lofty elevation of *Jebel-esh-Sheikh* or Hermon,[7] rises the Jordan from a number of copious springs flowing chiefly from the main chain, which here takes a direction almost due south, but in part also from the western prolongation of the Anti-Lebanon, which skirting the valley of the *Litany*, runs on from thence through Palestine and Idumæa to Sinai. Of these springs, one of the principal—" the parent stream of the valley,"[8] as it has been called—is the torrent of the *Hasbeya*. This torrent, which rises in the fork of the Anti-Lebanon, where the two chains separate, in lat. 33° 40′, long. 35° 50′ nearly, runs at first with a south-westerly course down a deep and rocky gorge, but gradually bends towards the south, and entering upon the plain near Laish (*Tel-el-Kadi*), flows somewhat east of south through a marshy tract into the lake of Merom (now *Bahr-el-Huleh*). Another stream, more usually regarded as the true Jordan, rises from two copious sources—one at Dan or Laish, the other at Cæsarea Philippi or Paneas (now *Banias*)[9]—and, running parallel to the *Hasbeya* through the flat, enters Merom a little to the east of the other feeder. From Merom, which is a mountain tarn, seven miles long and six broad at its greatest width[1]—the Jordan issues in a single stream and begins that remarkable descent which distinguishes it from all other rivers. Lake Merom is 50 feet above, the sea of Tiberias 652 feet below the Mediter-

graphic description of the plain of Damascus, see Maundrell's Journey, pp. 122–3, (quoted by Mr. Stanley in his 'Sinai and Palestine,' p. 402).

[6] This is the account of Col. Chesney, vol. i. p. 503. According to Mr. Porter (Geograph. Journ. vol. xxvi. pp. 43–6) there is no such stream at all as the *Nahr-el-Berde*, and the *Awaadj* flows, not into the Barada, but into a lake or marsh of its own. This traveller also states that in lieu of a single lake there are three distinct lakes, two formed by the Barada, and the other, as above stated, by the *Awaadj*. Perhaps this change is caused by a continuance of dry seasons.

[7] Mount Hermon has not, I believe, been accurately measured, but is calculated at about 10,000 feet (Chesney, vol. i. p. 393; Stanley, frontispiece). Its top ascends high above the line of perpetual snow.

[8] Stanley, p. 386.

[9] A minute description of these two sources is given by Mr. Stanley (Sinai and Palestine, pp. 386–391).

[1] These are the dimensions given by Mr. Stanley (ibid. p. 382). Col. Chesney says " the waters seem to have preserved the extent assigned to them by Josephus —7 miles long, and 3½ wide " (Euphrat. Exp. vol. i. p. 399, and note). Colonel Wildenbruch observes that the dimensions depend on the time of year, the wetness or dryness of the season, &c., and vary continually (Geograph. Journ. vol. xx. p. 228).

ranean, the distance between the two being at the utmost 10 miles. Down the narrow and depressed cleft between these lakes the river flows with a rapid current and in a narrow bed, being in fact little better than a succession of rapids.[2] Its course here is but slightly winding, and the fall cannot average less than 40 or 50 feet per mile.[3] The general direction is almost due south till within a short distance of the sea of Tiberias, when it becomes south-west by south for a few miles before the river enters the sea. After resting for a while in this clear and deep basin—an irregular oval, 13 miles long, and towards the middle about six miles broad[4]—the Jordan again issues forth with the same southern direction along the still lower depression which unites the sea of Tiberias and the Dead Sea. Here the descent of the stream becomes comparatively gentle, not much exceeding three feet per mile; for though the direct distance between the two seas is less than 70 miles, and the entire fall 660 feet, which would seem to give a descent of nearly 10 feet per mile, yet as the course of the river throughout this portion of its career is tortuous in the extreme,[5] the fall is really not greater than above indicated. Still it is sufficient to produce as many as twenty-seven rapids, or at the rate of one to every seven miles.[6] Five miles below the point where the Jordan issues from the sea of Tiberias, it receives an important affluent from the east, the *Sheriat-el-Mandhur*, or ancient Hieromax, which drains a large district east of the main chain descending from Anti-Lebanon—the ancient Ituræa and Trachonitis, the modern *Hauran*. Again, about midway between the two seas, another affluent of almost equal size joins it, the *Jabbok*, or river of *Zurkâ*, which descends through a deep ravine from the ancient country of the Ammonites. The whole course of the Jordan from the most northern source—that of the *Hasbeya*—to its termination in the Dead Sea, including the passage of the two lakes through which it flows, is, if we include meanders, about 270, if we exclude them, about 140 miles. Its width in the lower part of its course is from 60 to 100 feet, while its depth varies from four[7] to

[2] Where the river first issues from the lake it is sluggish, but after passing Jacob's bridge, 2½ miles from the lake, it is said to become a sort of "continuous waterfall" (Geograph. Journ. l. s. c.).

[3] The fall between the two lakes is 702 feet—the distance, following the curve of the stream, between 11 and 12 miles. As the river here meanders very little, its actual course is not likely to exceed 14 or at most 16 miles. This would give an average fall of from 44 to 50 feet. Taking into account the fact that for 2½ miles the fall is very slight indeed, it would seem that from Jacob's bridge to the Sea of Tiberias the rate must considerably exceed 50 feet. Mr. Petermann calculated it to exceed 116 feet (Geograph. Journ. vol. xviii. p. 103); but he regarded the Sea of Tiberias as more depressed than it really is, and made no allowance at all for meanders.

[4] See Mr. Stanley's work, p. 362. Col. Chesney makes the length 12, and the greatest breadth 5 miles (Euphrat. Exp. vol. i. p. 400).

[5] The 70 miles of actual length are increased by the multitudinous windings to 200 (Geograph. Journ. vol. xviii. p. 94, note; Stanley, p. 277).

[6] Stanley, p. 276.

[7] Mr. Stanley, says the width is from 60 to 100, the depth from four to *six* feet. But as the river is fordable in very few places, this is clearly too low an estimate. Mr. A. Petermann calls the average width below the Sea of Tiberias 90 feet, and the depth 8 or 9 feet (Geograph. Journ. vol. xviii. p. 95).

nine feet. It is calculated to pour into the Dead Sea about 6,090,000 tons of water daily.[3]

(ii.) The principal oceanic streams of Western Asia are the Euphrates, the Tigris, and the Indus. The general course of the Euphrates and Tigris has been already given;[4] but a more particular description seems to be proper in this place.

The Euphrates or *Frat* rises from two chief sources in the Armenian mountains, one of them at *Domli*,[5] 25 miles N. E. of Erzeroum, and little more than a degree from the Euxine; the other on the northern slope of *Ala Tagh*, near the village of *Diyadin*, and not far from Mount Ararat. The former, or northern Euphrates, has the name *Frat* from the first, but is known also as the *Kara-su;* the latter, or southern Euphrates, is always called the *Murad-chai*, but is in reality the main stream, and real source of the river.[6] Both branches flow at first with a general direction of W. S. W. through the wildest mountain-districts of Armenia towards the Mediterranean, the interval between them varying from 50 to 70 miles, till in long. 39° the northern branch inclines more to the south, while the *Murad-chai* runs north of west to meet it, and a junction is formed near *Kebban Maden;* after which the augmented stream proceeds by a tortuous course southward to *Balis*, where the river finally gives up its struggle to reach the Mediterranean,[7] and turns eastward, pursuing from this point an almost uniform south-easterly direction, till it joins the Tigris and passes into the Persian Gulf by the *Shat-el-Arab* and the *Bah-a-Mishir*. The course of the *Murad-chai* until its junction with the *Kara-su* is a little more than 400 miles, that of the *Kara-su* being 270 miles:[8] on their union the "Euphrates assumes an imposing appearance;"[9] it is here—1380 miles from its mouth—120 yards wide and very deep; it still flows through a mountainous country, receiving one or two important tributaries from the west,[1] till between the 37th and 38th parallels it forces its way through the last and principal range of Taurus, and enters upon a comparatively low but hilly district a little above *Sumeïsat* (Samosata), whence it is navigable without any serious interruption for nearly 1200 miles to the sea.[2] The hills continue till a little above *Rakkah*, where they recede, and the Euphrates enters on a flat country, through which it meanders for about 80 miles, when it comes upon a chain of hills known as the *Sinjar* range, which stretches across

[3] Chesney's Euphrat. Exped. vol. i. p. 401.

[4] Supra, § 2.

[5] See Hamilton's Travels, vol. i. p. 178.

[6] See Geograph. Journ. vol. vi. part ii. p. 204, vol. x. p. 418, and compare Chesney's Euph. Exp. vol. i. p. 42.

[7] The least distance of the Euphrates from the Mediterranean would seem by the map to be about 100 miles, from *Bayas* in the Gulf of Issus (*Iskenderun*) to a point a few miles above *Bir* upon the river. The distance from Bir to the mouth of the Orontes, which was traversed by the Euphrates expedition, is by the road 140, in a direct line 133 miles (Chesney, vol. i. p. 47.)

[8] Chesney, vol. i. pp. 42 and 43.

[9] Ibid. p. 44.

[1] It is one of the peculiarities of the Euphrates that it receives so few tributaries. After the river is constituted by the junction of the Murad and Karasu, the only affluents of the least importance are the *Chamurli Su* and the *Tokhmah Su* from the west, from the east the *Belik* and the *Khabur* rivers.

[2] Chesney, vol. i. p. 45.

Mesopotamia from Mosul to this point,[3] and hence traverses the Arabian desert to Palmyra. Through this barrier the river makes its way in a very remarkable manner, flowing in a smooth channel, 250 yards wide and seven fathoms deep, between beetle-browed precipices, which rise from 300 to 500 feet above the water's edge.[4] Ninety miles lower down the Euphrates receives its last tributary, the *Khabur*, from the north-east; and 270 miles below the confluence it leaves the last hills and enters on the alluvial plain near *Hit* (the Is of Herodotus). In this part of its course it has an average width of 350 yards, and a depth of about 18 feet, but soon afterwards it throws off a number of important canals which seriously diminish its bulk, reducing it about *Lamlun* to a breadth of 120 yards with a depth of only 12 feet. This seems to be its greatest diminution,[5] as a little below *Lamlun* some of the canals reunite with the main stream, which at *Al Khudr* is again 200 yards broad, and further on increases to 250 yards, which is its average for the hundred miles from *Al Khudr* to *Kurnah*. At *Kurnah* the Euphrates and Tigris join, forming the Shat-el-Arab, a tidal river above 100 miles long, which receives also the *Kerkhah*, and lower down the *Karun* from the Zagros range, and gradually increases from an average breadth of 600 yards with a depth of 21 feet above *Busrah*, to a width of 1200 yards and a depth of 30 feet between that town and the sea.[6] The entire course of the Euphrates is estimated at 1780 miles from its more southern source near *Diyadin* to the embouchure of the Shat-el-Arab.[7] The quantity of water discharged by it at Hit has been found to be 72,840 cubic feet per second.[8]

The Tigris, like the Euphrates, has two principal sources. The western is in lat. 38° 10′, long. 39° 20′, a little south of lake *Göljik*,[9] and a few miles only from the Euphrates where it bursts through the outer

[3] Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, ch. xi. Chesney, vol. i. p. 48.

[4] Chesney, vol. i. pp. 48–9.

[5] The gradual diminution in the size of the Euphrates will be best seen from the subjoined table, constructed from data furnished by Col. Chesney:

	Average width in yards.	Average depth in feet.	Distance from mouth.
			Miles.
Euphrates, from its junction with the *Khabour* to *Werdi*	400	18	806 to 731
" from *Werdi* to *Anah*	350	18	639
" at *Hadisah*	300	18	589
" from *Hadisah* to *Hit*	350	16	536
" from *Hit* to *Felujah*	250	20	459
" from *Felujah* to *Hillah*	200	15	368
" at *Diwaniyah*	160	—	302
" at *Lamlun*	120	12	284
" at *Al Khudr*	200	—	234
" from *Al Khudr* to *Sheikh-el-Shuyukh* .	250	20	170
" from *Sheikh-el-Shuyukh* to *Kurnah* .	250	18	107

[6] See Chesney, vol. i. pp. 60–1. The recent expedition to the Persian Gulf has shown that great alterations have taken place in the course and soundings of the lower Euphrates since the survey of Col. Chesney. Such changes are no doubt perpetual.

[7] See Chesney, vol. i. p. 40. [8] By Mr. Rennie. See Chesney, vol. i. p. 62.

[9] Journ. of Geograph. Society, vol. vi. p. 208, and x. p. 365.

barrier of Taurus, and descends upon the lower country near *Sumeïsat*. This stream at first flows north-east along a deep valley at the foot of Mount *Kizan*, but after running about 25 miles in this direction, it sweeps round to the south and descends by *Arghani Maden* upon Diarbekr, receiving a tributary on each side from the mountains, and emerging upon a comparatively open country in lat. 37° 50′, through which it flows with a course almost due east to *Osman Kieui*, where it is joined by the second or eastern Tigris. This river rises in lat. 38° 40′, long. 40° 15′, from the sides of the great range of *Ali Tagh* (the ancient Niphates), and runs S. S. W, by *Myafarekin* to *Osman Kieui*, collecting on its way the waters of a large number of streams which descend from other parts of the same range. The length of the Diarbekr stream or true Tigris up to the point of junction is somewhat more than 150 miles, while that of the *Myafarekin* stream falls short of 100 miles.[1] The Tigris, a little below the junction, and before receiving its next great tributary, is 150 yards wide and from three to four feet deep.[2] It continues to flow towards the east as far as *Til* or *Tilleh* (in lat. 37° 45′, long. 41° 30′), where it receives another large stream, which is called by some the Eastern Tigris,[3] and does not seem to be altogether undeserving of the title. This branch rises near *Billi* in northern Kurdistan in lat. 37° 50′, long. 43° 30′, about 25 miles from *Julamerik*, on the mountain-road between that place and the lake of Van. It runs at first towards the north-east, but soon sweeps round to the north, and then proceeds with a general westerly course, nearly along the line of the 26th parallel, to *Sert*, which it leaves a little upon the right; thence flowing south-west to its junction with the *Bitlis Chai* (in lat. 37° 55′, long. 41° 35′), and from that point proceeding almost due south to *Tilleh*.[4] The course of this stream is probably not much shorter than that of the Diarbekr branch or Western Tigris, and the two rivers are said to be of nearly equal size at their junction.[5] From *Tilleh* the Tigris runs southward for 20 miles through a long, narrow, and deep gorge, at the end of which it emerges upon the low but still hilly country of Mesopotamia, near *Jezireh*. Here it flows at first in a S. S. E. direction past *Mosul* (Nineveh) and *Tekrit* (where the alluvial plain begins) to Baghdad, thence proceeding a little south of east to *Kantara*, and from *Kantara* again S. S. E. to *Kurnah*, where it joins the Euphrates. Along this part of its course it continues to receive numerous and important tributaries which flow into it from the Zagros range, whereof the principal are the *Khabour*, the Greater and Lesser Zabs, and the *Diyalah* or ancient Gyndes. These rivers are all of large size, and by the addition of their waters the Tigris is rendered in its lower course a stream of greater volume than the Euphrates. It is narrower, seldom exceeding 200 yards in width, but deeper and far swifter, its mean velocity at Baghdad being between 7 and 8 feet per second, while that of the Euphrates at Hit is but 4½

[1] Chesney, vol. i. p. 17. [2] Journ. of Geograph. Society, vol. viii. part i. p. 80.
[3] See Rich's Kurdistan, vol. i. p. 378; Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, p. 416, &c.
[4] Col. Chesney's description (pp. 18–9) must here be superseded by the personal observations of Mr. Layard, who was the first to trace the course of these rivers (Nineveh and Babylon, pp. 39, 49 416, 420, 422, &c. [5] Layard, p. 49.

feet; and its discharge being 164,100 cubic feet of water in the same time, while the discharge of the Euphrates is no more than 72,800 feet.[6] The whole course of the Tigris is reckoned at 1146 miles.[7]

The tributaries which the Tigris and the Shat-el-Arab receive from the Zagros range are affluents of such importance as to require some separate notice Besides minor streams, such as the *Khabur* and the *Adhem*, five rivers of large volume flow from the mountains which close in the Mesopotamian plain upon the east, and carry their waters to join those of the great valley-streams. These are the Upper and Lower Zabs, the Diyaleh, the Kerkhah, and the Karun or Shuster river.

The Upper or Great Zab (*Zab Ala*) rises near *Khoniyeh*, between lakes Van and Urumiyeh, in about lat. 38° 30′, long. 44° 30′. Its general direction is a very little west of south, but it serpentines in a remarkable way, making first one great bend to the west by *Julamerik* so as to reach long. 43° 30′, and then another to the east nearly to *Rowanduz*, where it touches long. 44° 15′.[8] It receives two principal tributaries, the river of *Rowanduz*, which flows in from the east, and the *Ghazir*, which joins it from the north-west, not far from its confluence with the Tigris.[9] It is fordable in places,[1] but near its junction with the Tigris is a deep stream, with a width of 20 yards.[2] It is very swift and strong, and is sometimes called by the Arabs "the Mad River."[3]

The Lower or Lesser Zab (*Zab Asfal*) has its principal source near *Legwin*,[4] about 20 miles south of lake Urumiyeh, in lat. 36° 40′, long. 45° 25′. It is the only stream which, rising to the east of the Zagros range upon the great plateau of Iran, pierces this boundary and finds its way into the Mesopotamian valley. The course of the Lesser Zab is at first south-west, but meeting the great range it turns and flows along it to the south-east, till finding a gap in lat. 36° 20′, it turns again, resuming its original direction, and forcing the barrier, receives numerous tributaries on both sides from the valleys running parallel with the mountains, and debouches upon the plain in lat. 36° 8′, long. 44° 30′, not far from the famous city of Arbela.[5] Its course across the plain exceeds 100 miles, and its width, where it enters the Tigris, is 25 feet.[6]

The *Diyalah* (or ancient Gyndes) is formed by the confluence of two principal streams, known as the rivers *Holwan* and *Shirwan*, of which

[6] See Col. Chesney's Euphrates Exp. vol. i. p. 62. [7] Ibid. p. 38.

[8] Mr. Ainsworth was the first to discover that the *Julamerik* stream was the real Zab, and the *Rowanduz* a comparatively small river (Geograph. Journ. vol. xi. part i. p. 70). His statements are confirmed by Mr. Layard (Nineveh and Babylon, pp. 372, 381, 426, &c.).

[9] Mr. Ainsworth speaks of a third great affluent, the *Berdizawi*, or "Little Zab," which joins the Great Zab from the north-west, nearly in latitude 37° (Geograph. Journ. vol. xi. part i. p. 47). But Mr. Layard omits this river. (See the large map at the end of his 'Nineveh and Babylon.')

[1] See Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, p. 169.

[2] Chesney, vol. i. p. 24. [3] Ibid. p. 22, note [3].

[4] Geograph. Journal, vol. x. part i. p. 31.

[5] See Col. Rawlinson's map to accompany his route from Tabriz to Ghilan, in the Journal of the Geograph. Society (vol. x. part i., opposite p. 198).

[6] Chesney, vol. i. p. 25.

the *Shirwan* is the more important. This branch rises from the most easterly range of Zagros, in lat. 34° 15′, long. 47° 40′, and flows at first west and somewhat north of west, parallel with the main chain, as far as Mount *Auroman*, where it turns a little south of west, and being increased (like the Lesser Zab) by tributaries from the longitudinal valleys, bursts through the last mountains at *Semiram*, and flows S. W. by S. across an open country to its junction with the *Holwan* river, and thence S. W. and S. S. W. to the Tigris.[7] The whole course of the stream is about 350 miles. Its width at its junction with the Tigris, where it is crossed by a bridge of boats, is 60 yards.[8]

The *Kerkhah* (or ancient Choaspes) is formed by three streams of almost equal magnitude, all of them rising in the most eastern portion of the Zagros range. The central of the three flows from the southern flank of *Elwand* (Orontes), the mountain behind *Hamadan* (the southern Ecbatana), and receives on the right, after a course of about 30 miles, the northern or *Singur* branch, and 10 miles further on the southern or *Guran* branch, which is known by the name of the *Gamasab*. The river thus formed flows westward to Behistun, after which it bends to the south-west, and then to the south, receiving tributaries on both hands, and winding among the mountains as far as the ruined city of *Rudbar*. Here it bursts through the outer barrier of the great range, and receiving the large stream of the *Kirrind* from the N. W. flows S. S. E. and S. E. along the foot of the range between it and the *Kebir Kuh*, till it meets the stream of the *Abi-Zal*, when it finally leaves the hills, and flows through the plain, pursuing a S. S. E. direction to the ruins of Susa, which lie upon its left bank, and thence running S. S. W., and falling into the Shat-el-Arab, 5 miles below *Kurnah*.[9] Its course is estimated at above 500 miles,[1] and its width at some distance above its junction with the *Abi-Zal* is from 80 to 100 yards.[2]

The last and largest of the Mesopotamian affluents is the *Karun*, which is formed of two considerable streams, the *Dizful* river and the *Karun* proper, or river of *Shuster*. The *Dizful* branch rises from two sources, nearly a degree apart, in lat. 33° 50′. These streams run respectively south-east and south-west, a distance of 40 miles, to their point of junction near *Bahrein*, whence their united waters flow south in a tortuous course, which crosses and recrosses the line of the 49th degree of longitude, as far as the fort of *Diz* in lat. 32° 25′. From this point the river bends westward, and passing *Dizful*, approaches to within 7 or 8 miles of the *Kerkhah* in the immediate vicinity of *Sus* (Susa), thence returning eastward, and almost touching the 49th degree once more, where it meets the waters of the river of *Shuster* at *Bandi-Kir*.[3] The *Shuster* branch rises in the *Zarduh Kuh* mountains, in lat 32°, long. 51°, almost opposite to the river of Isfahan.[4] From its source

[7] Geograph. Journ. vol. x. part i. p. 11.
[8] Chesney, vol. i. p. 35.
[9] The course of the *Kerkhah* was carefully explored by Col. Rawlinson in the year 1836. See the Journal of the Geographical Society (vol. ix. part i. art. 2) Col. Chesney (Euph. Exp. vol. i. pp. 193–5) adds nothing to this account.
[1] Chesney, vol. i. p. 195.
[2] Geograph. Journal, vol. ix. part i. p. 62.
[3] See the map attached to Col. Rawlinson's journey, and compare Col. Chesney's summary (Euphrat. Exped. pp. 196–7).
[4] Geograph. Journ. vol. xvi. p. 50.

it is a large stream. Its general direction is at first somewhat north of west, and this course it pursues through the mountains, receiving tributaries of importance from both sides, till, near *Akhili*, it emerges from the outermost of the Zagros ranges and flows S. W. by S. to Shuster, where it is artificially divided into two channels, which pass east and west of the town, reuniting below Bandi-Kir, after the western branch has received the waters of the *Dizful* river. The *Karun* below this point is said to be "a noble river, *exceeding in size* the Tigris or Euphrates."[5] It is navigable for steamers,[6] and pursues a very winding course across the plain for above 150 miles, in a general direction of S. S. W., to the Shat-el-Arab, which it enters near *Mohamrah* by an artificial cut, thrown off at *Sablah*, and now forming the main channel of the river.[7] The river formerly ran direct from *Sablah* into the Persian Gulf, and its ancient channel still exists, and is filled at high-water. It is 200 yards broad,[8] and runs south-east, parallel to the two channels of the *Shat-el-Arab* and the *Bah-a-Mishir*. The course of the Karun, measuring by the Dizful branch, is from its source in the Bakhtiyari mountains to its junction with the Shat-el-Arab about 430 miles.[9] Its course, measured by the Shuster river, would fall short of this by about 100 miles.

By far the greatest of all the rivers of Western Asia is the Indus. Its remotest sources are still insufficiently explored, but they will probably be found to lie between the 82nd and 83rd degrees of longitude, and nearly in latitude 31°.[1] The stream may be regarded as formed by three separate rivers, the *Shayok* or northern Indus, which rises near the pass of *Kara-korum*, in lat. 35° 20′, long. 78°, the *Senge Khabap* or middle Indus, which rises in *Seng Tot* within the space above indicated, and the *Tsarap* or southern Indus, which rises in lat. 32° 30′, long. 77° 55′ on the northern slope of the *Para-lasa*, and is the stream of greatest volume. The general direction of the river in its earlier course is north-west, parallel to the Himalaya range, and in this line the main stream flows along the great elevated valley of Western Thibet for above 700 miles, receiving on its way first the southern and then the northern branch, and never swerving until it reaches the 75th degree of longitude, up to which point it appears as if it would force its way into the Oxus (*Jyhun*) valley. Met, however, at this point by the great longitudinal range of the Bolor,[2] it turns suddenly to the south-west, and enters a

[5] Geographical Journal vol. xvi. p. 52. Compare Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 293.

[6] Capt. Selby ascended it to Shuster. (See his account of the ascent in the Geograph. Journ. vol. xiv. art. 12.)

[7] Chesney, vol. i. p. 200.

[8] Ibid. p. 199. [9] Ibid. pp. 197–200.

[1] For the best account of the Thibetian Indus, see Capt. Strachey's paper in the 23rd volume of the Geographical Journal (art. 1, pp. 1–69). Major Cunningham, in his work on Ladak (p. 86), places the "true source" of the Indus in lat. 31° 20′, long. 80° 30′.

[2] Humboldt divides the great mountain chains of Central Asia into those "coinciding with parallels of latitude" (the Altai, the Thian-shan, the Kuenlun, and the Himalaya), and those "coinciding nearly with meridians" (the Ghauts, the Suleïman chain, the Para-lasa, the Bolor, and the Ural). See his Aspects of Nature (vol. i. p. 94, E. T.)

transverse valley, by which it cuts through the entire chain of the Himalaya, and issues from the mountains upon the plain country of the Punjaub. Its course from *Acho*, where it leaves Western Thibet, to *Attock*, where it receives the river of Kabul, is very imperfectly known;[3] but it is believed to pursue, with only small windings, a uniform direction of south-west for 300 or 350 miles, first through the high mountains, and then through lower ranges of hills. From Attock its direction becomes S. S. W. to *Kala Bagh*,[4] where it bursts through the last hills—those of the *Jangher* range—and this course it keeps till *Dera Ismael Khan* (in lat. 31° 50′), when for two degrees it runs due south along the line of the 71st meridian, after which it resumes its former bearings, and runs S. S. W. to its junction with the *Chenab*, and then S. W. to *Dadarah*. From *Dadarah* (in lat. 27°, long. 68°) the course is once more south to beyond *Sehwan*, between which place and *Tatta*—where the delta begins—the stream bends two-fifths of a degree to the east, passing by Hyderabad, and then returning westward, till at *Tatta* it once more reaches the 68th degree of longitude. Five miles below *Tatta*, and 60 miles from the sea, the river divides into two great arms, which are known as the *Buggaur* and the *Sata* branches. These again subdivide, and the water enters the Indian Ocean by a number of shallow channels. At the time of the inundation, two other arms east of the *Sata* branch, one of which is thrown off above Hyderabad, serve to convey the superfluous waters to the sea through the *Sir* and *Koree* mouths; but for nine months of the year the Indus flows in one stream to Tatta.[5] The entire course of this great river has been estimated at 1960 miles;[6] but this is probably less than the real length, which may be regarded as exceeding 2000 miles. The width of the stream varies greatly. At Tatta it is only 700 yards across, but at Hyderabad it is 830, while between *Sehwan* and *Bukker* (lat. 27° 40′) it approaches to three quarters of a mile, and between *Bukker* and *Mittun Kote* it considerably exceeds a mile.[7] Further north, especially between *Dera Ghazee Khan* and *Kala Bagh*, it seems to be even broader.[8] Its depth below Mittun Kote is never less than 15 feet.[9] Along its whole course from *Kala Bagh* to *Bukker* the Indus continually throws out side-streams, which after a longer or a shorter space

[3] See Capt. H. Strachey's map in the 23rd vol. of the Geographical Journal, and compare Lieut. Wood's memoir on the Indus in the third volume of Burnes's Cabul, pp. 305, et seqq.

[4] During this part of its course the Indus runs in a contracted bed between mountains, and is nothing but a series of rapids (Geograph. Journal, vol. x. p. 532; Wood's Memoir, p. 307).

[5] Geograph. Journ. vol. iii. p. 128. It must not be forgotten that the geography of the Indus Delta is continually changing. In 1837, Lieut. Carless found the *Buggaur* branch completely sanded up, and all the water passing by the *Sata* (Geogr. Journ. vol. viii. p. 328). It is clear that the *Koree* mouth was at one time the main channel of the river.

[6] By Mr. Keith Johnston (Physical Atlas, 'Hydrology,' No. 5, p. 14). Major Cunningham's estimate is 1977 miles (Ladak, p. 90).

[7] Geograph. Journal, vol. iii. pp. 125–35.

[8] I have not found this stated, but in the best maps the river is made broader a little below Kalabagh, and for a degree above *Dera Ghazee Khan*, than in any other part of its course.

[9] Geograph. Journal, vol. iii. p. 113.

rejoin the main channel. A little below *Bukker* it sends out the last of these on its right bank; this stream continues separate for a degree and a half, and returns into the Indus (after flowing through lake *Manchur*) near *Sehwan.* The river also sends off on its left bank several important branches which run towards the sea. Of these the principal are the *Narra*, which is parted from the main stream a little above *Bukker* (in lat. 28°), and is lost in the great sandy desert east of Hyderabad; the *Goomee*, which leaves the Indus at *Muttaree*, and flowing by Hyderabad to the south-east, is consumed in irrigation; and the *Pinjaree*, which branching off 15 or 20 miles above Tatta, proceeds due south, and (like the *Goomee*) disappears among gardens and rice-grounds. During the inundation water flows down the old channels, which in every case may be traced to the sea; but except at this time the beds are dry for 50 or 100 miles of their lower course, and the streams in question cannot therefore be considered as permanent rivers.[1] The discharge of the Indus during the wet season reaches to the enormous amount of 446,000 cubic feet per second; in the dry season, however, it falls as low as 40,860 feet.[2]

The four rivers which, together with the Indus, have given the name of Punjaub to the tract between the great sandy desert and the mountains of Affghanistan, are the *Jelum* or Hydaspes, the *Chenab* or Acesines, the *Ravee* or Hydraotes (*Iravata*), and the *Sutlej*[3] or Hyphasis. Of these the *Sutlej* is the principal. It rises from the sacred lakes of *Manasa* and *Ravanahrada* or *Rawan Rhud*,[4] at no great distance from the sources of the Indus, and runs at first through a remarkable plain, 120 miles long, and in places 60 broad, which is elevated more than 15,000 feet above the level of the sea.[5] Through this plain it pursues a north-west direction as far as long. 78° 40′, where it receives an important branch from the north, and turning to the south of west finds its way through the Himalaya range between the 32nd and 31st parallels, and debouches upon the plain (after passing Simla) about half way between that place and Loodiana. It is a stream of large volume even in its upper course,[6] and where it falls into the *Chenab* is 500 yards in width.[7] It is here as large as the stream formed by the junction of the *Jelum Chenab*, and *Ravee*, but being less swift than that stream is regarded as a tributary, and merges its name in the appellation of *Chenab*, which is borne by the united waters till they join the Indus.[8] Of the other

[1] For this whole account see especially Burnes's Memoir on the Indus in the third volume of the Geographical Journal, and Wood's Memoir in Burnes's Cabool, pp. 305, et seqq.)

[2] Wood's Memoir, p. 306.

[3] Called now more commonly the *Gharra* (Chesney, vol. i. p. 370).

[4] The affluence from these lakes is said not to be permanent (Geograph. Journ. vol. xxiii. p. 39). If on this account we refuse to consider them the true source of the river, our choice will lie between the *Chukar* (White River), which descends from the mountains on the south, and the *Ser-Chu* (Gold River), which flows from the ridge separating between the Upper Sutlej and the Upper Indus (ibid.).

[5] Geograph. Journ. vol. xxi. pp. 62–3.

[6] Ibid. vol. xxiii. p. 44.

[7] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 141.

[8] The name *Punjaub*, which is given in our maps, is unknown in the country (ibid. p. 141–2, and compare Wood's Memoir in Burnes's Cabool).

streams the *Chenab* is the largest. It rises on the southern flank of the Himalaya, in lat. 32° 45′, long. 77° 25′, and has a course nearly S. S. E. to its junction with the Sutlej: it receives the *Jelum* in lat. 31° 10′,[9] and the *Ravee* in lat. 30° 40′,[1] and is then 500 yards wide and 12 feet deep. After its junction with the Sutlej, the augmented stream maintains at first pretty nearly the same width, but is deeper, varying from 15 to 20 feet.[2] Afterwards it widens, and where the junction with the Indus takes place the Chenab is the broader, though the Indus is the stream of greater volume.[3]

With the three magnificent oceanic rivers now described—the Euphrates, the Tigris, and the Indus—there are no others in this part of Asia that will at all bear comparison. They stand separate and apart, the great drains of the elevated region which extends from the gulf of Issus to northern India. A few, however, among the smaller streams, which have a marked geographic character or a special political importance, seem to require description before the conclusion of this branch of our subject.

The *Rion* or ancient Phasis is frequently mentioned by Herodotus,[4] and was in ancient times a river to which peculiar interest attached from the place which it occupied in the commercial system of those days. It appears to be certain that Alexander found the regular line of traffic between India and Europe to pass from Bactra (*Balkh*) down that river to the Caspian, and thence up the Kur and across a small neck of land to the Phasis, which it followed to the Euxine.[5] It may be conjectured from the position occupied by Colchis in Grecian mythic history, that this route had been pursued by the merchants from a very remote era. It continued to be followed at least as late as the time of Pompey.[6] The Rion, which thus served in these times as one of the main arteries of commerce, rises from the southern flanks of the Caucasus, flowing from several head-springs, which have not been sufficiently explored, in the country of the Ossetes. Its general direction is at first a very little south of east, but from about *Kutaïs* it flows nearly due south until it receives an important tributary, the *Ziroula*, from the east, when it takes the direction of its affluent, and flows east in a very tortuous course,[7] keeping a little above the line of the 42nd parallel, and emptying itself

[9] Geograph. Journal, vol. iii. p. 145.

[1] Ibid. p. 148. [2] Ibid. p. 141. [3] Wood's Memoir, p. 354.

[4] See i. 2, and 104; ii. 103; iv. 37, 45, 86; &c. Herodotus made the Phasis the boundary between Europe and Asia (iv. 45).

[5] This interesting fact rests on very unexceptionable evidence. Three witnesses who visited three different parts of the route between the time of Alexander and the close of the Mithridatic war, gave substantially the same account, namely, Aristobulus, the companion of Alexander (ap. Strab. xi. p. 742), Patrocles, the governor of the Caspian provinces under Seleucus Nicator (Fr. 7), and Pompey the Great. (See the passage which Pliny quotes from Varro, H. N. vi. 17.) Aristobulus was acquainted with Bactria, Patrocles with Hyrcania and the Caspian, Pompey with the countries between the Caspian and the Euxine. The positive mention of the Phasis first occurs in the account given of Pompey's investigation.

[6] Varro, ap. Plin. H. N. loc. cit.

[7] See Strab. xi. p. 730. *ὁ Φᾶσις γεφύραις ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι περατὸς γενόμενος διὰ τὴν σκολιότητα, καταῤῥεῖ τραχὺς καὶ βίαιος, κ.τ.λ.*

into the Black Sea at Poti, in lat. 41° 32′, long. 42° 6′. Its course, exclusive of meanders, appears to be about 170 miles.

The Orontes, or *Nahr-el-Asi* (the "Rebel" stream), and the *Litany* or river of Tyre, although unmentioned by Herodotus, who is very ill acquainted with Syria, are features of too much importance in the geography of that country—the thoroughfare between Egypt and the East—to be omitted from the present review. The long valley intervening between the two mountain-chains which gird the Syrian desert on the west, rises gradually and gently to a ridge, or *col*, nearly 4000 feet above the level of the sea,[8] upon which stand the ruins of Baalbek, the city of Baal or the Sun, the Greek Heliopolis. North and south of this city, on the opposite slopes of the *col*, rise the two great streams of Syria. The *Litany* springs from a small lake about six miles south-west of the ruins, and flows southwards, or a little west of south, along the fertile valley of the *Bika* between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, giving out on each side canals for irrigation, while it receives a number of streamlets and rills, and pursuing with few meanders a course south-west by south to the narrow gorge in which the valley of *El-Bika* (Cœle-Syria) ends, in about 33° 27′ north latitude. Here the Litany turns suddenly to the west, and forces its way through Lebanon by a narrow and precipitous ravine spanned by a bridge of one arch; after which it resumes its former direction, flowing S. S. W. for 12 or 13 miles before it again bends westward, and passes with many windings through the low coast tract, falling into the sea about five miles north of Tyre.[9] The Orontes has its rise on the northern side of the slope. Its most remote source is at the foot of Anti-Lebanon, distant about 10 miles from Baalbek in a north-easterly direction. This stream, called the river of *Lebweh* from a village on its banks, runs for about 15 miles towards the north, when it meets the second and main source of the Orontes, which bursts out from the foot of Lebanon,[1] nearly in lat. 34° 22′. The united stream then flows to the north-east, and passing through the *Bahr-el-Kades*—a lake about six miles long and two broad—approaches *Hems*, which it leaves upon its right bank. From this point the course of the river is northerly to near *Hamah*, where, in forcing its way through a mountain-barrier thrown across the valley, it makes a great bend to the east, and then enters the rich pasture country of *El-Ghab*, along which

[8] The site of Baalbek has been barometrically estimated at 3810, and again at 3729, feet above the level of the sea. These observations give a medium result of 3769·5 feet. (See the Geogr. Journ. vol. xviii. p. 87.)

[9] For further particulars, see Chesney's Euphrat. Exped. vol. i. p. 398; Stanley's Sinai and Palestine, pp. 398–9; and Col. Wildenbruch's article in the Geographical Journal, vol. xx. art. 15, p. 231.

[1] Col. Chesney says "Anti-Lebanon" (Euphrat. Exped. vol. i. p. 394); but I gather from the paper of his authority, Mr. Burckhardt Barker (Geogr. Journ. vol. vii. part i. pp. 99–100), that the triangular basin of which he speaks as the principal source is on the western side of the valley. So Mr. Porter speaks of "*crossing the plain*" from the foot of Anti-Lebanon to the "great source" of the Orontes. (Geograph. Journ. vol. xxvi. p. 53.) See the maps of Syria in the Library Atlas of the Useful Knowledge Society (maps 84 and 85), where this is the view taken.

it flows north-westward as far as lat. 35° 30′, when the northern direction is resumed and continued nearly to *Jisr-Hadid*, in lat. 36° 14′. The Orontes, then, prevented from continuing its northern course by the great range of Amanus, suddenly sweeps round to the west to the plain of *Umk*, and after receiving from the north a large tributary called the *Kara-Su*, the volume of whose water exceeds its own, enters the broad valley of Antioch, doubling back here upon itself and flowing to the south-west. After passing Antioch the river pursues a tortuous course first between steep and wooded hills, and then across the maritime plain with a fall of 14.3 feet per mile, and with a large volume of water, until it finally falls into the bay of Antioch in lat. 36° 3′.[2] In this part of its course the Orontes has been compared to the Wye.[3] Its length to the source of the river of Labweh, exclusive of the lesser meanders, is above 200 miles.

8. Before dismissing the subject of the physical geography of these regions, it will be proper to consider briefly the question of what changes they may have undergone during the historical period, or at any rate between the present time and the age of Herodotus. There is no reason to think that the more elevated districts have experienced any alterations of moment, but it is certain that in some of the lower countries changes, throwing great difficulties in the way of the comparative geographer, have occurred, and considerable difference of opinion exists as to the nature and extent of them. The scenes of important physical variation are three chiefly, viz., the valley of the Indus, the lower or alluvial portion of the Mesopotamian plain, and the desert country east of the Caspian.

(i.) It is with regard to this last-mentioned district that the most opposite views prevail among scientific geographers. A long series of writers,[4] ending with the illustrious Baron Humboldt,[5] have maintained that in the time of Herodotus, and for several ages afterwards, the Caspian Sea extended itself very much further towards the east than at present, so as to form one body of water with the sea of Aral, and to cover great portions of the modern deserts of Khiva and Kizil-Koum. Humboldt believes that at some period subsequent to the Macedonian conquests, either by the preponderance of evaporation over influx, or by diluvial deposits, or possibly by igneous convulsions, the two seas were separated, the tract of land which now intervenes between them south of the plateau of *Ust-Urt* being left dry, or thrown up, and the communication between the waters ceasing. Subsequent desiccation is supposed to have still further contracted the area of both seas, especially of the Caspian, which has thereby sunk 100 feet below the level of the Aral, and which is supposed to be still sinking. An indication of the intermediate state of things, when the separation of the seas had taken

[2] See Chesney, vol. i. pp. 395–7. [3] Stanley, p. 400.

[4] As Pallas (Voyages Méridionaux, vol. ii. p. 638, French Tr.); De Lamalle (Géographie Physique de la Mer Noire, ch. 27); Kephalides (De Historia Caspii Maris, pp. 158, et seqq.); Bredow (Geographiæ et Uranologiæ Herodot. Spec. p. xxviii.); and Klaproth (quoted by Humboldt, Asie Centrale, vol. ii. p. 250–9).

[5] See his Asie Centrale, vol. ii. pp. 296–7.

place, but a portion of the channel which had connected them was still left, in the shape of a deep gulf running into the land eastward from the Caspian between the 39th and 43rd parallels, is thought to be found both in the *Sinus Scythicus* of Mela,[6] and also in the accounts of travellers in the 16th century.[7] But the best geologists are opposed to this theory, which is certainly devoid of any sufficient historic basis.[8] Murchison, while he grants the fact of an original connexion not only between the Caspian and the Aral, but also between those inland waters and the existing Sea of Azof and Euxine, regards the geological phenomena as indicating a different order of events from that suggested by Humboldt, and assigns the whole series of changes by which the existing geography was produced to a period anterior to the creation of man.[9] According to him there was once a shallow mediterranean sea of brackish water, separated entirely from the existing Mediterranean, and extending from the foot of the hills which branch from the Bolor upon the east to the European shores of the Black Sea upon the west. From the bed of this sea was first thrown up towards the east a tract of land including the plateau of *Ust-Urt*,[1] by which the separation of the Aral and the Caspian was effected. Subsequently, another elevation of surface took place towards the west, the tract north of the Caucasus being raised by volcanic agency, and the Caspian thereby separated from the Black Sea and the Sea of Azof. All this was done in the period which geologists call *tertiary*—the latest of the geological times, but one long anterior to the commencement of history. In default of any clear historical data on which to rest the late occurrence of the changes, whereby the Caspian and Aral took their present forms, it seems best to defer to the authority of geology, and to regard the separation as having been

[6] De Sit. Orb. iii. 5. [7] See Humboldt, Asie Centrale, vol. ii. p. 274.

[8] It is true that the ancient writers appear generally ignorant of the separate existence of the Sea of Aral, and make the Jaxartes (*Syhun*) fall into the Caspian, no less than the Oxus (*Jyhun*). (See Eratosth. ap. Strab. xi. p. 739; Strab. xi. p. 743; Arrian. Exp. Alex. iii. 30; Pom. Mel. iii. 5; Ptolem. vi. 14.) Ptolemy also seems certainly to have regarded the length of the Caspian as from east to west, which it would be if it included the Aral. (See Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 718.) But these testimonies are of no great weight, since they do not proceed from actual observation, but from the reports of ignorant natives, always a most insecure basis for geography. They may all be traced to incorrect information obtained at the time of Alexander's conquests, during the hurried marches and countermarches which he made in the Transoxianian provinces. It was then, apparently, that the idea arose of the Caspian communicating by a long strait with the Northern Ocean, another proof of how little the Greeks really knew of the country. Against the evidence of the Alexandrine writers may be set, 1. the statement of Herodotus as to the proportionate length and breadth of the Caspian (i. 203, and see note [4] ad loc.), which corresponds with its present shape; 2. his mention of the swamps into which the Massagetic Araxes fell by several mouths (i. 202), which seems a reference to the Aral (cf. Humboldt's Asie Centrale, vol. ii. p. 269); and, 3. the notice in Ptolemy of a *Palus Oxiana* (λίμνη 'Ωξιανή. Geograph. vi. 12), represented as formed by a tributary stream, but which from its name should indicate a lake *into which the Oxus fell.*

[9] See the Geograph. Journal, vol. xiv. pp. lxxiii.–iv.

[1] Portions of this plateau are 700 feet above the level of the Caspian (Geograph. Journ. l. s. c.).

effected in ante-historic times. It is still a question, however, whether desiccation has not continued subsequently, and indeed whether it is not still proceeding.[2] Humboldt has shown strong grounds for believing that, so late as the 16th century, a deep bay indented the eastern shore of the Caspian,[3] whereof the existing gulf of *Kuli Derya* is a remnant, and sees in this bay the *Sinus Scythicus* of Mela. His view here appears to have a historic foundation, and may therefore be accepted though we disbelieve the theory of which in his system it forms a part. But if desiccation has taken place on one side of the Caspian Sea, it must have proceeded equally, though perhaps not with such palpable effects, in every other part. We may therefore conclude that the Caspian is now somewhat smaller than it was in the time of Herodotus; that the rich flats of Ghilan and Mazenderan, as well as the steppes of Astrakan, and the deserts of Kharesm and Khiva, have advanced, and that, in particular, on the east coast a gulf has almost disappeared which in his day occupied no inconsiderable portion of the Khiva salt-tract.

Important changes seem also to have taken place on this side of the Caspian in the courses of the principal rivers. The *Jyhun* or Oxus, which at the present time pours the whole of its waters into the sea of Aral, may probably, when Herodotus wrote, have flowed entirely into the Caspian. Not only is this the unanimous declaration of ancient writers,[4] but they add a corroborative circumstance of great weight, which at least proves that the Oxus communicated with that sea; namely, that the regular course of the trade between India and Europe was through Bactra (*Balkh*) *down the Oxus into the Caspian*, and thence by the *Kur* (Cyrus) and *Rion* (Phasis) to the Euxine.[5] The early Arabian geographers, however, who were natives of this region, speak of the Oxus as in their day falling into the Sea of Aral, and this course it appears to have followed till about the middle of the 15th century, when the Aral channel was choked up, and the stream once more flowed into the Caspian. An Arabian author writing at Herat A. D. 1438, observes —"It is recorded in all the ancient books that from that point (the frontiers of Kharezm) the river Jyhun flows on and disembogues into the Sea of Kharezm (the Aral lake); but at the present day the passage into the sea has been choked up, and the river has made for itself a fresh channel, which conducts it into the *Deria-i-Khizr* (the Caspian Sea)."[6] A century later the traveller Jenkinson found the water passing by the

[2] The Sea of Aral, it must be remembered, is nearly on a level with the Euxine, while the Caspian is above 100 feet below it. This certainly looks like desiccation. M. Hommaire de Hell believed that the process was going on rapidly. (See the address of Sir R. Murchison in the Journal of the Geographical Society, vol. xiv. p. lxxii.)

[3] Asie Centrale, vol. ii. p. 274.

[4] As of Aristobulus, the companion of Alexander (ap. Strab. xi. p. 742), of Eratosthenes (ibid. p. 739), of Strabo (ibid. p. 743), of Pliny (H. N. vi. 17), of Arrian (Exped. Alex. iii. 29), of Dionysius Periegetes (l. 748), of Mela (De Sit. Orb. iii. 5), and of Ptolemy (Geograph. vi. 14).

[5] Compare Strab. xi. p. 742 with Plin. H. N. vi. 17; and see above, note [5], page 454.

[6] This passage is taken from a valuable Arabic MS. in the possession of Col. Rawlinson. The fact recorded has been hitherto unknown.

Aral channel.[7] It appears that the Oxus had previously for some considerable time bifurcated near Khiva, and had divided its waters between the two seas, but after a while the western channel had dried up, and that condition of the river was produced which continues to the present day.[8] Traces of the channel by which water was formerly conveyed to the Caspian still remain;[9] they show that the general course of the stream from the point where it left the present river was south-east, and that it flowed towards the gulf of *Kuli Derya.* The *Syhun* or Jaxartes is also liable to frequent fluctuations in its course from the point where it enters upon the plain, as is shown by the many remains of ancient river-channels in the desert of *Kizil-Koum.*[1] It can scarcely, however, at any time have reached the Caspian, unless through the Oxus, into which it may perhaps have once sent a branch. This is possibly the origin of that confusion between the two streams, which is observable in Herodotus.[2]

(ii.) The valley of the Indus and its affluents is liable to perpetual change from the vast diluvial deposits which the various streams bring down, whereby the level of the plain is being continually varied, and the rivers are thrown into fresh courses. These changes are most frequent and most striking in the two ends of the valley, the Punjaub and the delta or district of Hyderabad. In the Punjaub the channels of the five great streams experience perpetual small alterations, which in a long term of years would remodel all the features of the country;[3] while occasionally it would seem that great changes have suddenly occurred, rivers having deserted altogether their former beds, and taken entirely new directions. This is most remarkably the case with the Beeas, a tributary of the *Sutlej*, whose ancient channel may be traced from the vicinity of *Hurrekee* to a point a few miles above its junction with the Chenab, running at an average distance of 20 or 25 miles north of the present channel of the Sutlej.[4] The Indus itself also, in the middle part of its course, had once a position 40 or 50 miles more to the east than at present, skirting what is now the Great Sandy Desert.[5] Towards the south still more violent and extensive changes seem to have taken place. The Indus brings down annually to the sea more than 10,000,000,000 cubic feet of mud.[6] This enormous mass, which descends chiefly in the flood-time, is precipitated about the mouths of the stream, and tends to produce the most extraordinary changes. The apex of the delta shifts, former principal channels are silted up, minor channels be-

[7] See Jenkinson's Travels, quoted by Humboldt in his Asie Centrale (vol. ii. pp. 228–9).

[8] Asie Centrale, ii. pp. 296–7.

[9] See Meyendorf's Voyage à Bokhara, pp. 239–41.

[1] Ibid. pp. 61–4, &c.

[2] See note [2] on Book i. ch. 201.

[3] See Geograph. Journ. vol. x. p. 530, where it is noted that Lieut. Wood ascribes to this cause the disappearance of the altars of Alexander (Arrian. Exp. Alex. v. 29).

[4] Chesney, Euph. Exp. vol. ii. p. 370.

[5] The famous city of *Brahmanabad*, which Captain Bellasis is now excavating, is situated on the old river course.

[6] See Geogr. Journ. vol. viii. p. 356. The exact estimate is 10,503,587,000 cubic feet

come the main ones, or entirely new channels, often crossing the old courses, are formed; ships are embedded, villages washed away, and all the former features of the country obliterated.[7] Amid these fluctuations may be traced a general tendency towards a contraction of the delta, and a descent of its apex, the consequence probably of that gradual elevation of the soil which an annual inundation cannot fail to effect.

(iii.) In the Mesopotamian valley the important changes are confined to the lower or alluvial portion of the plain, which may be regarded as commencing a little below the 35th parallel.[8] From *Tekrit* to the sea, a distance of above 400 miles, the whole country is without a hill; and throughout this flat the river-courses have been subject to frequent variations, partly natural, partly caused by the numerous artificial cuttings made at various times for the purpose of irrigation. It appears that anciently the Euphrates, the Tigris, and the Karun, all emptied themselves into the Persian gulf by distinct channels.[9] The three great streams have now converged, perhaps through the growth of the alluvium, which must have filled up to a considerable extent the inner recess of the original Persian gulf, or possibly by mere alterations of course, artificial or natural.[1] The Euphrates seems at one time to have been lost in marshes, or consumed in irrigation, and to have obtained no outlet to the sea.[2] It also divided itself anciently into a number of branches which ran across to the Tigris,[3] or reunited with the main stream, most

[7] See Chesney, vol. ii. pp. 373–4, and compare Geograph. Journal, vol. viii. p. 348, and vol. x. p. 530.

[8] The Euphrates enters upon the alluvium a little below Hit, in lat. 33° 40′ (Chesney, vol. i. p. 54); but the Tigris comes upon it earlier, viz. at Tekrit (Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, p. 240 and p. 469), in lat. 34° 35′.

[9] For the separation of the Tigris and Euphrates, compare Herod. i. 185, vi. 20; Strab. xi. pp. 758–9; Plin. H. N. vi. 27. For the distinct channel of the *Karun* (Eulæus) to the sea, see Arrian (Exped. Alex. vii. 7).

[1] The channel by which the *Karun* now flows into the *Bah-a-Mishir* is artificial (supra, p. 451); but the channel by which the Euphrates joins the Tigris seems to be a natural one.

[2] Compare Arrian (Exped. Alex. vii. 7, *οὕτως ἐς οὐ πολὺ ὕδωρ ὁ Εὐφράτης τελευτῶν, καὶ τεναγώδης ἐς τοῦτο, οὕτως ἀποπαύεται*), and Pliny, describing the state of things in his own day (vi. 27, "sed longo tempore Euphratem præclusere Orcheni, et accolæ agros rigantes, nec nisi per Tigrin defertur in mare").

[3] Arrian (l. s. c.), Strab. xv. p. 1033, &c. Some of these channels were artificial, others natural. Of the former kind were, 1. the original "royal river," the *Ar Malcha* of Berosus (Armacales of Abydenus, Frs. 8 and 9; Armalchar of Pliny, H. N. vi. 26; *βασιλικὴ διώρυξ* of Polybius, v. 51; Narmacha of Isidore), which left the Euphrates at *Perisabor* or *Anbar*, and followed the line of the modern *Saklawiyeh* canal, passing by *Akkerkuf*, the Ardericca of Herodotus (i. 185), and entering the Tigris below Baghdad; 2. the *Nahr Malcha* of the Arabs, which branched from the river at *Ridhivaniyeh*, and ran across to the site of Seleucia; and, 3. the *Nahr Kutha*, which, starting from the Euphrates about 12 miles above *Mosaïb* (the ancient Sippara), passed through Kutha, and fell into the Tigris 20 miles below Seleucia. Of the latter kind was the stream called by Ptolemy Ma-arses, which branched from the main river above Babylon, and ran across to Apamea (now *Naamaniyeh*) on the Tigris, which city it divided into two portions. This branch may be distinctly traced, passing north of the great mound of Babylon, and circling round the walls of the inner *enceinte;* it runs towards Hymar, and is the Zab of the geographers, and the modern *Nil* canal. Various other natural branches left the Euphrates towards the west or right. To exhaust the subject of the comparative hydro-

of which are now dry.[4] The Tigris, which flows at a lower level, and in a deeper bed,[5] has probably varied less in its course, but the tributaries which reach the Tigris from Mount Zagros have undergone many and great changes,[6] through causes analogous to those which have affected the Euphrates. The comparative geography of Lower Mesopotamia, in consequence of the variations in the streams, is rendered one of the most intricate and difficult subjects which can engage the attention of the scholar.

9. The political geography of Western Asia in the times treated by Herodotus, conforms itself in a great measure to the physical features of the region. The great fertile tract at the foot of the Zagros range, abundantly watered by the Tigris, the Euphrates, and the rivers descending from Zagros, and enclosed by the Arabian and Syrian deserts upon the west, the Armenian mountains upon the north, and Zagros upon the east, was divided from very ancient times into three principal countries all nearly equally favoured by nature, and each in its turn the seat of a powerful monarchy:—Assyria, Susiana, and Babylonia. The highlands overlooking this region upon the east and north, being occupied by three principal races, were likewise regarded as forming three great countries:—Armenia, Media, and Persia. West of the Mesopotamian plain, intervening between it and the Mediterranean, were, first, a portion of Arabia, and then Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine. Further off, both on the north and on the east, were numerous petty tribes, the exact position of which it is often not easy to fix, and concerning which it is not intended to enter into details in the present essay. They will necessarily be taken into consideration when we inquire into the extent of the Persian empire under Darius and Xerxes; at present we are concerned only with Mesopotamia and the regions immediately adjacent.

In treating of the boundaries and extent of the countries above mentioned, it will not be possible to be very exact and precise, since the boundaries themselves were to some extent fluctuating, and the knowledge which the Greeks had of them was scanty and far from accurate. All that can be done is to indicate in a very general way the relative position of the several countries with respect to one another,—to mark

graphy of this district would require a separate essay of considerable length.—[H. C. R.]

[4] Three such streams were thrown off to the right between a point a little above Mosaïb and Babylon, which all entered the great marshes (Sea of *Nejjef*), whence the water flowed in part to the sea, in part back to the Euphrates by a channel which entered it near *Samawah*.—[H. C. R.]

[5] The description of Arrian is very exact:—ὁ μὲν Τίγρης πολύ τε ταπεινότερος ῥέων τοῦ Εὐφράτου, διώρυχάς τε πολλὰς ἐκ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ἐς αὐτὸν δέχεται, καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους ποταμοὺς παραλαβὼν, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν αὐξηθεὶς, ἐσβάλλει ἐς τὸν Πόντον τὸν Περσικὸν μέγας τε καὶ οὐδαμοῦ διαβατὸς ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν, καθότι οὐ καταναλίσκεται αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ἐς τὴν χώραν. Ἔστι γὰρ μετεωροτέρα ἡ ταύτῃ γὴ τοῦ ὕδατος. . . . Ὁ δὲ Εὐφράτης μετέωρός τε ῥεῖ, καὶ ἰσοχείλης πανταχοῦ τῇ γῇ, καὶ διώρυχές τε πολλαὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πεποίηνται, κ. τ. λ. (vii. 7).

[6] The Choaspes (*Kerkhah*) bifurcated above Susa: the right arm kept the name of Choaspes, and fell into the Chaldæan lake or great swamp on the left bank of the Tigris in lat. 31° to 32"; the left arm was called the Eulæus, and flowing to the south-east, joined the *Karun* (Pasitigris) at *Ahwaz*.—[H. C. R.]

their natural or usual limits,—and to give some account of the districts into which they were occasionally divided.

(i.) Of the three great countries which occupied the Mesopotamian plain, Assyria was the northernmost. It commenced immediately below the Armenian mountains, and extended, chiefly on the east side of the Tigris, to the neighbourhood of Baghdad. It was bounded on the north by Armenia, on the east by Media, on the south by Susiana and Babylonia, on the west by the tract known to the Greeks as Mesopotamia Proper.[3] This name was applied to the region lying directly south of Taurus in the remarkable bend of the Upper Euphrates, where its distance from the Tigris is the greatest. It may be considered to have extended as far as the land was watered by the Euphrates and its affluents, the Tigris waters being reckoned to Assyria.[4] According to this view of the natural limits of Assyria, it would have been comprised between latitude 37° 30′ and 33° 30′, and between longitude 42° and 45°. It was thus about 280 miles long from north to south, and rather more than 150 broad from east to west: it may have contained about 35,000 square miles, which would make its size a little exceed that of Ireland or of the kingdom of Bavaria.

Assyria was divided into a number of districts, called generally after important towns, as Calaciné, or the district of Calah, Arbelitis, or the district of Arbela, Sittacené, or the district of Sittacé, &c.[5] But the most celebrated district of all was Adiabené, not called from a town, but probably from the Zab rivers,[6] between which it lay. This tract was the richest and most fertile portion of Assyria; and its pre-eminence was such that the name, Adiabené, was sometimes taken to signify the entire country, a use which is perhaps not confined to profane authors.[7] The eastern portion of Assyria seems to be included in the Matiêné of Herodotus, who makes the Royal Road from Sardis to Susa, which doubtless skirted the plain, pass from Armenia into Susiana, through the country of the Matienians.[8]

[3] Mesopotamia Proper is very distinctly indicated by Ptolemy (Geograph. v. 18). He regards it as bounded on the north by the chain of Taurus, on the west by the Euphrates, on the east by the Tigris, and on the south by the Euphrates and Babylonia. Strabo's view appears to be similar, but it is far less distinctly expressed (xvi. p. 1059). It is remarkable that neither Herodotus nor Xenophon use the word. Xenophon extends Syria across the Euphrates (Anab. i. iv. 19). Polybius and Pliny give a very wide sense to the term Mesopotamia.

[4] Some authorities bound Assyria by the Tigris (Ptolem. Geogr. vi. 1; Arrian. Exp. Alex. iii. 7); but the thoroughly Assyrian ruins at *Kalah Sherghat*, *Abu Khameera*, and *Tel Ermah* (see Layard, Nineveh, part i. ch. xii.; Nineveh and Babylon, pp. 241–3) prove the Assyrian occupation to have extended to the west of the river. Pliny says, "Mesopotamia *tota* Assyriorum fuit" (vi. 26).

[5] Ptolemy enumerates eight such districts, viz., Arrapachitis, Adiabêné, the Garamæan country, Apolloniatis, Arbelitis, the country of the Sambatæ, Calaciné, and Sittacêné (vi. 1). Strabo gives a larger number (xvi. ad init.).

[6] See Ammian. Marcell. xxiii. 20.

[7] See Plin. N. H. v. 12: "Adiabene, Assyria ante dicta," and compare Nahum ii. 7: "And Huzzab (הֻצַּב) shall be carried away captive;" where, however, it is very doubtful if הֻצַּב is a proper name.

[8] Herod. v. 52. The Matieni, however, are generally regarded, both by Herodotus and other writers, as inhabitants of the hills (Herod. i. 189, 202; Strab. xi. pp. 748, 760, &c.; Dionys. Perieg. l. 1003).

(ii.) South of Assyria, and parallel to one another, occupying respectively the eastern and the western portions of the plain, were the two countries of Susiana and Babylonia. Susiana, the Elam of Scripture,[9] and the Cissia of Herodotus,[10] was bounded on the north by Assyria, on the east by the Zagros mountains and the river *Tab* (Oroatis), on the south by the Persian Gulf, and on the west by the Tigris.[1] It was thus a long and somewhat narrow strip intervening between the mountains and the river, reaching probably from about *Zangawan* or *Sirwan* in *Mah-Sabadan* to the mouth of the *Tab* or *Hindyan*, a distance of nearly 300 miles. In width it varied from 150 to 50 miles, averaging perhaps 90, which would make its size somewhat less than that of Assyria. Its inhabitants seem to have been partly Elymæans (Elamites), partly Cissians or Cossæans (Cushites), the Elymæans occupying both the coast tract and the hill country towards Persia.[2] The capital, Susa, whence the province derived its later name, was situated between the two arms of the *Kerkhah* (Choaspes), in lat. 32° nearly. Its position was very central; from the Tigris it was distant about 60 miles; from the foot of the great range of Zagros about 50; to the south-eastern frontier, the Tab, was about 150 miles; to *Sirwan*, at the north-western extremity, was the same distance.

(iii.) West of Susiana, and south of Assyria and Mesopotamia, lay Babylonia, which comprised the whole tract between the two great rivers below Hit on the Euphrates and about *Samarrah* or *Tekrit* on the Tigris, as well as an important strip of territory on the right bank of the Euphrates, watered from it by numerous canals and river-courses.[3] Its sea-coast extended from the mouth of the Tigris to the island of Bu-

[9] It has been usual to regard Elam (עֵילָם) as Persia, but this is a mistake. Elam is the Scriptural name of the province whereof Susa is the capital (see Dan. viii. 2, and comp. Ezra iv. 9, where the Elamites are coupled with the Susanchites), and is represented by the Elymais of the geographers.

[10] Herod. iii. 91; v. 49, 52, &c.

[1] See Ptolem. Geograph. vi. 3, and compare Strab. xv. p. 1031.

[2] Strabo places the Elymæans in the Zagros mountains towards Media (xi. pp. 759, 762, &c.; xvi. p. 1056). Ptolemy's Elymæans are upon the coast, and the region above them is Cissia (Geograph. vi. 3). Probably there were Elymæans in both situations (compare Plin. H. N. vi. 26 and 27).

[3] An artificial channel leaves the Euphrates at *Hit* (Is), the northern limit of Babylonia, and runs along the edge of the tertiary formation on the Arabian side, skirting the alluvial valley of the Euphrates on the west throughout its whole extent, and falling into the sea at the head of the *Bubian* creek, about twenty miles west of the Shat-el-Arab. This stream is called by the Arabs the *Kerch Saïdeh*, or canal of *Saïdeh*, and is ascribed by them to a wife of Nebuchadnezzar. It is doubtful, however, whether the work is earlier than the time of Shapur. Another important cutting, the Pallacopas, or Palga Opa, *i. e.*, canal of Opa (comp. Heb. פֶּלֶג), left the Euphrates nearly at Sippara (*Mosaïb*), and ran into a great lake in the neighbourhood of Borsippa (*Birs-i-Nimrud*), whence the lands south-west of Babylon were irrigated. In Alexander's time, through neglect of the mouth of this canal, which required careful watching, as the Euphrates has a tendency to run off to the south, almost all the water of the Euphrates passed by it, and found its way to the sea through a series of marshes (Arrian. Exped. Alex. vii. 21). This canal is called by the Arabs *Nahr Abba* (query, Nahr Opa?), and is regarded by them as the oldest in the country. It was probably made or re-opened by Nebuchadnezzar.—[H. C. R.]

bian; from which point it was bounded on the south and west by the Great Desert of Arabia.[4] Its length may be reckoned at six degrees (more than 400 miles) along the course of the rivers: its average breadth approached 100 miles. It was thus somewhat larger than either Susiana or Assyria.

The southern portion of Babylonia, bordering on Arabia and on the Persian gulf, was known in all times by the special name of Chaldæa.[5] This was the earliest seat of Babylonian power, and here were the primitive capitals of *Hur* or *Ur* (the modern *Mugheir*), Erech (the Ὀρχόη of the Greeks, now *Warka*), and *Larsa* (Ellasar of Genesis, and the Greek Λαράχων or Λάρισσα, now *Senkereh*). Upper Babylonia was sometimes divided into two districts, which were known respectively as Auranitis and Amordacia.[6] Of these, Auranitis seems to have been the more northern; Amordacia being the country about the great marshes into which the Euphrates ran.

(iv.) To these three principal countries of the plain must be added a fourth, which has some right to be regarded as distinct; viz., Mesopotamia, the *Aram Naharaim* of the Jews, a country which was not subject to the early Assyrian kings, and which, though reckoned to Assyria about the time of Herodotus, was both at an earlier and a later date considered to be a separate region.[7] The boundaries of this region were the mountain-chain called Masius, upon the north; the Euphrates upon the west; Assyria upon the east; Babylonia, and in part Arabia, upon the south. The northern part of this region was inhabited in early times by the almost countless tribes of the *Naïri*;[8] while the southern

[4] See Ptolem. Geograph. v. 20.

[5] See the inscriptions *passim*, and compare Strab. xvi. p. 1050; Ptolem. l. s. c.

[6] See Ptolem. v. 20. The second of these words, which the Latin interpreter renders by *Mardocœa*, recalls the name of the Babylonian god, *Mardoc*, or *Merodach*, to whom Nebuchadnezzar dedicated so many of his temples, and especially the great temple at Babylon known to the Greeks as the temple of Belus. *Auranitis* is perhaps connected with the modern *Khamran* or *Kharran*, an important Arab tribe on the Euphrates.

[7] In Scripture, *Aram-Naharaim* (Syria of the two rivers) is clearly distinguished from Assyria or Asshur. (See Gen. xxiv. 10, xxv. 18; 1 Chron. v. 26, xix. 6.) The position of the one is marked by the city Haran (Gen. xxiv. 10, xxvii. 43), of the other by its being the country *towards* which the Tigris ran eastward (Gen. ii. 14, marginal translation). Aram-Naharaim is nearer to Judæa, and the Jews come in contact with it long before they come in contact with Assyria. (See Judges iii. 8–10; 1 Chron. v. 26; 2 Kings xv. 19, &c.) In Herodotus, as has been already observed, there is no mention of Mesopotamia; and the only question that can be raised is whether he included the tract so called in Assyria or in Syria. A careful comparison of all the passages bearing on the subject leads me to the former conclusion. Xenophon, however, in Anab. I. iv. 19, certainly makes Syria extend across the Euphrates —at least if the reading in the place be sound, and should not rather be διὰ τῆς Ἀσσυρίας, as I strongly incline to suspect. (Compare Anab. VII. viii. 25, where Assyria is mentioned as one of the countries traversed by the Ten Thousand.) From the time of Alexander, Mesopotamia came to be regarded by the Greeks as a distinct country from Assyria. (Cf. Eratosth. ap. Strab. book ii.; Arrian. Exped. Alex. iii. 7; Dexipp. Fr. 1; Strab. xvi. 1046, 1059, &c.; Ptolem. v. 18, vi. 1, &c.)

[8] See especially the great Cylinder of Tiglath-Pileser, col. iv. lines 56–83, where no fewer than thirty-nine of these tribes are mentioned by name. The near resemblance of the name *Na-ï-ri* with the Heb. *Naharaim* must not be considered as anything more than a mere accident.

was in the possession of the *Lekka* and other unimportant nations. At a later date we find Arabs established on the left bank of the Euphrates, and hence a portion of Mesopotamia is reckoned to Arabia.[9] It did not form, like the other three countries, the ordinary seat of a powerful monarchy;[1] on the contrary, it was always either split up among a number of petty kings, like most part of the country between the Euphrates and Egypt;[2] or else was merely a province of some great empire. Its chief towns were Nisibis (*Nisibin*), Carræ (the Hebrew Charan, now *Harrán*), and Amida (*Diarbekr*).

10. The three countries of the highlands immediately overlooking the Mesopotamian plain—Armenia, Media, and Persia—have now to be briefly considered.

(i.) Armenia lay directly to the north of the plain. It was the country whence sprang all the great rivers of this part of Asia, the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Halys, the Araxes, and the Cyrus; which, rising within a space 250 miles long by 100 wide, flow down in four directions to three different seas. It was thus to this part of Asia what Switzerland is to Western Europe, an elevated fastness containing within it the highest mountains, and yielding the waters which fertilise the subjacent regions. Its limits towards the south were tolerably fixed, consisting of the great range of mountains known to the Greeks as Taurus, which stretches across from *Sumeïsat* (Samosata) on the Euphrates to *Jezireh* upon the Tigris. Towards the east and west they seem to have varied considerably at different times. Ptolemy extends the eastern boundaries to the Caspian Sea, making a part of Armenia intervene between Albania and Media Atropatêné;[3] but in this view he is singular.[4] The usual frontier eastward seems to have been the mountain-line which joins Zagros to Ararat, and which now forms the boundary between Turkey and Persia. Westward Herodotus extends Armenia further than most Greek writers, since he places the sources of the Halys in that country.[5] An ill-defined and variable line separated Armenia on

[9] See Xen. Anab. I. v. 1, and compare Strab. i. p. 59, xvi. pp. 1060–1.

[1] We hear of no conquering king of Mesopotamia either in sacred or profane history, except Chushan-rish-athaim, who oppressed Israel for eight years (Judges iii. 8–10). [The name of this monarch appears to be Semitic, and to be formed according to the genius of the Assyrian and Babylonian nomenclature. It might be rendered "Chushan has elevated my head."—H. C. R.]

[2] Compare on this point Essay vii. § 40.

[3] Geograph. v. 10.

[4] Herodotus, by placing four nations only between the Euxine and the Erythræan Sea or Persian Gulf—viz. the Colchians, Sapirians, Medes, and Persians—clearly shuts off Armenia from the Caspian. (See Herod. iv. 37.) Strabo distinctly states that Armenia is bounded on the east by Media Atropatêné and Media Magna (xi. p. 765). Pliny appears to make the *Massula* mountains the eastern boundary, thus bringing Armenia within sight of the Caspian Sea, but still assigning the coast tract (now *Talish*) to the people whom he calls Caspians (H. N. vi. 9 and 15). Mela, in his enumeration of the tribes dwelling round the Caspian, has no mention of the Armenians (iii. 5). Their own geographers, however, extend Armenia to the borders of the sea for some distance south of the Araxes (*Aras*). See the Armenian Geography ascribed to Moses Chorenensis, p. 357, et seqq., and compare Mos. Chor. ii. 50, p. 167.

[5] Herod. i. 72. In this, however, he agrees with the Armenians themselves (see

this side from Cappadocia, and according to Herodotus from Cilicia,[6] which he regarded as including a considerable tract reckoned generally to Cappadocia. On the north the limits of Armenia are extremely uncertain. Perhaps the mountain-range second from the coast, now known as the *Koseh Tagh*, *Tekeli Tagh*, &c., may be regarded as the natural frontier as far as the sources of the *Kur*, which then became the boundary, separating Armenia from the Colchians, Sapeiri, &c., who dwelt still further to the north, between the Kur and the Caucasus.[7]

Armenia is distinguished by the geographers into the Greater and the Lesser, the Euphrates forming the division between the two provinces.[8] Armenia Minor, which lay to the west of the river, and was sometimes included in Cappadocia,[9] extended from the northern flanks of Taurus, near *Malatiyeh*, to the sources of the Upper Euphrates or *Kara-Su*. Armenia Major was the whole country east of the Euphrates. This tract was divided into a number of petty provinces,[1] of which the most important was Sophênê, the region about Diarbekr. Armenia was about 550 miles from east to west, and from north to south averaged 200 miles.

(ii.) East and south-east of Armenia, extending from the *Kur* (Cyrus) on the north to the vicinity of Isfahan on the south, was Media, divided (like Armenia) into two provinces, Media Magna and Media Atropatênê.[2] Media Atropatênê lay towards the north, being interposed between Armenia and the Caspian, and including within it the rich and fertile basin of lake *Urumiyeh*,[3] as well as the valleys of the *Aras* (Araxes) and the *Sefid Rud*, and the low countries of *Talish* and *Ghilan* on the shores of the sea, thus nearly corresponding with the modern province of *Azer-bijan*. Hence Media Magna extended eastward to the Caspian Gates near Mount Demavend, following the line of *Elburz*, and

the Geography, p. 355). He is also followed by Dionysius (l. 786). Most writers, however, like Strabo (xii. 791), regard the Halys as rising in Cappadocia. Some even make the Euphrates the western boundary of Armenia. (Agathemer, ii. 6.)

[6] Herod. v. 49 and 52.

[7] Compare Herod. iv. 37; Strab. xi. pp. 726–30; Plin. H. N. vi. 5 and 10; Ptolem. v. 10–11.

[8] See Strab. xi. p. 758, &c.; Plin. vi. 8; Ptolem. v. 7 and 13; Armen. Geograph. § 57–9.

[9] Pliny goes farther, and says of the Cappadocians: "Longissimè hæc Ponticarum omnium [gentium] introrsùs recedens, minorem Armeniam *majoremque* lævo suo latere *transit*" (l. s. c.) Ptolemy, while distinguishing the Greater Armenia altogether from Cappadocia (v.13), appears to include the Lesser within it (v. 6 and 7).

[1] Strab. xi. pp. 766–7. Ptolem. v. 13. Armen. Geogr. § 65–80.

[2] This division was of course not made under these names till the time of Alexander, when the Persian satrap, Atropates, the commander of the Median contingent at the battle of Arbela (Arrian. Exp. Alex. iii. 8), contrived to make himself independent in Upper Media (Strab. xi. p. 760; Diod. Sic. xviii. 3), which was thence called Media Atropatênê, or the Media of Atropates. But there are grounds for believing that the two provinces—each with its own Ecbatana—had been from the earliest Median occupation more or less distinct. (See Col. Rawlinson's Memoir on the site of the Atropatenian Ecbatana in the tenth volume of the Geographical Journal.)

[3] For the fertility of the country east and south of this lake (which is undoubtedly the Lake Spauta of Strabo, xi. p. 760), see Geograph. Journ. vol. x. pp. 5–15, and 28–31.

being separated from the Caspian by a portion of Hyrcania, now *Mazanderan.* On the west, the Assyrian plain formed the boundary, Media here lying along Zagros, and reaching southwards to about the 32nd parallel, where Persia adjoined upon it. Eastward Media was bounded by the Great Salt Desert, which extends across Iran from lat. 35° to lat. 30°. The entire country was thus eight degrees (550 miles) long, and from 250 to 300 miles broad.

(iii.) Below Media was Persia, nearly coinciding with the modern province of *Fars.* On the west it was bounded by Susiana, on the south by the Persian Gulf, on the east by Carmania (*Kerman*), and upon the north, as has been remarked, by Media. It contained, besides a portion of Zagros, the fertile districts[4] about Shiraz and lake Baktigan, and a considerable extent of sandy and unproductive plain, lying partly between the mountains and the sea, partly north and east of the great chain, which in this part breaks up and ramifies. The northern portion of the country, in Zagros, and next to Media, was known to the later Greeks as Paretacênê.[5] This tract, however, which seems to be the mountain country north-west of Isfahan, formed a debateable ground between the two kingdoms of Media and Persia, and was sometimes reckoned to the one, sometimes to the other.[6] The remaining Persian provinces are unimportant. We may perhaps recognise in the Mardyênê of Ptolemy,[7] which lay upon the sea-coast, the country of the Mardi, mentioned by Herodotus among the Persian tribes,[8] and in his Taocênê, the country of the Taochi or modern *Dalaki*, who dwell north-east of Bushire on the *Khist* river. Pasargadæ, the earlier, and Persepolis the later capital were the two principal towns.[1] Their position is clearly marked by the tomb of Cyrus at *Murg-Aub*,[2] and the ruined palace of Darius near *Istakher.*[3] Both were fairly central, being situated in the mountain-region half way between the low coast tract and the elevated desert country towards *Yezd*, and being about equidistant from the eastern and western boundaries of the province.

Persia was the smallest, as Media was the largest, of the three great mountain countries; from north to south it did not exceed 300, nor

[4] See Kinneir's Persian Empire, pp. 59–64.

[5] Ptolem. vi. 4.

[6] Herodotus calls the Parêtacêni a *Median* tribe (i. 101), and Stephen makes Parætaca a Median city (ad voc.). Ptolemy distinctly assigns Parætacênê to Persia (l. s. c.). Eratosthenes (ap. Strab. ii. p. 116), Strabo (xi. pp. 759, 762, &c.), Pliny (H. N. vi. 26), and Arrian (Exped. Alex. iii. 19), seem to regard the country of the Parætaceni, or Parætacæ, as separate both from Persia and Media.

[7] Geograph. vi. 4.

[8] Herod. i. 125.

[1] Some writers, as Sir W. Ouseley (Travels, vol, ii. pp. 316, et seqq.) and Niebuhr (see Lectures on Ancient History, vol. i., Lectures 12 and 18, pp. 115 and 162, E. T.), have regarded Persepolis and Pasargadæ as two names of the same place. The names themselves are probably equivalents, but the two cities were certainly distinct. They are carefully distinguished by Strabo (xv. p. 1035), Pliny (H. N. vi. 26), Arrian (Exped. Alex. vii. 1, ad init.), Ptolemy (Geograph. vi. 4), and others. In point of fact they were more than 40 miles apart, *Murg-Aub*, the site of Pasargadæ, being 42 miles almost due north of the *Chehl-Minar*, or Palace of the Forty Pillars, undoubtedly the ruins of the later capital. (See Kinneir's Routes in the Appendix to his 'Persian Empire,' p. 461.)

[2] See note [9] on Book i. ch. 214.

[3] See Chardin's Voyage en Perse, vol. ii. pp. 141, et seqq.; Ker Porter's Travels, vol. i. pp. 576-683; and Kinneir's Persian Empire, pp. 76–7.

from east to west 230 miles. Hence the epithet of a "scant" land, which Herodotus applies to it in the last chapter of his history.[4] Its general character also justifies his expressions "churlish" and "rugged;"[5] for though the mountains contain a certain number of "fertile plains" and a few "delightful valleys,"[6] yet for the most part the hill-sides are bare, the valleys mere ravines, and the level tracts arid and sandy.[7]

(iv.) Although it was usual to regard the three countries of Armenia, Media, and Persia as dividing among them the entire mountain-tract north and east of the Mesopotamian valley, yet it seems as if there had been at all times a number of tribes, not really either Armenian, Median, or Persian, who maintained themselves in a state of partial or complete independence, like the Kurds and Lurs (or Luks) of the present day, in the more inaccessible portions of the highlands. Such were the *Namri* or *Nimri* of the Inscriptions, who held Zagros almost from one end to the other during the period of the Assyrian Empire, and were in perpetual rebellion against the Assyrian kings. Such again are probably the Dardanians,[8] Matienians,[9] Paricanians,[1] Orthocorybantians,[2] Utians, and Mycians[3] of Herodotus, the Carduchi of Xenophon,[4] the Gordiæans and Uxians of Strabo[5] and Arrian,[6] the Cordueni, Mizæi, Saitæ, Hyi, &c. of Pliny.[7] Of these various tribes the one of the greatest name and note—which may be traced uninterruptedly from the time of Xenophon to the present day, and which has apparently absorbed almost all the others—is that which ancient writers designate under the slightly varied appellations of Carduchi, Gordiæi, Cordueni,[8] and perhaps Cardaces[9] and Cyrtii (Κύρτιοι),[1] and which still holds the greater portion of the region between Armenia and *Luristan* under the well-known name of Kurds. The country assigned to this race in ancient times is usually the rugged tract east of the Tigris, extending from the

[4] Γὴν γὰρ ἐκτήμεθα ὀλίγην (Herod. ix. 122).

[5] Λυπρήν . . . τρηχέην (ibid.). Compare Xen. Cyrop. VII. v. § 67. Πέρσας τὰς οἴκοι . . . ἐπιπονώτατα ζῶντας διὰ τὴν τῆς χώρας τραχύτητα.

[6] Kinneir, p. 55.

[7] See note to Book ix. ch. 122.

[8] Herod. i. 189.

[9] Ibid. ch. 202; and compare v. 49 and 52.

[1] Ibid. iii. 92, and vii. 68.

[2] Ibid. iii. 92.

[3] Ibid. vii. 68.

[4] Anab. IV. i. 8, &c.

[5] Strab. xi. 762; xvi. pp. 1038, 1060, &c.

[6] Exped. Alex. iii. 7 and 17.

[7] H. N. vi. 15 and 27.

[8] Strabo (xvi. p. 1060) identifies the Carduchi and Gordiæi with sufficient clearness, even according to the present reading. I have no doubt, however, that he wrote, Πρὸς δὲ τῷ Τίγρει τὰ τῶν Γορδυαίων χωρία, οὓς οἱ πάλαι Καρδούχους ἔλεγον Παρθυαίων is a mistake of a blundering copyist, who saw Παρθυαίων in the line above. Pliny (H. N. vi. 15) identifies the Carduchi and Cordueni. Strabo's Gordyênê (Γορδυήνη, l. s. c.) links together Gordiæi and Cordueni. The ethnic title, whichever form we give it, is probably to be connected with the Assyrian term *karadi*, which is the only word used throughout the inscriptions for the "warlike youth" of a nation. Strabo observes (xv. p. 1041) that *Carda* meant τὸ ἀνδρῶδες καὶ πολεμικόν.

[9] This identification rests chiefly on the similarity of sound. It receives some support from the occurrence of Cardaces in the mixed army of Antiochus (Polyb. v. 79), where we seem to have a right to look for Kurds.

[1] The Κύρτιοι are mentioned by Strabo only, I believe. He speaks of them as scattered about Zagros and Niphates, and particularly as dwelling both in Northern Media (xi. p. 761) and in Persia Proper (ibid., and compare xv. p. 1031).

neighbourhood of *Sert* and *Bitlis* (in long. 42°) to the vicinity of *Rowandus* (in long. 44° 50′).[2] Sometimes, however, we find, instead of this country, that Gordyênê or Gordiæa is regarded as the mountain-chain north of Mesopotamia, which Strabo calls Mount Masius,[3] and which lies directly south of the Tigris where it runs east between Diarbekr and *Tilleh*.[4] Kurds doubtless extended through this whole region, and (if we regard Cardaces and Cyrtii as equivalent terms to Carduchi) were even found in Persia Proper,[5] where the modern *Lurs* are perhaps their descendants and representatives.[6] The other tribes which have been named even less admit of being located with accuracy, if we except the Uxians, whose position in the *Bakhtiyari* mountains, from long. 49° to 51°, is pretty plainly indicated by Strabo[7] and Arrian.[8]

11. West of the Mesopotamian plain, between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, lay three countries, inhabited for the most part by cognate races, but of widely different characters and dimensions; viz., Arabia, Syria, and Phœnicia. A brief notice of these well-known tracts will be sufficient for our present purpose.

(i.) The vast country of Arabia, which has a superficies of above a million square miles,[9] and is thus more than equal to one-fourth of Europe, is a peninsula bounded on three sides by seas, but possessing on the fourth no marked natural limit. Some writers consider that a line drawn from the north-eastern corner of the Persian Gulf above Bubian to the innermost recess of the Red Sea at Suez, which would pass almost exactly along the 30th parallel, is the proper northern boundary.[1] Others, alive to the fact that Arabs have always been the inhabitants of the desert tract projecting towards the north from this base, in the shape of a right-angled triangle as far as the vicinity of Aleppo, extend Arabia northwards to the 37th parallel, and make the Euphrates and the narrow isthmus between the Euphrates and the gulf of *Iskenderun* inclose the Arabian territory on its fourth side.[2] In ancient times, however, a portion of this triangular space was always reckoned to Syria, which included Tadmor or Palmyra in the desert country,[3] and came at least as

[2] This is clearly the country of Xenophon's Carduchi (Anab. iv. i. § 3, et seqq.), as it is of Arrian's Gordyæi (Exped. Alex. iii. 7), and of Pliny's Cordueni, who border on Adiabene (H. N. vi. 15). It is also the Gordyene of Ptolemy (v. 13). Whether Strabo intends to place any Gordiæans on the left bank of the Tigris is perhaps doubtful. He *may* mean to do so in book xvi. p. 1059–1060.

[3] Strab. xi. p. 759, and p. 766.

[4] This is certainly Strabo's ordinary view. See xi. pp. 759 and 769; xvi. p. 1046, &c.

[5] See Strab. xi. p. 761, xv. p. 1031, and p. 1041.

[6] The language spoken by the Lurs is in its grammar a dialect of the Kurdish. (See Geograph. Journ. vol. ix. part i. pp. 105 and 109.) In its names of objects, however, it is identical with the Scythic of ancient Babylonia.

[7] Strabo places the sources of both the Choaspes and the Pasitigris in the country of the Uxians (xi. pp. 1032 and 1034). He also makes the Uxians border on the Elymæans (p. 1038.)

[8] See the Exped. Alex. iii. 17, and compare the Geograph. Journ. vol. xiii. pp. 108–112.

[9] Chesney, vol. ii. p. 448.

[1] As the elder Niebuhr. See his "Description de l'Arabie," p. 1. Compare Mr. P. Smith's article in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, vol. i. p. 175.

[2] Chesney, l. s. c.

[3] See Plin. H. N. v. 24–5; Ptolem. v. 15; Steph. Byz. ad voc. Πάλμυρα, &c

low as Thapsacus (*El-Hammám*) on the Euphrates.[4] Ancient Arabia therefore may best be regarded as an irregular rectangle,[5] with the angles facing the cardinal points, bounded on the south-west by the Red Sea, on the south-east by the Indian Ocean, on the north-east by that ocean, by the Persian Gulf, and by the valley of the Euphrates as far as Thapsacus,[6] and on the north-west by a line drawn from the inmost recess of the Gulf of Suez past the southern shores of the Dead Sea,[7] and thence by Bozrah (*Bostra*) and Palmyra to the Euphrates in the vicinity of *El-Hammám.* Its length from north-west to south-east is about 1500 miles; its greatest breadth, which is along the shores of the Indian Ocean from Cape Babelmandel to the *Ras-el-Hadd*, exceeds 1200 miles.

The formal division of Arabia into three regions—the Happy, the Stony, and the Desert—which has descended to us from the later Greeks and Romans, is first found in Ptolemy.[8] Eratosthenes appears to have distinguished but two regions, the northern or Desert, and the southern or Happy.[9] This two-fold division is followed by Strabo,[1] Pliny,[2] and Mela;[3] while Ptolemy's view is adopted by Agathemer,[4] and the Armenian Geography.[5] "Happy Arabia" was at first the south-western corner of the peninsula from about Mecca to Aden; but the term was gradually extended till it came to include the entire peninsula below a line drawn from *Bubian* to *Akabah.* "Stony Arabia," or Arabia Petræa, lay above this to the west; it contained the Sinaitic peninsula, and the region bordering upon Judæa and Syria, as far as Bozrah. Arabia Deserta lay above Arabia Felix to the east; it was the tract which bordered the Mesopotamian valley from Thapsacus downwards, and which extended westward to Palmyrênê and Arabia Petræa.[6] The terms Petræa and Deserta are not ill applied; but Arabia Felix, unless in the narrow sense in which it was first used, is a complete misnomer.

(ii.) The Syria of the geographers[7] is the tract lying west of the

[4] Xen. Anab. i. 4; Theopomp. Fr. 53; Plin. H. N v. 24; Ptolem. v. 15.

[5] The most violent irregularity is the remarkable projection at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, separating between it and the Indian Ocean, whereby the contour of Arabia is rendered not unlike that of a sitting cat, the projection in question forming the animal's head. Putting this aside, it must also be noted that the breadth of Arabia gradually contracts towards the north, the distance from the Red Sea to the Persian Gulf below *Bahrein* being 800 miles, while the distance from Suez to Thapsacus is less than 600 miles.

[6] Xenophon, as has been already remarked (supra, p. 464), extends Arabia across the Euphrates (Anab. I. v. § 1), and Strabo notices the fact that Arabians occupied a portion of Mesopotamia (xvi. pp. 1060–1). They sometimes even extended themselves into Susiana. (See Col. Rawlinson's Commentary on the Assyrian Inscriptions, p. 61, note [2].)

[7] According to Herodotus (iii. 5), Arabia in this part touched the Mediterranean for a short distance, but in this he differs from most other writers. Pliny seems to agree with him (v. 11).

[8] Geograph. v. 17 and 19; vi. 7.

[9] Ap. Strab. xvi. pp. 1089 and 1091.

[1] Strab. xvi. pp. 1088–9.

[2] H. N. v. 11, 24, ad fin.; vi. 28.

[3] De Sit. Orb. i. 10.

[4] Geograph. ii. 6.

[5] Compare § 83, 85, and 86.

[6] These are the views of Ptolemy, who alone draws the limits with any attempt at exactness.

[7] Herodotus included Cappadocia in Syria, thus extending it to the Euxine (i.

Euphrates from the place where it breaks through Mount Taurus to Thapsacus, and extending thence in a direction a little west of south to the borders of Egypt. It is bounded on the north and north-west by part of Taurus and by Amanus (*Alma Tagh* and *Jawur Tagh*), on the west by the Mediterranean and Phœnicia,[8] on the south by Arabia Petræa, and on the east by Arabia Deserta and the Euphrates. Its shape is not unlike that of the human foot, the toe touching Egypt and the heel the Euphrates near Thapsacus. Its length along the coast from Issus to the River of Egypt (*Wady-el-Arish*) is somewhat more than 400 miles; the breadth varies from 100 miles between Issus and the Euphrates to more than 500, between Egypt and Thapsacus. The entire area is nearly equal to that of England, or between 50,000 and 60,000 square miles.[9]

Syria was divided into a number of provinces the limits of which were mostly very marked and distinct. To the north lay Commagêné, a name found under the form of *Qummukh* in the Assyrian inscriptions,[10] which was the narrow but fertile tract immediately south of Taurus, bounded on the east by the Euphrates, on the west by Amanus, and on the south by the region called Cyrestica or Cyrrhistica.[1] This latter region consisted of the knot of mountains lying directly between the Gulf of Issus and the Euphrates; it was sometimes reckoned to Seleucis,[2] which may be regarded as the whole country between Commagêné and Cœle-Syria, extending from about *Ain-Tab*, in lat. 37° nearly to the sources of the Orontes in lat. 34°. In Seleucis were included, besides Cyrrhistica, Chalybonitis, or the region of Chalybon[3] (the modern *Aleppo*), Chalcis or Chalcidicé, a small tract about the lake into which the river of Aleppo empties itself; Casiôtis, the sea-board from the Orontes southward to the borders of Phœnicia; Pieria, the little corner between the Orontes and Mount Amanus, together with the upper valley of the Orontes, which was the ancient kingdom of Hamath,[4] and the

6, 72, &c.). Xenophon, if the reading in Anab. I. iv. § 19 be correct, regarded it as stretching across the Euphrates. Strabo (xvi. p. 1063), Pliny (H. N. v. 12), and Ptolemy (Geograph. v. 15), agree substantially with the statements in the text.

[8] Strabo (l. s. c.) includes Phœnicia in Syria. Pliny (l. s. c.) inclines to do the same, but notes that some (qui *subtilius* dividunt) made them distinct countries. Herodotus (iii. 5), Scylax (Peripl. p. 98), Mela (i. 11–12), and Ptolemy, regard them as separate.

[9] Col. Chesney gives the area as 53,762¼ square *geographical* miles, or more than 60,000 square statute miles, but his estimate includes the island of Cyprus and Phœnicia. (See Euphrat. Exped. vol. i. p. 384.)

[10] The *Qummukh* of the inscriptions does not, however, answer *in position* to Commagêné. It consists rather of the southern skirts of Taurus, from the Euphrates at *Sumeisat* to the Tigris at Diarbekr.—[H. C. R.]

[1] Strab. xvi. p. 1063; Ptol. v. 15; Plin. H. N. v. 23, &c.

[2] As by Strabo, who divides Syria into five provinces only; viz. Commagene, Seleucis, Cœle-Syria, Judæa, and Phœnicia (l. s. c.). Pliny includes Cyrrhistica in Cœle-Syria. Ptolemy makes it separate from both.

[3] Chalybon is probably the Helbon of Scripture, so famous for its excellent wine. (Compare Ezek. xxvii. 18, with Strab. xv. p. 1043, and Athen. i. 22.)

[4] Hamath (the modern *Hamah*) was the capital of a considerable kingdom in northern Syria from the time of David to that of Sennacherib (2 Sam. viii. 9: 2

Apamênê of the post-Alexandrine writers. Below Seleucis was the country called Cœle-Syria, which was properly the valley of the *Litány*, or the hollow (κοιλία), between Libanus and Anti-Libanus,[5] but which was made to include also the valley of the Chrysorrhoas (*Barada*) east of Anti-Libanus, and the country about Damascus,[6] one of the richest regions of Asia.[7] South of Cœle-Syria lay Palestine, extending from the sources of Jordan and Mount Hermon on the north to the river of Egypt (*Wady-el-Arish*) on the south, and containing the well-known provinces of Galilee, Samaria, Judæa, and Idumæa, west of the Jordan valley, Ituræa and Peræa, east of the same.[8] On the side of the desert, separated from the fertile coast tract by a broader or narrower belt of arid territory, were the two oases of Tadmor and Bozrah, the one the capital of the district known as Palmyrênê, which was the entire country between Syria Proper and the Euphrates, the other the chief city of the region called Trachonitis, the *el-Ledja* and *Jebel-Hauran* of the present day.

(iii.) Along a portion of the sea-board of Syria, stretching from about lat. 35° 20′ to 32° 40′, lay Phœnicia,[9] a narrow strip of territory between the mountains and the sea, 190 miles in length from north to south, and never so much as 20 miles, sometimes little more than a single mile[1] in breadth from east to west, containing about 2000, or at most 2500 square miles, a less space (that is) than several of the English counties—so slight and accidental is the connexion between territorial extent and political consequence. Well watered by the numerous perennial streams which descend from the ranges of Lebanon and Bargylus (*Jebel-Nosairi*), sheltered from invasion on the one hand by the great separator, the sea,[2] on the other by the high mountain-line inter-

Kings xix. 13, &c.). It is frequently mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions of this period. (See Col. Rawlinson's Commentary, pp. 35, 39, 40, &c.)

[5] Cf. Strab. xvi. p. 1075. Κοιλησυρία καλεῖται ἰδίως ἡ τῷ Λιβάνῳ καὶ Ἀντιλιβάνῳ ἀφωρισμένη.

[6] Strab. xvi. pp. 1074–5. Ptolem. v. 15.

[7] See Chesney's Euphrat. Exped. vol. i. p. 527.

[8] For a full account of these countries the reader is referred to the excellent work of Professor Stanley ("Sinai and Palestine in connexion with their History," London, Murray, 1856), which is a model of descriptive geography.

[9] The limits of Phœnicia are not very clearly marked either to the north or to the south. Scylax (Peripl. p. 98) makes Phœnicia the *entire* seaboard of Syria. Strabo regards it as commencing at Gabala (*Jebili*), a little south of Laodicea (*Ladikiyeh*), and extending to Pelusium (xvi. p. 1070, and p. 1075). Pliny (H. N. v. 19 and 20) makes it begin with Aradus (*Ruad*), and end a little below Mount Carmel. Ptolemy (v. 15) agrees as to the southern limit, but makes the northern the river Eleutherus (*Nahr-el-Kebir*, lat. 34° 42′), which Strabo says was often considered as the boundary (p. 1071). Mr. Stanley, regarding Acé or Ekron (now *Akka* or *Acre*) as properly a Philistian town, makes Phœnicia terminate at the *Ras-el-Abiad* or the *Ras-en-Nakhora* (Sinai and Palestine, p. 262). I have deferred to the authorities of Pliny and Ptolemy.

[1] Scylax, Peripl. p. 99. ἐνιαχῇ δὲ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ σταδίους ἱ τὸ πλάτος.

[2] It is perhaps not a mere fancy to connect the Greek πέλαγος with the Hebrew פֶּלֶג *peleg*, "separation." (See Scott and Liddell's Lexicon, ad voc. πέλαγος.) At any rate, whether the etymology holds or no, the fact remains that the sea in early times was not, as now, the uniter, but the divider of nations. Mr. Stanley rightly observes (Palestine, p. 113), "When Israel first settled in Palestine, the Mediter-

posed between its smiling palm-groves and the natural march of Eastern conquest,[3] with numerous harbours, a fairly productive soil, and inexhaustible forests of timber on the flanks of Lebanon, Phœnicia was a region in which we cannot be surprised that flourishing commercial communities grew up at an early date, whose influence upon the world's history was little proportioned to the restricted limits of their territorial sovereignty. Asiatic civilisation, rising in lower Babylonia, naturally and we may almost say necessarily, reached first at this point the Western Sea. Here was Marathus, the extreme West of the first comers,[4] who however in course of time discovered a West (*Ereb* or Europe) beyond themselves, to which they were Cadmônim or Cadmeians, that is, Easterns.[5] Here western commerce and navigation began, and hence the ships and colonies went forth, which planted civilisation and refinement on the shores of Africa and Spain, and brought into connexion with the kingdoms of the East the negroes of Guinea and the painted savages of the British Islands.

Phœnicia contained no provinces, but, like the Greek countries of Achæa, Ionia, &c., was parcelled out into the territories of a number of independent towns. These were—commencing on the south—Acé or Acre (the *Aku* of the Assyrian inscriptions), Ecdippa (Hebrew and Assyrian *Akzib*), Tyre, Sarepta, Sidon, Berytus (now *Beyroot*), Byblus (the Hebrew *Gebal*, and Assyrian *Gubal*, now *Jebeil*), Tripolis, and Aradus (Assyrian and Hebrew *Arvad*, now *Ruad*). Of these Tyre and Aradus originally occupied islands: the others lay close upon the shore. Sidon, Tyre, Byblus, and Aradus, which succeeded to the still earlier Marathus,[6] were perhaps the most ancient. Tripolis, which cannot be the native name,[7] was a colony from the three cities of Tyre, Sidon, and Aradus.[8] The territory of Aradus seems to have extended from the

ranean was not yet the thoroughfare—it was rather the boundary and the terror of the eastern nations."

[3] The tide of invasion would almost always, as a matter of course, flow along the connected valleys of the Orontes and Litany. On the right of these valleys the chains of *Nosairi* and *Libnan* (Lebanon) rise abruptly to a height varying from 1000 to 7000 feet. (See Chesney's Euphrat. Exped. vol. i. pp. 387–8.)

[4] See Col. Rawlinson's note on Essay vi. § 5.

[5] Vide infra, Book ii. ch. 44, note [1].

[6] Marathus—*πόλις ἀρχαία Φοινίκων*, according to Strabo—may be regarded as earlier than Aradus, 1. from the Hamitic character of the word; 2. from the early disappearance of the place (cf. Scylax, Peripl. p. 99); 3. from its absorption into Aradus (Strab. xvi. p. 1071), the site of which is so near as to present the appearance of an *ἐπιτειχισμὸς* by an unfriendly power. [*Martu* (or Marathus) in the Assyrian inscriptions is not found as the name of a city, but of the whole country. It is a Scythic word, signifying literally "behind;" and thence "the west," just as in the Semitic languages *kedem* signified literally "before," and thence "the east."—[H. C. R.]

[7] Perhaps the native name was *Mahalliba*; at least this town appears among the Phœnician cities both in the annals of Sardanapalus and in those of Sennacherib, which shows it to have been a place of importance. Yet no trace of such a name is found in classic writers.—[H. C. R.]

[8] Scylax, Peripl. p. 99; Strab. xvi. 1072; Steph. Byz. ad voc. *Τρίπολις*. Scylax says that Tripolis was really three cities in one, the Tyrian, Sidonian, and Aradian colonists having distinct regions of the town, each enclosed within its own walls.

northern frontier of Phœnicia near Gabala (*Jebili*) to the river Eleutherus;[9] that of the other towns cannot be fixed with exactness.

12. With this brief notice of the countries west of Assyria and Babylonia the present Essay may well terminate. The physical and political geography of the part of Asia which stretches still further to the west, and is known generally as Asia Minor, or the peninsula of Anatolia, has been already discussed in a former Essay. The distribution of the several tribes mentioned by Herodotus as inhabiting Asia towards the north and east will be made a separate subject of consideration hereafter.

[9] Strab. xvi. pp. 1070–1.

ESSAY X.

ON THE RELIGION OF THE BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS.—[H. C. R.]

1. General character of the Mythology. 2. Babylonian and Assyrian Pantheons not identical. 3. Thirteen chief deities. (i.) *Asshur*, the supreme god of Assyria—the Asshur of Genesis—his emblem the winged circle. (ii.) *Anu*, first god of the First Triad—his resemblance to Dis or Hades—his temples—gods connected with him. (iii.) *Bel-Nimrod* (?), second god of the Triad—his wife, Mylitta or Beltis—his right to the name of Nimrod—his titles, temples, &c. (iv.) *Hea*, third god of the Triad—his correspondence with Neptune—his titles—extent of his worship. (v.) *Bilta* (Beltis), the great goddess—confusion between her and *Ishtar*—her titles, temples. &c. (vi.) Gods of the Second Triad—*Iva* (or *Phul*)—uncertainty about his name—Lord of the sky or air—an old god in Babylonia—his numerical symbol. (vii.) *Shamas* or *San*, the Sun-god—his titles—antiquity of his worship in Babylonia—associated with *Gula*, the Sun-goddess—their emblems on the monuments. (viii.) *Sin*, the Moon-god—his titles—his temple at Ur—his high rank, at the head of the Second Triad. (ix.) *Ninip* or *Nin*, his various titles and emblems—his stellar character doubtful—the Man-Bull his emblem—his name of *Bar* or *Bar-shem—Nin*, the Assyrian Hercules—his temples—his relationship to *Bel-Nimrod*—Beltis both his mother and his wife—his names *Barzil* and *Sanda*. (x.) *Bel-Merodach*—his worship originally Babylonian—his temple in Babylon called that of Jupiter Belus—his wife, *Zirbanit* or Succoth-Benoth. (xi.) *Nergal*—his titles—his connexion with *Nin*—his special worship at Cutha—his symbol, the Man-Lion—his temples, &c. (xii.) *Ishtar* or Astarte—called *Nana* at Babylon—her worship. (xiii.) Nebo—his temples—the god of learning—his name, *Tir*, &c. 4. Other gods besides the thirteen—*Allata*, *Bel-Zirpu*, &c. 5. Vast number of local deities.

1. The ancient religion of Babylonia and Assyria—whatever may have been its esoteric character—bore the appearance outwardly of a very gross polytheism. We may infer from the statements of Berosus, that it did involve in its origin ideas sufficiently recondite with respect to the cosmogony and the generative functions of nature,[1] and we further know, that many of the most celebrated sages of Greece, such as Thales, Pythagoras, and Democritus, borrowed largely from Babylonian sources in the formation of their respective systems of philosophy; but we have not yet acquired that mastery over the primitive language of Babylon—as distinguished from the later Semitic dialect of Assyria—which might enable us to verify the high pretensions of the Chaldæans in regard to natural religion, from modern materials.[2]

[1] See the account of the Babylonian cosmogony, given by Polyhistor from Berosus, and quoted by Eusebius; Syncellus, p. 23; and Aucher's Eusebius, vol. i. p. 22, sqq.

[2] The reference is to the mythological clay tablets found in the royal library at Nineveh, and now deposited in the British Museum, which are in great numbers, and which no doubt contain all that we could desire to know with regard to the machinery of the Babylonian religion, and probably also treat to some extent of its mysteries. These tablets, however, are composed in Babylonian, which was the sacred and literary language, and in very few instances are furnished even with a gloss or explanation in Assyrian, so that, with the exception of helping to identify

Of all the branches indeed of cuneiform inquiry, an explanation of the Babylonian mythology is undoubtedly the most difficult, not only from the extraordinary extent and complicated character of the subject—numerous independent objects of science being more or less closely connected with the Pantheon[3]—but especially from the redundant nomenclature, each divinity having many distinct names by which he is indifferently designated, and being further indicated by an infinity of titles, which may also be substituted at will for the proper name, according to the locality or attribute under which the god is worshipped. Of such titles there are at least forty or fifty appertaining to each deity; and in conning over therefore those mythological tablets in the British Museum, which contain lists of the gods or idols to be found in the different temples of the chief cities of Assyria and Babylonia, the student is bewildered by an endless variety of names, which, if they really indicated different deities, would render hopeless any attempt to dissect and tabulate the Pantheon. In the present paper it is not proposed to consider the subject in its entirety. A mere sketch of the Pantheon will be given, the principal gods being alone noticed, and the remarks concerning them being restricted to an attempted identification of their chief names and titles; a description, as far as our knowledge extends, of their functions and attributes; some account of the temples in which they were worshipped; and suggestions as to their relationship with the gods of classical mythology.

On examining the mythology of the Babylonians, the first point which attracts attention is the apparent similarity of the system, with that which afterwards prevailed in Greece and Rome. The same general grouping is to be recognised; the same genealogical succession is not unfrequently to be traced; and in some cases even the familiar names and titles of classical deities can be explained from Babylonian sources. It seems indeed to be highly probable that among the primitive tribes who dwelt on the Tigris and Euphrates when the cuneiform alphabet was invented, by reducing pictures to phonetic signs, and when such writing was first applied to the purposes of religion, a Scythic, or Scytho-Arian race must have existed, who subsequently migrated to Europe, and brought with them those mythical traditions, which, as objects of popular belief, had been mixed up in the nascent literature of their native country; so that we are at present able in some cases to explain obscurities both of Greek and Roman mythological nomenclature, not simply from the languages of Assyria and Babylonia, but even from the peculiar, and often fantastic, devices of the cuneiform system of writing.[4]

names and relationship, they can hardly be turned to any account. The Assyrian sources of information, again, which consist of invocations to the whole Pantheon, or to particular gods, prefixed to historical records, or inscribed upon the mystic figures of the gods themselves, are for the most part restricted to a long catalogue of obscure epithets, and thus furnish no aid with regard to the reading of the names.

[3] Among such objects may be enumerated the system of notation, divisions of time, the planets and stars, animals, metals, colours, &c. &c.

[4] It is hardly safe, perhaps, from our present cuneiform materials, to draw any

2. The Pantheons of Babylon and Nineveh ought in strictness to be considered separately, for in many respects they are dissimilar, deities which are prominent in one mythology being unknown in the other, and each system moreover having originally possessed an independent nomenclature. In the present state of our knowledge, however, critical distinctions cannot be attempted. We must be content then with a brief enumeration of the deities, and an indication of the relative positions which they occupy in their respective systems.

It is quite clear that the mythology originated in Babylonia, and at a time when several distinct languages were spoken by the people using the cuneiform character; for the Museum tablets very often exhibit the names of the gods in three parallel columns, all written in the primitive Scythic of Babylonia and without any attempt to give the Semitic equivalents of Assyria expressed phonetically. It is, indeed, of extreme rarity to find any phonetic explanation of the names of the gods. The Assyrians, although using the old Babylonian terms, which we have been hitherto accustomed improperly to speak of as ideographs, or monograms,[5] applied to such terms their own vernacular Semitic equivalents; but it is only inferentially, for the most part, that we can determine how these equivalents were pronounced.

In most, but not all, of the invocations which preface the historical inscriptions of the Assyrian kings, we find the gods of the Pantheon classified in distinct groups. There is, firstly, *Asshur*, the supreme god, who was replaced in Babylonia by a distinct deity *Il* or *Ra;* then comes the governing triad answering to the Pluto, Jupiter, and Neptune of Classical mythology; and with these is often associated the supreme female deity who was wife of Jupiter and mother of the gods. The next group is that which Berosus describes as ἄστρα καὶ ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην, but which more strictly answers to Æther, the sun and the moon, and the remaining five deities must be the τοὺς πέντε πλάνητας of the same passage.[6] These thirteen deities will now be examined in succession.

(i.) *Asshur.* This god belongs exclusively to the Pantheon of Assyria. His usual titles are "the great Lord," "the King of all the gods," "he who rules supreme over the gods," and sometimes "the father of the gods," although that title more properly appertains to the second deity of the governing triad. His special attributes are those of

general conclusions with regard to primitive ethnology; yet it is impossible to avoid remarking, in regard to Greek and Roman mythology, that, in addition to the Arian element which forms the basis of both systems, there is a prevailing Semitic character in the one, and a Scythic character in the other. Thus, in Greek mythology, the following names are of undoubted Semitic origin, Κρόνος, Ἔρεβος, Κυβήλη, Κάβειροι, Κάδμος, &c.; whilst in Latin the names of Saturn, Dis, Vulcan, &c., may be suspected to be Scythic. If this distinction, then, be admitted, the inference would seem to be, that the Pelasgians must have belonged to the Assyrian family, and the Etruscans to the Babylonian.

[5] The only cuneiform signs in the mythological vocabulary, which are at all deserving of the name of ideographs or monograms, are the abbreviations, where the initial character stands for the entire word; as in *As* for *As-shur*, *San* for *San-si*, *Pa* for *Paku*, &c.; and even in these cases we cannot be sure but that the monosyllable was the primitive term, and the full name a later compound.

[6] See Cory's Ancient Fragments, p. 26.

sovereignty and power: he is thus called "the giver of the sceptre and crown," "he who establishes empire," "he who lengthens the years of the king's reign and protects his armies and his forts," &c., &c.[7] In the lists upon the clay tablets, which seem to have been drawn up for the purpose of explaining the Babylonian mythology to the Assyrians, he is never mentioned, and we are thus unable to determine his synonyms. His name, however, is written indifferently as *A-shur* and *As-shur*, and sometimes by abbreviation simply as *As*, while in the later inscriptions he is distinguished by an epithet *Khi* (?), which in the lists is attributed to *Anu*. It is not easy to determine the period of the introduction into Assyria of the worship of *Asshur* under that name; for although the kings of Ur, *Ismi-dagon* and *Shamas-Iva*, who founded a temple on the Upper Tigris in the 19th century B. C., are stated in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser I. to have been followers of *Asshur;* yet on the bricks of *Shamas-Iva*, which are still found in the ruins of *Kileh Shergát*, the deity whom he honoured is entitled *Ashit*, which there is good reason to believe was the primitive Chaldæan form of the name.[8] It is further remarkable that, with the exception of this temple at *Kileh Shergát*, there is positively in the whole range of the Assyrian inscriptions, as far as our present experience extends, no other notice of a shrine dedicated to *Asshur*. The country of Assyria derived its title from him; and, as the patron deity of the nation, he also imposed his name on the capital city of *Asshur* (modern *Kileh Shergát*) which was the seat of empire apparently before the building of Nineveh: but it would seem that he was considered, as the head of the Pantheon, of too high a rank to receive the homage of his votaries in any particular or special temple. Probably all the shrines throughout Assyria were open to his worship; but neither is his name to be found in any of the multitudinous lists of idols that have been hitherto examined, nor is *Bit-Asshur* mentioned amongst the temples either of Nineveh or of Calah (*Nimrud*). The Assyrian kings, however, from the earliest times evidently regarded *Asshur* as their special tutelary divinity. They constantly used his name as an element in their own titles; they invoked him on all occasions which referred to the exercise of their sovereign functions. The laws of the empire were the laws of *Asshur:* the tribute payable from dependent kingdoms was the tribute of *Asshur*. He was all and everything as far as Assyrian na-

[7] The Assyrian authorities from which the titles of the gods are chiefly quoted are as follows: 1. The invocation of Sardanapalus, commencing his annals. 2. The invocation of his son, *Shalmanubar* on the Black Obelisk. 3. Sargon's dedication of the eight gates of his city to eight of the principal gods. 4. An invocation on a tablet of *Asshur-bani-pal's;* and, 5. The mythological clay tablets generally. For Babylonian materials the various Inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar, Neriglissar and Nabonidus have all been consulted.

[8] Thus the Samaritan text of Genesis, which has preserved many of the original Hamite names, of which the later Semitic equivalents are alone given in the Hebrew, uses *Astún* for *Asshur*, the termination in *un* being in all probability the Arabic participial nominative. The substitution of *Astun* for Asshur may perhaps, however, be more immediately compared with the Pehlevi forms of *Mitún* for *Mihr* or *Mithra*, *Atún* for *Adar* or *Athro*, "fire," *shatun* for *shahar*, "a city," &c., where the *n* everywhere takes the place of *r*.

tionality was concerned; but he was strictly a local deity, and his name was almost unknown beyond the limits of Assyria Proper. In Armenia his place was taken by a national divinity named *Khaldi* (whence, perhaps, the people were confounded by the Greeks with the *Kaldees* of the South, though the cuneiform names are entirely distinct),[9] while in Babylonia the first place is generally given to *Il* or *Ra*, who was possibly of Egyptian origin, and who was the guardian deity of the primitive Babylon as *Asshur* was of Assyria.[1]

Every god is associated with a goddess; and the supreme female divinity, Beltis or Mylitta, "the mother of the gods," is thus sometimes called the wife of *Asshur:* but this was hardly, it would seem, legitimate mythology, the real "husband of Beltis" and "father of the gods" being the second member of the governing triad, whom it is proposed to call Bel-Nimrud, while the wife of *Asshur*, who appears in the list of gods to whom Tiglath-Pileser II. offered sacrifices after his conquest of Babylonia, is named *Sheruha.*[2]

It is hardly permissible to doubt that *Asshur* must be the deified patriarch of Genesis x. 11, the son of Shem who went forth from Shinar and founded the Assyrian empire. The pagan Greeks were acquainted with the same tradition, and thus derive the name of Assyria, ἀπὸ Ἀσσούρου, τοῦ Σήμου,[3] and in later ages we have also that

[9] The Triad invoked in all the Armenian inscriptions are *Khaldi*, the Sun, and Æther: and when Sargon boasts of having carried off the Armenian gods as trophies from the great city *Mukhatsir*, the same deity is mentioned. Ἄλδος, according to the Etymologicum Magnum, was an epithet of the Jupiter worshipped at Gaza (called by St. Jerome and others *Marnas*, "the lord of men"); but that term is probably Semitic, while we must look for Armenian etymologies in the primitive Scythic of Babylonia, the name of *Akkad*, which denotes Northern Babylonia, being sometimes applied in the inscriptions to Ararat or Armenia. This ethnic connexion, which is also to a certain extent to be traced in the language, would suggest a more direct explanation for the double use of the term Chaldee; but the Chaldees of the South were certainly Semites, while those to the North were to all appearance Scyths, or at any rate Scytho-Arians. The early Syrian fathers seem to have applied the name Chaldæan to the Yezidi heretics (associating them, as they do, with the Marcionites and Manichæans); and the same people are called *Kasdim* by the Mesopotamian Jews to the present day. If this be the case, however, the name has again shifted in modern times, for *Kaldáni* is now adopted by the whole Nestorian race as their proper national title, while the Church restricts the name to Nestorian converts to Catholicism.

[1] This god is more particularly known as the deity from which Babylon derived its name. *Bab-il*, as the cuneiform name is written, signifies "the gate of *Il*," and is the Semitic translation of a Hamite term, *Ka-ra*, which must have been the original title of the place. The name was probably given in allusion to the first establishment of a seat of justice, as it was in "the gate of the palace" or "the gate of the temple" that in early times justice was administered. *Ra* suggests an Egyptian origin, although there is no evidence that the Babylonian god was in any way connected with "the sun." On the contrary, we may infer from the vocabularies, where *Ra* is translated by *Il*, and joined with *sur*, "a king," that it simply meant "a god." or rather perhaps "the god" κατ' ἐξοχήν. Sanchoniathon says that Ἶλος was the same as Κρόνος; but in all the Semitic languages the term has been ever used for "a god" generally.

[2] The name is otherwise written *Sherúya;* but the goddess thus entitled, although included in the general lists, does not appear of that rank which should entitle her, as the wife of *Asshur*, to be placed at the head of the Pantheon.

[3] See Etymologicum Magnum, in voc. Ἀσσυρία.

valuable notice of Damascius on the Babylonian mythology, where he speaks of the primæval pair Ἀσσωρὸς and Μισσαρὴ,[4] and of the triad springing from them Ἀνὸς, Ἴλλινος, and Ἀός, who have their respective representatives in the inscriptions.

At an early period of cuneiform inquiry it was conjectured that the Nisroch of Scripture, whose name is written Ἀσαρὰχ by the LXX.,[5] might be identical with the *Asshur* of the inscriptions, and that the deity in question might be compared with the Saturn of classical mythology, but that hypothesis has been destroyed by the establishment of the simple fact that *Asshur* had no temple at Nineveh in which Sennacherib could have been worshipping when he was slain by his rebellious sons. Nisroch, whom the Talmudists identify with Saturn, is still shrouded in obscurity;[6] but it may be permitted to conjecture that since the god *Asshur*, in company with the gods *Nin* and *Nergal*, is constantly spoken of in the inscriptions as defeating the enemies of the Assyrians with his arrows, and since we have almost direct evidence that the two latter gods are represented respectively by the man-bull and the man-lion, the other or chief member of the protecting triad must be recognised in the winged globe which is so often seen in the sculptures hovering over the Assyrian monarch, and from which a figure with the horned helmet, the sure emblem of divinity, shoots his arrows against the discomfited foe.

The latest historical trace of the god *Asshur* occurs probably in Isidore's notice of the Greek city of Artemita in Babylonia, which under the Parthians is said to have resumed its old title of Χαλάσαρ:[7] this title, which signifies "the fort of Asshur," having been imposed on the place by Tiglath-Pileser II. when he rebuilt the city in about 750 B. C.[8]

We may now consider the triad which in the Assyrian lists usually follows *Asshur*, and in Babylonian mythology heads the Pantheon, or is only preceded by *Ra* or *Il*.

[4] *Missare* (or Κισσαρὴ, as the name is written in some MSS.) may very well be a participial form cognate with *Sheruya*, and signifying merely "the queen." See Cory's Fragments, p. 318.

[5] This (or according to some MSS. Νασαρὰχ) is the orthography used in Is. xxxvii. 38. In 2 Kings xix. 37, the name is written by the LXX. as Μεσοράχ.

[6] See Selden, De Diis Syris, p. 323. The only cuneiform title at all resembling *Nisroch* is one which applies to Nebo, and signifies "king of the soul," reading * * * *rukhi;* but it is very doubtful if *Nis* was ever used for "king" (though the sign which indicates "a king" has that power); and it is still more doubtful if Nebo had any temple at Nineveh. In all probability *Nisroch* it not a genuine reading.

[7] Hudson's Geographi Minores, vol. ii. p. 5.

[8] The locative prefix which occurs in the cuneiform name, and which is of almost universal employment in Assyrian and Babylonian geography, had the true Semitic pronunciation of *Kar;* but it would seem almost certain that this word must have been corrupted very early to *Kal* or *Khal*, from the constant occurrence of that prefix in the Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic correspondents of the old Babylonian names. Thus we have Χαλ-άσαρ, or "the fort of *Asshur;*" Χαλ-άννη, the Septuagint name for Calneh; כל־נבו, *Khal-Nevo*, a famous Babylonian temple mentioned in the Talmud; כלמד, *Chilmad* of Scripture, or كلواذه *Kalwádheh*, "fort of the god *Wád* or *Mád;*" also Χαλταπῆτις of Susiana; حلوان, *Halwán;* and numerous other geographical titles, compounded of the prefix of locality and one of the old names of the Babylonian gods.

(ii.) *Anu.* This is the first member of the triad and appears to answer to Hades or Pluto. His functions, however, are not very clearly defined, nor can the greater part of his titles be explained except conjecturally. One class of epithets refer undoubtedly to "priority" and "antiquity." He is "the old Anu," "the original chief;" perhaps in one case "the father of the gods;" also "the Lord of spirits and dæmons" (?) and like the Greek Πλούτων, "the layer up of treasures" and "the Lord of the earth" or "mountains" (from whence the precious metals were extracted). A very extensive class of synonyms, however, extending to about twenty names, which are found on the tablets, are quite unintelligible except on the supposition that they refer to the infernal regions. There seem to be such titles as "King of the lower world," "Lord of darkness" or "death," "ruler of the far off city," and many similar epithets, but the sense is throughout obscure.

There can be no doubt of the pronunciation of this god's name in Assyrian, as it is declined according to rule, *Anu* (or *Anû*) in the nominative, *Ani* in the genitive, and *Ana* in the accusative.[9] In Babylonian the corresponding name was *Anna* or *Ana*, and it was indeclinable. It signified "The god," κατ' ἐξοχήν, and was no doubt in use among the primitive Babylonians from the very earliest times. There is further a very singular link of connexion, in regard to this god, between Babylonian and classical mythology. It is well known that numbers among the early Chaldeans were supposed to be invested with mystic powers; and in this view probably the system of notation was brought into immediate contact with the Pantheon, the 6 integers in the cycle of 60 being referred to the two triads of the Pantheon.[1] The first triad is thus represented by 60, 50, and 40 respectively; and the second by 30, 20, and 6. The greater number, 60, or 1 soss, indicated by a single wedge 𒁹, becomes accordingly the emblem of the god *Anu*, the head of the first triad; and is invested with phonetic powers according to the names of the god among the races using the cuneiform writing. One of these powers is *Ana*, the ordinary Babylonian name of the god, which thus verifies the usage; the other power, equally well known to cuneiform students, is *Dis*, and this accordingly should be another name of the god. Further, the second city of Babylonia—that which is mentioned in the Bible after Babel, or "the Gate of *Il*," and which was especially dedicated to *Ana*, the god next to *Il* in the Babylonian mythology—was named ארך 'Ορὲχ in the Septuagint version, אוריכות *Urikut* in the Talmud, and modern *Warka* or *Urka.* This city was the great necropolis of Babylonia. Whole mountains of coffins are still to be found there, and it was emphatically "a city of the dead."[2] Can the coincidence then be merely accidental be-

[9] Traces of this name are probably to be found in the 'Αννήδωτος of Berosus, which appears to have been an epithet applied to Oannes, signifying "given by *Anu;*" and in the Phœnician nymph 'Ανωβρὲτ, whose name means "beloved by Anu."

[1] The clay tablet which contains this curious application of numbers to the Babylonian gods, was first noticed by Dr. Hincks in his paper on the Assyrian Mythology in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. xxiii. p. 405.

[2] By the Greek geographers the city in question is named 'Ορχόη. For a de-

tween *Dis*, the Lord of *Urka*, the city of the dead, and Dis, the King of Orcus or Hades?

Whatever may be thought of this assimilation, it is certain at any rate that the great temple at *Warka*, one of the oldest in the country, and the site of which is now marked by the ruins of *Bowárieh*, was called *Bit Ana* after the god in question, though from a very remote epoch the worship of Beltis seems to have superseded that of *Ana* in the temple of *Warka*, and to have become so famous that in the later Babylonian inscriptions she is generally noticed as "the lady of *Bit Ana*."

The temple also, previously referred to, which *Shamas-Iva* raised in the capital of Assyria in the 19th century B. C., and which was afterwards repaired by Tiglath-Pileser I. in the 13th century B. C., was dedicated to *Anu* and his son *Iva;* and it was probably on this account that the city obtained the name of Τελάνη (Mound of *Anu*), equally with its national designation of *Asshur.*[3] *Anu* appears to have been without any special temples either at Nineveh, or Calah, or even at Babylon; but Sargon, at *Dur-Sargina*, evidently had him in great honour, and thus dedicated to him, in conjunction with Astarte, the western gate of the city.[4]

Anu is usually found in conjunction with the other two members of the triad, precisely as we have Anus, Illinus, and Aüs associated by Damascius; but the name sometimes occurs in union with another single god, where the connexion cannot be so certainly explained. Thus Sardanapalus calls himself simply, "he who honours *Anu*," or more frequently, "he who honours *Anu* and *Dagon;*" and the same association of the two names is also found on the obelisk of *Shamas-Iva*. Who the god Dagon is, however, is still one of the obscurities of the mythology. He cannot, as has been conjectured, have anything to do with the water-god, as the name does not occur in the complete list which is given entire on one of the tablets, of the 36 synonyms of the latter divinity.[5] It is indeed extremely doubtful if the name Dagon has anything to do with דג, "a fish," or with the Phœnician דגון; for in one passage of the inscriptions the pair are mentioned—*Da-Gan* for the male, and *Da-las* for the female—as if both the names were compounds; and the explanation attached would seem to show that the titles appertained to the great gods Belus and Beltis.

Sargon again, who appears to have had *Anu* in especial honour, in consequence of his own name being the same, or nearly the same, as

scription of the ruins as they exist at present, see Loftus's Chaldæa and Susiana, p. 162, et seqq.

[3] See Steph. de Urbibus in voc. *Telane* is described as the city where the kings of Assyria dwelt before the building of Nineveh, and can thus, it would seem, only answer to Asshur.

[4] It should be added that one of the principal metals, either "lead" or "tin," was named after *Anu*, as "iron" was after Hercules, but the phonetic connexion is not at present apparent.

[5] In this list, however, there is a name referring to the water-god in his character of "the sentient fish," which reads *Da-gana-sisi*, but has no connexion apparently with *Da-Gan*. The Phœnician Dagon indeed is translated by Sanchoniathon Σίτων, that is "bread-corn."

that of the eldest son of the god, associates him in his royal titles with the second god of the triad, whom for convenience sake we may call "Bel Nimrud;" while in placing the four gates of his city each under the double guardianship of two deities, he joins *Anu* and *Astarte*, though that goddess was certainly not his wife, nor was she in any way mythologically connected with him. His wife is named in the lists *Anata* or *Anuta*, and she has precisely the same epithets as himself, with a mere difference of gender, but she is rarely if ever mentioned in the historical or geographical inscriptions. Their progeny at the same time appears to have been large. A list of nine names is given on one tablet, commencing with *Sargana*, *Latarak*, *Esh-gula*, and *Emu;* but little is known of these gods beyond their names. Two other sons who are not mentioned in this list are of more importance. One of these is Æther, the god of the air, whose name is doubtfully read as *Iva;* and it may perhaps be allowed to trace a connexion before this filiation, and the Greek tradition of Æther being the son of Erebus, the more especially as Erebus is itself an Assyrian term referring to "darkness,"[6] which was one of the attributes of *Anu*. Another god, who is well known in Assyrian and Babylonian mythology as *Martu*, is also stated on many cylinder-seals to be the son of *Anu*. This god may be suspected to be himself the Erebus of the Greeks, as the name *Martu* signifies "after" or "behind;"[7] and is thus applied to "the west," being in fact a synonym of *Erib* (original of Ἔρεβος), which refers directly to "the setting sun," and tropically both to "the west" and "darkness." It may be added that the name *Martu* is further applied to Phœnicia in cuneiform geography, as the extreme western point with which the Babylonians were acquainted (compare Βραθὺ of Sanchoniathon),[8] and that the descent of *Martu* from *Anu* would thus seem to point to the Mosaical tradition of Sidon and Heth, and the other Syrian colonies, being descended from Ham, as that patriarch must of course answer to *Anu*, if the Noachide triad be compared with the Babylonian.[9]

(iii.) The phonetic reading of the name of the second god of the triad must be still a matter of speculation. There can be little doubt that in his character and position he answers to the great father Jupiter of the Romans; and it is equally certain that the primary element of his name is *Bil*, the Lord; yet he cannot represent the true Babylonian Belus, of later times, and for the following reasons:—That god is almost certainly the same as Merodach. In the only known proper names

[6] *Ereb* signifies in Assyrian "setting," that is "the west," and hence "darkness." It is a cognate term with Europa, which also signifies setting, or the west, as Asia signifies "rising," or "the east."

[7] It is thus translated in the vocabularies by *akharru*, the Hebrew אחר; and the latter name is applied in the inscriptions to Phœnicia, "the western country," indifferently with *Martu*.

[8] *Brathu* is joined in Sanchoniathon with Cassius Libanus and Anti-Libanus, and there can be no doubt, therefore, of its representing a geographical name.

[9] *Martu* is stated on one tablet to be "the minister of the deep," as if he were connected with *Héa;* on another tablet his title is *Mulu-Kharris*, perhaps "the lord of architecture." His wife is the lady of *Tigganna*. Tiglath-Pileser I. erected a temple to him at Calah in conjunction with *Bel-Vara* (*Kileh-Shergat* Cylinder, col. 6, line 88); but the name is not often met with in other historical inscriptions.

where *Bel* occurs as an element (*Nadinta-Bil* at *Behistun*, and *Bil-shar-uzur* for *Belshazzar*), the god's name is written with the sign signifying *Bil*, a lord, preceded by the determinative of divinity, *Il* or *An*, *but without any adjunct.* The same orthography is employed in connexion with the goddess *Zirbanit*, who was notoriously the wife of Merodach, and there only. The names of Bel-Merodach are also sometimes actually found in conjunction.[10] Again, the famous temple of Belus of Herodotus is the temple of Merodach in the inscriptions; and lastly, the exact genealogy is given for Belus in Damascius, son of Ἀὸς and Δαύκη, which in the mythological tablets applies to Merodach. If Merodach then be the true Belus of history, it is evident that this earlier and more powerful god could not have had the same identical name.

The name in question is written with the determinative of a god, the sign *Bil*, "a lord," and a qualificative adjunct, either simple or compound, on which the whole mystery of the name depends. Now this adjunct in the vocabularies, when joined with other nouns, is frequently translated by *iprat;* and the reading is further verified by our finding that the city which was named after the god—its title being in fact a mere reproduction of the name with the sign of locality affixed, instead of the determinative of divinity prefixed—is translated in Semitic by *Nipur.* It may then fairly be assumed that the great god in question was in Semitic named *Bilu-Nipru*, and that the great goddess, the mother of the gods, who is always associated with him as his wife, was entitled *Bilta-Niprut.* Before pointing out the very important consequences of this proposed Semitic reading, the old Babylonian nomenclature however must be concluded. In the dialects of the South, the equivalents of *Bilu* and *Bilta* were *Enu*, *Enuta*, and *Mul*, *Multa.* With the latter are no doubt to be compared the Μόλις of Nicolaus[1] and the Μύλιττα of Herodotus[2] and Hesychius;[3] and the former term, *Enu* or (with the antecedent determinative pronounced) *Il-enu*, is probably the original of the Ἴλλινος of Damascius. Other Babylonian names of the god, such as *Bi* (?)-*Eli*, *Asinir*, &c., are of less moment.

We will now consider the terms *Nipru* and *Niprut.*[4] It is impossible to overlook the similarity of these titles, especially the feminine *Niprut*, to the Greek Νεβρώθ; and the more we examine the subject, the more reason we find to suspect that if there be any connexion, as has been so often surmised, between the great Belus of Babylonian tradition and

[10] As on the tablet so often quoted, which applies "numbers" to the gods of the Pantheon.

[1] See Müller's Fragm. Hist. Gr. vol. iii. p. 361, note 16. Müller alters the reading to Μύλιττα, very unnecessarily.

[2] Herod. i. 131 and 199.

[3] Hesychius in voc. writes Μυλήταν. It has hitherto been customary to compare the Mylitta of Herodotus with the Syriac *Mulidtha*, "genetrix;" but it is very doubtful if the root ילד, common to all the other Semitic languages, was known to the Assyrian. At any rate *Multa*, as the feminine of *Mul*, is a far more satisfactory etymology.

[4] It must be understood that in no case are these titles, phonetically written, attached to the names of Belus and Beltis. They are merely assumed as the Semitic equivalents of the abbreviated Hamite adjuncts which qualify the terms "Lord" and "Lady" in these names.

the Biblical Nimrud, and if this connexion can be verified from native sources, then we are on the right track in seeking to identify the above-mentioned names. For instance, Babylon is sometimes called in the inscriptions the city of *Bilu-Nipru*;[5] and the inner and outer city, even as late as the days of Nebuchadnezzar, were known as the *Nimat Bilu-Nipru* and the *Ingur Bilu-Nipru*,[6] in exact accordance both with the Greek accounts of Babylon having been the capital of the first Belus, and of the Biblical record that the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom was Babel, &c.; and it should be observed that these cuneiform notices are quite distinct from the later and more sacerdotal connexion of Babylon with the second Belus, or Bel-Merodach. But the most interesting evidence is to be found in relation to the sister capital of *Niffer*. This place, which had the same name as the god, is called *Nipur* in Semitic cuneiform. The Talmud calls it *Nopher*, and identifies it with Calneh, one of Nimrod's capitals.[7] Calno again, in Isaiah x. 9, is explained by the LXX. as the place in the land of Babylon where the tower was built; and with reference to the tower, if anything is to be found in the inscriptions, it can only be the notices of a most famous temple, *Kharris-Nipra*, which was an object of intense veneration to the Assyrian kings; which was the especial dwelling-place of *Bilu-Nipru*,[8] and which seems moreover to have been in the city of *Niffer*, that city indeed being especially dedicated to the god and goddess *Bilu-Nipru* and *Bilta-Niprut*, who respectively bore the titles of Lord of *Nipra* and Lady of *Nipra*, in allusion apparently to this temple, or rather perhaps to the district in which it was placed.[9] Other points of evidence are the Arab tradition,

[5] See Khors. Inscrip. 151, 11, 4. The construction however in this passage is not quite clear, and cannot be implicitly relied on.

[6] These titles, which are probably of Hamite rather than Semitic origin, are first met with in an inscription of Esar-haddon. It also appears from the mythological tablets, that each of these divisions of the city had a special tutelary deity to watch over it.

[7] The tract quoted is the *Yoma*, which is of very respectable antiquity, dating probably from the 2nd century.

[8] The phonetic reading of the second element of this name is very doubtful; and the position of the temple is almost equally uncertain. For its being the dwelling-place of Bel-Nimrod, see Khors. Ins. 131, 19; and for general allusions to its wealth, its splendour, and its antiquity, compare Tiglath-Pileser Cylinder, col. 1, l. 26; Brit. Mus. series, p. 70, l. 23; *Shamas-Iva* Obelisk, col. 1, l. 32, &c. The second element may mean "the left hand country," or that where Shem settled. It is the special geographical title taken by Bel-Nimrod and Beltis on the bricks excavated from their temples at *Akkerkuf* and *Warka*, but is otherwise unknown. *Kharris* (compare חרש) is prefixed to the names of many temples, in allusion to the workmanship or architecture of the buildings. If *Nipra* should be the true reading, we can hardly doubt its connexion with *Nipru* and *Nipur*, although the latter terms are Semitic, and the former to all appearance Hamite, and although the cuneiform orthography is entirely dissimilar. The word, however, may be read *Shatra* or *Kurra*, equally as well as *Nipra*, and there are geographical arguments in favour of either of those readings. The cuneiform word for "a horse" is written in precisely the same way as the name in question, though of course with a different determinative, but even there the phonetic reading is uncertain.

[9] The name of *Nipra* is of double employment in connexion with Bel-Nimrod and Beltis; that is, as a country of which they were the patrons, and as the name of a temple in which they dwelt, the temple of *Nipra* being indeed to all appearance a distinct place from the temple of *Kharris-Nipra*, already spoken of.

certainly ante-Islamic, that Niffer was the original Babylon,[10] and (in allusion to the tower) that it was the scene of Nimrud's daring attempt to mount on eagle's wings to heaven.[1]

The etymological evidence remains. After mature deliberation, no better explanation can be obtained for *Nipru* and *Niprut* than "the hunter" and "huntress." The root *napar*, although unknown in Hebrew, means in Syriac "to pursue," or "make flee;" and the word *iprat*, used in the vocabularies in reference to "waters," with the sense apparently of "swift-running," must come from the neuter verb *apar*, kindred, if not absolutely identical with the active *napar*. The verb *napar* is not often used in the inscriptions, except in reference to this particular god, but in such cases is of great importance in verifying the phonetic reading. Thus Tiglath-Pileser I. describes himself as "the mighty chief, who being armed with the mace of power" (the emblem of royalty, but also a favourite weapon of the chace) "*pursues after*" (or "hunts") "the people of *Bilu-Nipru;*" and again speaks of his ancestor, *Asshur-dapal-il*, as "the holder of the mace of power; *the pursuer after* the people of *Bilu-Nipru.*"[2] Sargon also speaks of "the 350 kings from remote antiquity, who ruled over Assyria and *pursued after* the people of *Bilu-Nipru*," the verb *napar* being used in each passage, and the allusion apparently being to the original *Nipru*, or Nimrud, having proved his power as "a mighty hunter" (of men) "before the Lord." As far as the actual chace of wild animals was concerned, *Bilu-Nipru*, in the Assyrian period, had ceased to be regarded as its patron. He had abdicated his functions in favour of *Nergal*, with whom, as will be afterwards explained, he was also, it would appear, ethnically confounded; but his wife, the great goddess, *Bilta-Niprut*, continued to the latest period to preside over "the chace;" and in her character of "Lady of the city *Nipur*," where she was perhaps worshipped exclusively as "the great huntress," was regarded as the wife of another god, *Nin*, who shared with *Nergal* the duty of protecting hunters in their dangerous exploits.

Against all this argument, which, under ordinary circumstances, would be conclusive, there is the insuperable objection that the Biblical reading is Nimrud, and not *Nipru*, and that the terms are not orthographically convertible, so that, notwithstanding the series of extraordinary coincidences that have been noticed, we must still remain in doubt if the Biblical Nimrud has been discovered.

The ordinary epithets of Bel-Nimrod, which for convenience he may still be called,[3] are, "the supreme, the father of the gods, the procre-

[10] This is given on the authority of *Ibn Kalbi*, who was one of the oldest and most trustworthy of the Arab traditionists.

[1] See Yacut's Geograph. Lexicon in voc., where many other interesting notices are given of Niffer from the early authors.

[2] See Shergat Cylinder, col. 1, l. 32, and col. 7, l. 39. The quotation from Sargon occurs on all the Khorsabad Bulls, and on the Cylinder, l. 35. The use of the terms *valtanppiru* and *iltanapparu* seems to be a play on the name *Nipru;* though in a corresponding passage of an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar (Sir T. Phillips's Cylinder, col. 1, l. 3) *musteshir*, "the director," is used for *valtanppiru*, "the pursuer."

[3] There are, no doubt, inconsistencies in the employment of the cuneiform group

ator," also, "the Lord, king of all the spirits, father of the gods, lord of the countries." A full list of his titles has not yet been found, though many synonyms for his name occur incidentally on the tablets. He is most ordinarily associated with his wife *Bilta-Niprut*, as in the dedication of the eastern gate at Khorsabad, when Sargon calls him "the establisher of the foundations of my city;" but in the various invocations of the kings, who all acknowledge him, he is found sometimes joined with *Anu*, and sometimes with his son *Nin*.

His temples do not seem to have been very numerous. He had four *arks* or "tabernacles," but the only temple recorded as belonging to him in Assyria was at Calah, and even in Babylonia we only know of the great shrine of *Kharris-Nipra*, supposed to have been situated at Niffer, and of a smaller edifice raised to him at *Akkarkuf* by the early king *Durri-galazu*.

Of his officers and relatives there are many incidental notes. His throne-keepers were *Bel-Nugi* and *Shezir*, and scores of other unknown names are connected with him. *Nin* or Hercules was undoubtedly his son, and *Sin*, "the moon," is also sometimes included in the same category. In fact, as the father of all the gods, he might claim an almost infinite paternity.

His numerical symbol was 50, the next integer to the *Soss*, which denoted *Anu*, but the phonetic riddle involved probably in the numeral has not been discovered, nor is there any sculptured figure which can be reasonably supposed to represent him.

(iv.) The 3rd god of the triad, who thus answers to Neptune or Ποσειδῶν, was probably named *Hea* or *Hoa*. His titles are numerous, and his character is as clearly defined as we could desire. Although corresponding with Neptune as the third member of the triad, and in many respects exercising the same functions, he was not, strictly speaking, "the god of the Sea." That title is never found amongst his epithets, but applies rather to *Nín*, who unites to his maritime sovereignty the somewhat incongruous attributes of Hercules and Saturn. The two gods, indeed, *Héa* and *Nín*, although in reality quite distinct, seem to have been identified by Berosus, and are to a certain extent even confounded in the inscriptions. *Héa* or *Hoa* was the presiding deity of "the

for *Bil*, with or without the adjunct, which make it most difficult to distinguish between Bel-Nimrod and Bel-Merodach. Thus in the great inscription of Nebuchadnezzar on the India-House slab, the existence of Bel-Nimrod as a separate god is ignored, and the compound group which represents the name is used with the simple phonetic power of *Bilu* as a mere epithet of Merodach's, and with the meaning of "a lord;" whilst in the inscription of the same king on Sir T. Phillips's Cylinder, the passage just quoted (col. 1, l. 3) reads "he who guides, or directs, the people of Bel-Nimrod, the Sun and Merodach," the two Bels being thus clearly distinguished. Again, on all the small Babylonian cylinders of the Achæmenian period published by Grotefend, in the names of the witnesses, the group for Bel is invariably used without the adjunct, in allusion apparently to Merodach, and with the sound of *Bilu*; but on the Warka tablets of the Seleucian period, the name of Merodach is disused, and in its place we have two varieties of the group indicating Bel-Nimrod, employed independently, as if they were distinct gods. From all this we can only infer that the mythological system itself, as well as its mode of expression, was to the last degree lax and fluctuating.

abyss," or "the great deep."[4] He is called "the King, the Chief, the Lord, the Ruler of the Abyss," also "the King of Rivers," but never "the King of the Sea." His most important titles refer, however, to his functions as the source of all *knowledge* and *science*. He is "the intelligent fish" (or guide); "the teacher of mankind;" "the lord of understanding;" answering, in fact, exactly, as far as functions are concerned, to the *Oannes* of Berosus, although the Chaldean annalist would seem to have borrowed the pictorial representation from the other god *Nín*.[5] The name of Ὦη, which Helladius uses for the mystic animal, half man, half fish, who came up from the Persian Gulf to teach astronomy and letters to the first settlers on the Tigris and Euphrates,[6] more nearly reproduces the cuneiform *Hea* or *Hoa*, and there can be little doubt but that Damascius, under the form of Ἀὸς, intends to represent the same appellation. There are no means at present of determining the precise meaning of the cuneiform *Héa*, which is Babylonian rather than Assyrian, but it may reasonably be supposed to be connected with the Arabic حية, *Hiya*, which equally signifies "life," and "a serpent;" for *Héa* is not only "the god of knowledge," but also "of life" (and besides of "glory" and of giving"), and there are very strong grounds indeed for connecting him with the serpent of Scripture and with the Paradisiacal traditions of the tree of knowledge and the tree of life.[7]

Amongst the stars he was known under the name of *Kimmut*, which recalls to mind the כימה of Scripture, and suggests that the expression "binding the bands of *Kimmah*" refers rather to the coil which the serpent of Babylonian mythology has wound around the heavens, than to the "soft influences of the Pleiades," as we tamely and without warrant translate the passage. For the present, indeed, we may believe that *Kimmut* was the constellation Draco, and that the god *Héa* is figured by the great serpent which occupies so conspicuous a place among the symbols of the gods on the black stones recording Babylonian benefactions.

Upon one of the tablets in the British Museum there is a list of 36

[4] The Babylonian term translated by "the deep" or "the abyss" may be read *Zóp*, which certainly recalls to mind the epithet סוּף, applied in Scripture not only to the Red Sea, as is generally supposed, but also to the ocean, and used likewise with the same universal application in the books of the Mendæans; but the phonetic equivalents of *Zóp* are stated in the vocabularies to be *Apzu* or *Apzú*, a mere transposition of the signs contained in the original term, which would thus seem to be non-phonetic. *Apzu* has been compared with the Hebrew אפס, "an extremity," in allusion to the circumambient ocean; and it is remarkable that a very similar etymology has been assigned to the name of Neptune from an Egyptian source (Νέφθυν . . . . τῆς γῆς τὰ ἔσχατα καὶ παρόρια καὶ ψαύοντα τῆς θαλάσσης, Plut. de Is. et Osir., ii. p. 366), but it is questionable if any Semitic correspondent is to be found for *Apzu*, as the word is of Hamite origin.

[5] See the description in Cory's Fragments, p. 22.

[6] See the extracts from Helladius in Phot. Biblioth. (cclxxix. p. 1594). The description which he gives of a human figure covered with a fish's skin exactly coincides with the sculpture in the British Museum.

[7] It would be most interesting to trace the connexion between this early adoration of the serpent, "the most subtle of the beasts of the field," and the Ophite worship of later times; but the subject is too large for a mere note.

synonyms indicating this god. The greater part of these relate either to "the abyss" or to knowledge; but we also find *Héa* named "the Lord of the Earth," "the Prince of Heaven," "the lesser Bel-Nimrod," and he has other titles which seem equally inappropriate. In fact, he is often, it would seem, confounded with other gods. Thus on the Black Obelisk he is designated as "the layer-up of treasures," a character which properly belongs to *Anu*, "lord of the lower world;" while at Khorsabad, where the southern gate is dedicated to him, in concert with *Bilat Ili*, the expression relating to him is, "he who regulates the aqueducts," although *aqueducts*, which were of great importance to Assyria, seem equally with "the sea" to have been under the special care of *Nín*. The most embarrassing question, however, refers to his relationship with the other gods. *Nín* or Hercules is well known, from Michaux's stone and other sources, as the son of Bel-Nimrod, and on the *Shamas-Iva* obelisk, which is dedicated to him, this descent is again distinctly stated; but in all the invocations to the same god at Calah, descent is claimed in a similarly constructed passage from the star *Kimmut*, as if the real father of *Nín* had been the lesser Bel-Nimrod, rather than the greater one. The god Nebo, also, in the inscription on the statues in the British Museum, assumes the same title of "son of the star *Kimmut;*" and as Nebo, answering to Hermes or Mercury, was strictly the god of writing and science, his connexion with the Serpent, the source of all knowledge, appears to be only natural. It would seem, indeed, that both these gods, *Héa* and *Nebo*, are indifferently symbolised by "the wedge" or "arrowhead," the essential element of cuneiform writing, to indicate that they were the inventors, or, at any rate, the patrons of the Babylonian alphabet. Another god, whom we must also recognise as a son of *Héa's*, from his position in the mythological lists, is Bel-Merodach, the mother of this deity being named *Dav-Kina*, and a remarkable verification being thus obtained of the statement of Damascius, τοῦ δὲ Ἀοῦ καὶ Δαύκης υἱὸν γενέσθαι τὸν Βῆλον.[8]

This god was very extensively worshipped. As his name is found on a very ancient stone tablet from *Ur* (*Mugheir*), which in those early times was probably the maritime emporium of the Persian Gulf, he may be presumed to have had a shrine in that city, and temples were also dedicated to him both at *Asshur* (*Kileh Shergát*) and at Calah.[9] There is a remarkable phrase in an inscription of Sardanapalus on the great bulls in the British Museum, in which the king himself takes the titles of *Héa*. He says, "I am Sardanapalus, the intelligent priest, the sentient guide (or fish);[1] the senses of speaking, hearing, and understanding, which

[8] *Dav-kina* is constantly given on the tablets as the wife of *Héa*, and she has for the most part the same titles as her husband, with a mere distinction of gender. The name probably signifies "the first lady," or "the chief lady," *dav* or *dam* being a Hamite name for "lady," identical with our *dame*, ma*dame*, &c.

[9] On several of the tablets it is stated that *Héa* was the tutelar god of the city ot *Khalkha*, but there is no clue to the identification of the site. The name, indeed, may simply mean "the shrine of the fish," for the cuneiform character formed of the figure of a fish, and indicating that object, has the phonetic value of *kha*, which is thus shown to have signified "a fish" in the primitive language of Babylon; and the use of *Khal* as a locative prefix has been already noticed.

[1] The use of the same signs which represent a fish, and which with that meaning

Héa allotted to the whole 4000 gods of heaven and earth, they in the fullness of their hearts granted to me, adding to these gifts empire, and power, and dominion," &c. He is generally met with, however, in his more material capacity as "the patron of the deep." When Sennacherib, in his second expedition against the fugitive Merodach-Baladan brought down a flotilla of boats to the mouth of the Euphrates and drove his enemy from the islands to seek shelter with the king of Susiana, he offered sacrifices for his victory to *Héa* upon the sea-shore, and dedicated to him a golden boat, a golden fish, and a golden coffer (?). *Héa* had one special ark, but in what shrine it was deposited does not appear. His numerical symbol was 40, and the sign, otherwise unusual, occurs often in his titles, but its phonetic import has not been recognised. The only Babylonian city which there is any reason to suppose was named after the god in question is that famous one which contained the bitumen pits near to Babylon. This city is termed Ἴς by Herodotus,[2] with the Greek nominatival ending. In Isidore it has the title of Ἀεί-πολις, or *Héa's* city. Later an adjunct alluding to the bitumen pits was added to the proper name *Héa*, and we have thus Ἰδικάρα in Ptolemy; *Ihi da kira* (יהי־ד־קירא) in the Talmud, and Dacira alone in the historians of Julian.[3] In its present form of *Hit* it nearly retains the old name of the god, augmented with the feminine ending of locality.

(v.) With the preceding triad must be joined the supreme goddess, who has already been partially alluded to as the wife of *Bel-Nimrud*, but who is generally invoked as a separate and very powerful divinity. There is considerable difficulty in discriminating the various goddesses of the Pantheon as they occur in the inscriptions, owing to the very near resemblance of their titles, and to the not unfrequent confusion of these titles one with the other. Their functions, however, and their proper names, can be very precisely distinguished. "The great goddess" was called *Mulita* or *Enuta* in Babylonia, and *Bilta* or *Bilta Nipruta* in Semitic Assyrian. In *Mulita* and *Bilta* we have of course the Μύλιττα and Βῆλτις or Βήλθης of the Greeks,[4] the signification of both words being simply "the lady" or "queen," κατ' ἐξοχήν.[5] The special feature of her

would be pronounced in Assyrian as *nun*, as titles of honour, is very remarkable, and can only be explained as a relic of the mythical traditions of *Héa* and Oannes. The famous title of *rubu emga* (the רבמג of Scripture) is one of these hybrid epithets, and might perhaps be translated "the Magian fish" (or "the fish who instructs in magic"), as well as "the chief priest." Selden (De Diis Syris, p. 197) has collected a vast number of Greek notices with regard to the sacred character of the fish among the ancient Assyrians, and many of these notices can be very strikingly illustrated from the inscriptions; but it is a mere waste of ingenuity to seek to connect this fish-worship with the name of Derceto or Atargatis, supposed to be corrupted from *Adir Daga*.

[2] Book i. ch. 179.

[3] See note [9] on Book i. ch. 179.

[4] According to Hesychius, Βήλθης was either Juno or Venus. In another passage, however, he gives to the Babylonian Juno the name of Ἄδα, which has not yet been recognised in the inscriptions.

[5] The foot-note on Book i. ch. 131 (note [4]) must be regarded as modified by the statements in the text.

name, however, that which distinguishes her from the other "ladies" and "queens" of the Pantheon, is the qualificative adjunct which has already been discussed under the head of Bel-Nimrud. Her ordinary titles are "wife of Bel-Nimrud" and "mother of the great gods," though in one passage she is called "the wife of Asshur;" and under a particular form, that is as "the lady of *Nipur*," she also appears as the wife of *Nin*, or Hercules. She is of course the famous Dea Syria who was worshipped at Hierapolis, and the Syriac name of that city, "*Mabog*," is a simple Persian translation of her favourite epithet, "mother of the gods." The great difficulty in the inscriptions is to distinguish her from *Ishtar* or Venus, some particular signs, such as the number 15, being applied to both goddesses in common, and the superintendence of war and hunting being also perhaps ascribed to each.

Her temples were very numerous. The bricks in the great ruin named *Bowárieh* at *Warká*, for the most part bear her superscription, although the temple to which they belong was especially called *Bit Ana*, or "the House of *Anu*," an explanation being thus afforded of the title which she often bears both in the Babylonian cylinder-seals and in the great inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, of "the lady of *Bit Ana*." In the latter document, where she is noticed in connexion with her temple outside the wall of Babylon, she is called "the Queen of fecundity" or "fertility;" and an analogous title is assigned to her at Khorsabad, where, in conjunction with her husband Bel-Nimrud, she presides over the eastern gate of the city. She is also named "the Queen of the lands," with the same allusion, on the numerous tablets excavated from her temple on the great mound of *Koyunjik;* and she thus, both in name and character, may be compared to the Δημήτηρ of the Greeks. She had temples both at *Ur* (*Mugheir*) and in the city now marked by the ruins of *Zerghúl;*[6] and of the great capital of *Nipur* (*Niffer*), named after her husband, she was the especial patroness, though, as "the lady of *Nipur*," she is every where spoken of as the wife of *Nin.*[7] In Assyria she was equally well known as in Babylonia, but it is less easy to distinguish her. In the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser, where her temple is noticed at *Asshur* (*Shergát*), she is named the wife of the god *Asshur*, in allusion probably to her place at the head of the Pantheon. It is again impossible to distinguish whether the great temple at *Nimrud* (Calah), from which was brought the open-mouthed lion now in the British Museum,

[6] The legend on the bricks of *Ismi-dagon*, from the mound south of the big ruin at *Mugheir*, terminates with an address to Beltis, as if she was the presiding deity of the place, though her temple is not specifically named. The same evidence of her local worship is afforded by the legends on the bricks and clay cones of Zerghul; and in addition to this testimony we have the statement of Sennacherib on the *Nebbi Yunus* stone, that in his Babylonian campaign he carried off as trophies Beltis of *Warka* and Beltis of *Rubesi*, the latter name applying to the city of which the ruins are now called *Zerghul.*

[7] A further description will be given of Beltis, in her character of "lady of Nipur," under the head of *Nin.* That the goddess worshipped at *Nipur*, and styled "the lady of Nipur," was in reality Beltis, and not an independent divinity, is proved not merely by the name of the place, but by an inscription on a black stone among the ruins of Niffer, which contains an invocation to Beltis, the name of the goddess being given in its most ordinary and certain form.

belonged to her or to *Ishtar;* for although the name on the lion, and which is repeated in reference to the same temple in other inscriptions of Sardanapalus, represents Beltis or Mylitta, being simply "queen of the land,"[8] still the epithets, "the great goddess," "the beginning of heaven and earth," "the queen of all the gods," and especially "goddess of war and battle," are the particular titles of *Ishtar.*[9]

At Nineveh (*Koyunjik*) she had also a temple, from whence a vast number of inscribed slabs have been excavated, recording the restoration of the edifice, and its re-dedication to the goddess by *Asshur-bani-pal* after his successful campaign in Susiana. On these slabs the goddess is indicated indifferently by the name of *Bilta-Niprut*, and by the number 15, either expressed in figures or by the sign *Ri;* and it might be presumed, therefore, that when Esar-haddon invokes the goddess XV. of Nineveh, and the goddess XV. of Arbela, he is alluding to the same divinity. Yet the Arbela goddess was certainly *Ishtar*, and not Beltis; and as *Ishtar* had also a great temple on the mound of *Koyunjik* founded by Sardanapalus, she may be throughout the deity addressed by Esarhaddon. One of the broken clay tablets contains a list of 12 names belonging to her, with their explanations; and among these may be recognised "the holder of the sceptre," "the beginning of the beginning," "the one great queen," "the queen of the spheres," &c.

As she has no functions, it would appear, in common with the Moon, it is hardly allowable to connect her numerical symbol of XV. with the day of the full moon; nor perhaps is it anything more than accidental that the Babylonian word which answers to 15, and by which the goddess is commonly known, *Ri*, should so nearly resemble the Ῥέα of the Greeks. The same goddess must have been worshipped in Armenia, as the sign *Ri* with the determinative of divinity commences some of the royal names in the inscriptions of Van; but there is no satisfactory evidence to show how the name may have been pronounced in that country. Perhaps the safest distinction will be to give her the name of Mulita in Babylonia, and of Beltis in Assyria.[1]

[8] The title translated "queen of the land" is of rare occurrence, and of doubtful signification. Where the title occurs on Michaux's stone, in immediate union with the three great gods, *Anu*, Bel-Nimrod, and *Hea*, it can only apply to Beltis in her character of "wife of Bel-Nimrod" and "mother of the gods;" but the invocation on the open-mouthed lion (as will be subsequently explained at length), although the same, or an equivalent, title is made use of, is certainly addressed to the wife of the god *Nin*. The only way of reconciling these discrepancies of usage is by supposing Beltis to have had two distinct characters; one in which she was "the wife of Bel-Nimrod," and the other in which she was "the wife of *Nin*," being worshipped under the former character at Warka, and under the latter at Niffer. The Assyrians, imperfectly acquainted, perhaps, with the Babylonian system, seem of the two characters to have made two distinct goddesses.

[9] The application of the same epithets to *Ishtar* and to the wife of *Nin* must not be regarded as of any consequence. They were both goddesses of war, but were worshipped as such at different periods of history.

[1] The Mylitta of Herodotus has been generally referred to the root , and translated "genetrix," but there is no evidence that such a verb was ever used either in Assyrian or Babylonian. *Mul* is constantly given on the mythological tablets as the exact equivalent of *Bil*, and *Mulita* may thus be considered the Hamite correspondent to the Semitic *Bilta*, "a lady."

(vi.) We now come to the group composed of Æther, the Sun, and the Moon. The reading of the name of the god who represents the sky, or Æther, continues to be the chief phonetic difficulty of cuneiform mythology. The evidence upon which the name has been hitherto read *Phul* or *Vul* is of the most unsatisfactory description, being in fact almost restricted to the presumed identity of a certain Assyrian king who seems to have closed the upper dynasty of the empire with the *Pul* of Scripture and the Bolochus of the Greek chronologers. If this identification fail —and it has never been anything more than a conjecture—the reading of *Phul* or *Vul* must fall with it. In that case we might adopt the reading of *Ben*, because the name of the god in question forms the first element of a royal Syrian title which seems to belong to the king *Ben-hadad* of Scripture, or, following the normal phonetic value of the sign which represents the god—and this, as far, at least, as Babylonian mythology is concerned, must always be considered—we might be content with the alphabetic power *Iva* or *Eva*, and might recognise the title in the many Babylonian and Assyrian words containing this syllable (comp. Εὐήχιος, Εὐεδώρεσχος, Εὐέδωκος, Ἐνεύγαμος, Ἐνεύβουλος, Evorita, &c.). It ought to be some assistance to us in reading the Assyrian name of the god that it is equivalent in pronunciation to a Babylonian term (written simply *va*) which indicates "a Chief" or "Lord," and thus interchanges with the well-known terms *Bel*, *Mul*, *Nin*, *Sar*, *Rub*, &c., but it is at present impossible to select any one of these synonyms with more confidence than another, as the phonetic correspondent of the name. If, on the other hand, we looked to mere local tradition, a more probable reading would seem to be *Aïr* or *Aür*, well-known gods of the Mendæan Pantheon, who presided over the firmament; and we might then compare the Greek Οὐρανὸς (*Aür-an*, the god *Ur*) as a cognate title, and might further explain the Ὀροτὰλ of Herodotus as a compound term, including the male and female divinities of the material heaven.[2] In the midst of such uncertainty, the safest course seems to be to follow the ordinary phonetic law, and to adopt the form of *Iva* as a provisional reading, and in default of any better nomenclature.[3]

[2] This explanation of the term Ὀροτὰλ (*Ur* and *Tal*) is only hazarded on the possible assumption that the latter name applies to the goddess of the sky; but it is almost certain that *Tal* is an erroneous reading, and that the true form of the name is *Shala*.

[3] Without pretending to determine this much vexed question of nomenclature, the following additional evidence is cited in favour of the phonetic reading of *Iva*: —1. The name of the son of *Ismi-dagon* is sometimes written with a final *va*, as if it might be read either *Shamas-Iva* or *Shamas-Iv-va*. 2. There is some ground for suspecting an identity between a Babylonian city named after this god, and the *Ava* or *Ivah* of Scripture. 3. The Arabic word for "the air" is actually هوا *heva*, and the instances of analogy between the Arabic (originally a *Cushite* dialect) and the Babylonian are too direct and numerous to be at all subject to doubt. Further, with regard even to the name of the king who has been hitherto identified with the *Pul* of Scripture, some MSS. of the Septuagint verb have Φαλὼς, instead of Φαλὼχ in 1 Chron. v. 35; and *Iva-lush*, if that be the true form of the king's name, is not very different from the former reading. Admitting, however, this explanation to be correct, there will still be a difficulty about the name of King Benhadad, which can indeed only be solved by supposing the god of the air to have had

No complete list has been found of the titles of *Iva*, but his character and functions can be sufficiently ascertained from the various incidental notices regarding him. His standard epithets are "the minister of heaven and earth" and "the lord of canals," these canals, from their use in diffusing irrigation and rendering the lands fit for cultivation, being of the utmost importance in the social economy of the Assyrians. He is thus "the careful or beneficent chief," "the giver of abundance," "the god of fecundity." Sargon, who dedicates to him the northern gate of Khorsabad in conjunction with "the Sun," invokes him as "the establisher of canals for irrigation," and Nebuchadnezzar employs almost the same epithet in alluding to his temple at Babylon, while in noticing the other temple of the god at Borsippa, he describes him (in allusion to his more general character of "Lord of the air" or "atmosphere") as "he who pours the field rain upon my territory." The more usual allusions, however, are to his power, as "the Lord of the whirlwind" and "the tempest." Tiglath-Pileser I. addresses him as "he who casts the whirlwind over rebellious races and hostile lands;" and the metaphors are constantly used of "rushing on an enemy like the whirlwind of *Iva*," and "sweeping a country as with the whirlwind of *Iva*." In the curses also which are fulminated against persons who may injure the royal inscriptions or interfere with benefactions, we find such phrases as the following: "May *Iva* with his flaming sword scatter pestilence over the land, and may he cause famine and scarcity to prevail throughout the country;" or where the anathema is in a more humble strain, "may he scatter the harvest and destroy the crops; may he tear up the trees and beat down the corn, &c." As the lord of the sky he also presided over the four points of the compass, his sign being used as the determinative to the respective names of the north, east, south, and west.[4]

The goddess who is associated with *Iva* at Nimrud, and also upon some of the clay tablets (their titles being *misharu* and *sharrat* or king

different names in Syria and Babylonia. Dr. Hincks at one time considered the evidence of the name of Ben-hadad to be unanswerable, and even ventured to compare the term *Ben* which he thus assigned to the god with the initial element of *ven-tus;* but in this he certainly pushed his etymological speculations too far, *ventus* being of course cognate with the terms *vat*, *vad*, and *bád*, which denote the wind in the Indo-Arian dialects.

[4] The importance of the god *Iva* in the Pantheon of Babylonia, as contrasted with the position of Οὐρανὸς, or of Æther, in classical mythology constitutes one of the chief differences between the two systems; the reason of the distinction no doubt being that atmospheric influences were of so much more consequence in the torrid regions of the East than either in Greece or Rome. The conspicuous part which *Aiar* plays under his various developments, in the Sabæan system, seems to indicate the source from whence Thales drew his theory of the origin of all things from the watery element in nature. *Iva* has hardly the same predominance in Assyria and Babylonia, but there are traces of the extension of his worship from these countries in various directions. Thus the triad invariably invoked in the Armenian inscriptions of *Ván*, &c., are *Khaldi*, "the Sun," and *Iva;* and again, as we find on the Indo-Scythic coins of the 2nd and 3rd centuries distinct evidence of the worship of the Sun, of the Moon, of *Vato* or "the wind" (answering to *Iva*), and of *Nana*, the Babylonian Venus, we are certainly justified in believing the entire system to have been introduced from the banks of the Euphrates.

and queen),[5] is *Shala* or *Tala*; but her epithets, of which an incomplete list has been found, are obscure.[6]

The god *Iva* must have been known in Babylonia from the earliest times, as the son of *Ismidagon* of *Ur*, who founded temples at *Asshur* in the 19th century B. C., has a name compounded of the titles of this god and of the sun. We know, indeed, from the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser I., that one of the temples thus founded was dedicated to *Anu* and his son *Iva* and this temple continued to the latest times to command respect in Assyria. The name of the god, however, as far as our present experience goes, is unknown upon the Babylonian bricks of the early dynasty, and it may be doubted if he had any temples to the south except the two already mentioned as having been repaired by Nebuchadnezzar at Babylon and Borsippa. At Calah he possessed a temple in common with his wife *Shala*, but no trace has been recovered of a similar shrine at Nineveh. The object which symbolises this god both on the cylinder-seals and in the various groups of the divine emblems is a weapon with forked points, which may perhaps be called a "flaming sword." It probably represents the lightning or thunder-bolts, which the Greeks put into the hands of Zeus, and it must be the same weapon with which the god is said to scatter pestilence over the land, and which, moreover, was sometimes used as a trophy, Tiglath-Pileser I. having constructed one of these double-edged swords of copper, and having laid it up in one of his castles, inscribed with a record of his victories.[7] The memory of this old emblem is also probably still preserved to the Mahomedan world in the double-edged sword of Ali. If there is any figure of this god to be sought for amongst the Assyrian sculptures, it can only be the horned deity armed with the thunder-bolt, who chases the evil spirit (pestilence and famine) from the land, but it is more probable that that figure represents *Nin* or Hercules.

The numerical symbol of the god *Iva* is given as 6, on the tablet which applies notation to the Pantheon; but the position, in continuation of 60, 50, 40, 30, and 20, requires 10, and the sign representing 10 is precisely that which has been already noticed as equivalent to *Iva* in its meaning of a "king," "lord," or "chief." Perhaps then the figure 10 should be the proper symbol, especially as it was allowable in Babylonian to write a series 3, 4, 5, 10, or 3, 4, 5, 6 indifferently, the origin of this confusion being no doubt to be sought in the double system of notation, decimal and sexagintal. If, however, the figure 6 were admitted

[5] The title *misharu* assigned to this god recalls to mind the term Μυσαρὸς, which Berosus applies to Oannes (Fr. 6), although there is otherwise no apparent connexion between the two. If *misharu*, however, simply mean "king," as is most probable, it will suit *Héa*, the real Oannes, better than it suits *Iva*, for the former god has constantly the sign denoting "king" attached to his name.

[6] The true form of this name is almost certainly *Shala*, and it seems highly probable that it is the same title which, under the forms of Σαλαμβὼ and Σαλάμβας, is applied in Hesychius and the Etymol. Mag. to the Babylonian Venus. The second element of the name, if this explanation be correct, will then be "*amma*," or "*umma*," a "mother;" a term which, under the form of 'Αμμὰς, Hesychius also applies to the Babylonian Juno.

[7] See *Kileh Shergat* Cylinder, col. 6, l. 15, and col. 8, l. 83.

as the real symbol of *Iva*, some further weight would be attached to the possible Mendæan reading of the name of the god, as one of the phonetic values of that character is *ar* or *er*.

(vii.) Associated with the god of the sky we usually find "the sun" and "the moon." The sun was probably named in Babylonia both *San* and *Sansi*, before his title took the definite Semitic form of *Shamas*,[1] by which he is known in Assyrian and in all the languages of that family. He seems to have been considered "the great mover," the motive agent in fact of everything, and hence he is connected with expeditions, and generally with the active functions of royalty. His usual titles in the invocation passages are—"the regent of the heavens and earth," "he who sets everything in motion." He is also "the destroyer of the king's enemies," and "the breaker up of opposition" (?). In the various incidental notices of him, however, in the inscriptions, there is more frequently a special allusion to his impulsive power in urging the king to victory. Thus Tiglath-Pileser I. calls himself "the proud chief who, under the influence of the sun-god, sways the sceptre of power over mankind, and pursues after the people of Bel-Nimrud." Sardanapalus, in the standard inscription of the north-west palace at Nimrud, names *Asshur* and the sun-god as the tutelary deities under whose influence he carried on his wars; and he commences his great historical record with a passage that may be read as follows:—"In the beginning of my reign, during the first year, when the "sun-god," the regent of all things, had cast his motive influence over me, seated in majesty on my royal throne, and swaying in my hand the sceptre of power over mankind, I assembled my chariots and warriors." Sargon, in his dedication to the sun-god of the northern gate at Khorsabad, speaks of him as "he who has acquired dominion for me;" and the epithet employed by Nebuchadnezzar in noticing the temple of the sun-god at Babylon, is perhaps "the supreme ruler who casts a favourable eye on my expeditions." The idea no doubt of the motive influence of the sun-god in all human affairs, arose from the manifest agency of the material sun in stimulating the functions of nature.

The sun-god was probably one of the earliest objects of Babylonian worship. He had two famous temples—one at *Larancha* (modern *Senkereh*),[2] and the other at *Sippara* (modern *Mosäib*)—in both of which he

[1] It would be more convenient no doubt to regard *Samas* as the original title, forming *Sansi* in the construct state (as from *Khamis*, "five," we have *Khansa*, "fifty"), and *San* would then stand for *Sansi*, as *As* for *Asshur;* but against this it must be argued that *Samas* or *Shamas* is never found in the old Babylonian, and that it would be ungrammatical to use the construct state for the nominative. That *San* moreover was a genuine title for "the Sun" is proved by the geographical name of בֵּיסָן, *Bisan* (Scythopolis of the Greeks, and formerly בֵּית שָׁן, 1 Sam. xxxi. 10, 12, &c.), which is explained in Eugesippus to mean "the house of the Sun." Compare also Ὧδε θανὼν κεῖται Ζᾶν ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσι. Porphyr. in Vit. Pythag. § 17, ad fin.

In later times the Babylonians corrupted *Shamas* to *Savas*, or Σάως. See Hesychius in voc.

[2] It is not quite certain if the Semitic name of this city should be read as *Larrak* or *Lartsa*. The former orthography is adopted (there being cuneiform authority for the reading), in order to assimilate the name with Λαράγχαι, a primitive Chaldæan

was associated with his wife *Anunit*, or *Gula*. From the former temple, which was perhaps named *Bit-Parra*,[3] we have numerous bricks of the early Chaldæan kings, *Khammu-rabi*, *Purna-puriyas*, &c.; and Nebuchadnezzar has further left a detailed record of his restoration of the edifice. The latter temple seems to have been even more celebrated, and to have existed from the remotest antiquity; for it is alluded to in the antediluvian traditions of Berosus, having in fact given the name of Heliopolis to Sippara, where Xisuthrus is supposed to have buried his records before going into the ark.[4] This temple, which was also named *Bit Parra*, was repaired and adorned by many of the ancient kings, but more especially by Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus, though the last-named king devoted his particular care to an adjoining temple named *Bit-Ulmis*, which was in the same city of *Sippara* or *Agana*, but which was exclusively dedicated to *Anunit*, who thus took the title of Lady of *Agana*.[5] The male and female powers of the sun, whose worship at Sippara was celebrated throughout the East, were with more than their usual accuracy identified by the Greeks with the Apollo and Diana of their own mythology; and they are of course represented in Scripture by the "Adrammelech and Anammelech, the gods of Sepharvaim," to whom the Sepharvites burnt their children in fire.[6] The meaning of these Hebrew names is not very certain. *Adrammelech* may be

capital mentioned by Berosus. (See Cory's Fragments, p. 31.) The Hamite name of the place probably signified "the city of the Sun," as that of *Hur* signified "the city of the Moon," but in the former case we cannot trace any phonetic connexion.

[3] Hardy etymologists might be inclined to connect *Parra* with the Egyptian *Phra* or *pi-ra*, "the Sun;" and it is certainly remarkable that the initial element of the name, which is also the monogram for "the Sun," should thus have the double phonetic power of *San* and *Par*, as if both these terms had been proper names of the Sun when the cuneiform writing was invented. For a notice of the Senkereh Temple, see Sir T. Phillips's Cylinder, col. 2, l. 42, and the bricks and cylinders of Nebuchadnezzar excavated by Mr. Loftus from the ruins of the building.

[4] See Aucher's Eusebius, pp. 33, sqq. In the extracts from Berosus the name of Heliopolis is applied to the city, and Sippari to the inhabitants; but in the inscriptions (see B. M. Ser. Pl. 52. l. 5, &c.) the full title is given of *Tsipar sha Shamas*, "Sippara of the Sun." The name of Sippara is supposed to have been given from these very writings deposited by Xisuthrus (comp. ספר, "a writing") but there is nothing to countenance such a derivation in the inscriptions; on the contrary, as the cuneiform sign for "the Sun" is the distinguishing element of the Hamite names both for this city and Larancha, and as the same element occurs in *Tsipar*, it is most natural to regard that term as a translation of the Hamite name, and as having immediate reference to the Sun worship. The comparative geography of this city will be given in another place. Here it may be sufficient to state that the name of Sippara became gradually corrupted to *Sivra* and *Súra*, and that the Euphrates at Babylon is thus always named by the Arab geographers "the river of *Sura*," precisely as in the inscriptions it is named "the river of Sippara." This is the same city where in after ages was established the famous Jewish academy.

[5] This is all explained at length on the large barrel cylinder of Nabonidus. *Agana* was perhaps on the right bank of the river opposite to Sippara, and was so called from being at the head of the great lake (אגמיא in Chaldee). It represents the Ἀκρά-κανον ὑπὲρ τῆς Σιππιρηνῶν πόλιος of Abydenus, *Acracan* being given at full length in the Sanhedrim, fol. 38, 2, as אקרא־דאגמיא. *Akra de Agama* "the fort of the lake."

[6] 2 Kings xvii. 31. The dual form ספרוים is used in allusion probably to the double city on each side of the river, precisely as the older Arab geographers employed the form of صوران instead of صورا.

"the fire-king," or it may be "the royal arranger," *ediru* and *gamilu*, "the arranger" and "benefactor" being epithets which together are frequently applied to the gods, and which are sufficiently applicable to "the sun." *Anammelech*, for the female sun, cannot be explained unless it be connected with the name *Anunit*. Idols of the sun-god are also not unfrequently mentioned in the Assyrian lists,[7] though we do not find any special temples to that deity; and he appears to have been worshipped in that country under three different forms at least, as "the rising sun," the "meridian sun," and "the setting sun." The allusions to him in these various capacities are exceedingly obscure, and must await further research. It may be stated however that he is called "the lord of fire," "the light of the gods," "the ruler of the day," and "he who illumines the expanse of heaven and earth." As the second member of the lower triad of the Pantheon he is symbolised by the number 20, which numeral, as an alphabetic sign, also indicates "a king," not improbably in allusion to the royal character of the sun. It has also the phonetic powers of *Nis* and *Man;* and from the analogy of the names *Dis* and *Ana*, appertaining to *Anu* as equivalents of his numerical symbol of 60, we might very well argue that these terms must also be names for the sun in some of the ancient dialects of Babylonia. At present, however, the conjecture is unsupported by evidence.[8]

It has already been stated that the female power of the sun is named *Gula* or *Anunit;* but her primitive Babylonian name seems to have been *Ai*, and it is under that form that she is found in most Babylonian documents to be associated as an object of worship with the sun.[1] It is possible that *Ai*, *Gula*, and *Anunit* may represent the female power of the sun in his three different phases of "rising," "culminating," and "setting," for the names do not appear to be interchangeable, and yet they are equally associated with the sun-god. The name of *Gula*, at any rate, which is the best known of the three forms, and which simply means in primitive Babylonian "the great,"[2] being thus identical with the *Gadlat* of the later Chaldæan mythology,[3] is distinctly stated in one inscription

[7] Sennacherib carried off the idol of the sun-god from Larancha in his great Babylonian expedition.

[8] The Mendæans still use the old Assyrian word *Shamas* for the Sun, and the same term is common to the Hebrew, Syrian, and Arabic. In the 5th century, however, the Sabæans of Harran worshipped the Sun as *Belshamin*, "the Lord of Heaven," and at a later period they used the Greek name of Ἥλιος. See Assemanni, Bib. Orient. vol. i. p. 327, and Ssabier und der Ssabismus, vol. ii. p. 32.

[1] See Sir T. Phillips's Cylinder, col. 2, ls. 40 and 42, where the temples of Sippara and Larancha, each of them being named *Bit Parra*, are said to be dedicated to the sun-god and *Ai*.

[2] *Gula* may possibly be connected with גדל, but only indirectly, as the latter term was unknown in Assyrian. *Gula*, translated in the vocabularies by *rabu*, and kindred therefore with *gala*, which is a synonym for the same word, may be immediately compared with the Galla *guda*, "great," and the many ancient oriental names compounded of *Gallus* must be referred to the same root.

[3] *Gadlat* and *Tar'ata* (Atargatis or Derceto) are given by St. James of Seruj as the tutelary goddesses of Harran in the 5th century of Christ (Asseman. Bib. Orient. vol. i. p. 327), but these names seem to have been lost three centuries later when the *Nedim* wrote on the gods of the Sabæans. (See Ssabier und der Ssabismus, vol. ii. p. 39.)

to belong to the great goddess "the Wife of the Meridian Sun."[4] This goddess is more generally known as the deity who presides over life and fecundity, and, as such, is frequently confounded with two other divinities, *Bilat Ili*, or "the Mistress of the gods," and *Bilat Tila*, or "the Mistress of Life," (?) though in the list of the idols in the famous temple of Bel-Merodach at Babylon the three names are given as those of distinct deities. A comparison of the titles of these three goddesses will show, at any rate, how difficult it must have been to distinguish them. *Gula*, in the great inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, who dedicated to her three temples at Borsippa and two at Babylon, is "the arranger and benefactor of life," and "she who blesses the people," while *Bilat Ili* at Khorsabad, where she is joined with *Héa*, is "she who multiplies life," and in the inscriptions of Sennacherib is distinctly called "the goddess presiding over births."[5] It may be added, that in a list of the 41 titles of *Bilat Ili*, on a tablet in the British Museum, *Gula* is given as a recognised synonym; yet, on the other hand, as far as present research goes, there is no example of connexion between *Bilat Ili* and the sun-god. With regard to the relationship of *Bilat Tila* with *Gula*, the former name would seem to signify "the mistress of life," and the temples of *Gula* at Borsippa are respectively named *Bit Gula*, *Bit Tila*, and *Bit Ziba Tila*.[6] With the single exception, moreover, of the enumeration of *Gula*, *Bilat Ili*, and *Bilat Tila* as distinct idols in the temple of Bel-Merodach, there is no other list, it is believed, of the gods which contains more than one of the names. One of the tablets supplies a list of 20 titles for *Ai*, but they are all obscure, with the exception of the heading, which is "the female sun." The same may be said of the 41 titles of *Bilat Ili*; and even *Gula's* descriptive titles, which are chiefly local epithets, are not easy of explanation. *Gula* had a distinct temple at Calah, independent of the sun-god, as she had at Babylon and Borsippa, and also at Asshur, where ten other idols, more or less closely connected with her, were admitted to participate in her worship.[7]

It is well known that in most of the groups of Babylonian and Assyrian divine emblems there are two distinct representations of the sun, one being figured with four rays or divisions within the orb, and the other with eight. These two figures may be supposed to indicate a distinction between the male and female powers of the deity, the quartered disk symbolising *Shamas*, and the eight-rayed orb being the emblem of *Ai*, *Gula*, or *Anunit*.

(viii.) The 3rd god of this triad is "the moon," who was named *Sin*

[4] See Michaux's Stone, col. 4, l. 5.

[5] See B. M. Ser. Pl. 38, l. 3. In Babylonian the name of this goddess is written *Bilat Nini*, of which *Bilat Ili* is the Assyrian translation. On one tablet she seems to be indicated by the number 2, but her epithets are not intelligible, nor even are her local titles for the most part to be recognised.

[6] *Bilat Tila* is probably the same as the *Rabbat-at-Til* of the Sabæans of *Harran*, to whom belonged the sacred goats, which were kept as victims, but which no pregnant woman dared to offer in sacrifice, or even to approach. (See Ssabier und der Ssabismus, vol. ii. p. 40).

[7] These names are as follows:—"The Queen of the Stars" (Venus); *Kippata*; *Martu*; "the Queen of the Chace;" *Gula*; *Paniri* (?); *Gunura*; *Kilili*; *Tsakhirta*, *Bilat Pale* (or "the Queen of Time (?)"; and *Pashirta*.

by the Assyrians, as he is by the Mendæans to the present day.[8] His Babylonian name was probably pronounced *Hurki*, the essential element of the name being preserved in *Hur* (Ur of the Chaldees and modern *Mugheir*) which was the chief place of his worship[9] The titles of the god are for the most part too vague to indicate the attributes with which he is invested. He is merely "the chief," "the Lord of spirits," "the powerful," &c.; or sometimes "king of the gods," or, as the celestial luminary, "the bright," "the shining;" and in one passage "Lord of the month." It would seem, however, from certain half intelligible allusions in the inscriptions that *Sin* as the god of good fortune was especially entrusted with the guardianship of buildings. Nebuchadnezzar in dedicating to him a temple at Babylon thus speaks of him as "the strengthener of my fortifications," and in noticing the other temple of the moon-god at Borsippa, he calls him "the supporting architect of my stronghold." There is also a very interesting passage on the Khorsabad cylinders which may be thus read: "In the month of Sivan (?), a month under the care of the great Lord, the wielder of the thunderbolts, the supporting architect, the guardian (*Hurki*) of heaven and earth, the champion of the gods, the moon-god, who is next in order to Anu, Bel-Nimrod, Héa, and Beltis, I made bricks and built a city and temple to the god of the month Sivan of happy name."[10] From this it would appear that the month *Sivan* was sacred to *Sin*, the names being, in all probability, connected; and it is further of interest to observe that the sign which represents the month in question is also the sign used to represent "bricks," which especially belonged to *Sin* as the Babylonian god of architecture.[1] One of the most ordinary titles of *Sin*, it may be added, is *Bel-zuna* (generally contracted in Assyrian to *Bel-zu*) and there

[8] It is most surprising that Dr. Hincks in his paper on the Assyrian mythology should have overlooked the existence of the word *Sin* for "the Moon" in so many Semitic languages, and have sought to identify the god in question with Jupiter. *Sin* is not only a recognised term for the moon at the present day in Syriac and Mendæan, but it is the name given to the moon-god in St. James of Seruj's list of the idols of Harran already quoted; and it also stands for Monday in the table of the days of the week used by the Sabæans as late as the 9th century. (See Norberg's Onomasticon, p. 108; Chwolsohn's Ssabier und der Ssabismus, vol. ii. p. 22, and Asseman. loc. cit.)

[9] *Hur*, which is the Hamite power of the cuneiform sign answering to the Semitic *nazar* כצר, "to protect," may perhaps be compared with the root עור, which has produced עיר, *'Ir*, "a watcher," applied to the arrchangels in the Syriac liturgy. The phonetic reading of *Hur* for the geographical name in which this sign is the ruling element is given repeatedly in the vocabularies, and may be regarded therefore as quite certain.

[10] This passage commences at line 47 of the Cylinder Inscription. It is left out altogether in the nearly similar inscription on the Bulls which has alone as yet been published.

[1] The direct connexion thus established between the god *Sin* and "bricks" for building would seem to explain the use in Hebrew of לבנה for "the moon" (Is. xxiv. 23 and xxx. 26), more satisfactorily than by a reference to the whiteness of the luminary, especially as the cuneiform sign used for the 3rd month, sacred to *Sin*, is always translated in the vocabularies by the actual word *liban*. It may also fairly be surmised that the "goddess, or fabulous queen of Assyria, *Tilbín*, derived her name from the same source." (See the quotation from Eutychius in Chwolsohn's Ssabier und der Ssabismus, vol. ii. p. 295.)

is in this title probably the same allusion to building (compare זִיו "form,") which is to be found in the other epithets.[2]

The most celebrated temple of the moon-god appears in antiquity to have been in the city of *Hur*. Its site is now marked by the great mound of *Mugheir*, the excavation of which has yielded a vast number of bricks, tablets, clay cones, and cylinders, all stamped with the names of different kings, but all bearing evidence to the worship of the moon-god. Nabonidus, indeed, who seems to have been an especial votary of *Sin's*, for he calls him "the chief of the gods of heaven and earth, the king of the gods, god of gods, he who dwells in the great heavens, the Lord of the temple of . . . . in the city of Hur, my Lord," expressly declares that he had found in the annals of *Urukh* (the oldest king whose name has been discovered in Babylonia) a record that he had commenced the temple in question, but had left the completion of it to his son *Ilgi*;[3] and the shrine, therefore, must have lasted throughout the entire period of the Babylonian monarchy, from its foundation to the time of Cyrus. The name of the moon-god was read, it would seem, or at any rate might have been read in one of the dialects of ancient Babylon, as *Shishaki*;[4] and a possible explanation is thus obtained of the Sheshech of Scripture (used for *Hur*) which is associated with Babylon in the denunciations of the Prophet Jeremiah.[5]

Hur, the city of the moon-god, was also called in a later age, according to Eupolemus, Καμαρίνη, the name being derived apparently from قمر *Kamar*, an Arabic term for the moon.[6] Besides the temples to *Sin* already noticed at *Hur*, at Babylon, at Borsippa, and at Khorsabad, another shrine is mentioned at Calah; and the god was also worshipped under the same name at Harran as late as the 6th century of the Christian era.[7] *Sin* was, in all probability, the tutelary deity of king Sennacherib, as the monarch's name signifies "*Sin* magnifies (my) brothers;" but he does not appear to have raised any temples to his honour.

With regard to the relationship of *Sin* to the other gods of the Pantheon there is one distinct notice on a brick from *Mugheir* calling him the eldest son of Bel-Nimrod, and there are many indications that his wife was a goddess named "the great lady," who is joined with him in the lists both at Khorsabad and on the tablets, but of whom nothing whatever is known beyond the name.[8]

[2] It is only on the tablets that the full title of *Bel-zuna* is found, but the form is certainly authentic. The root *zanan*, it may be added, is commonly used in Assyrian for building.

[3] This is quoted from the cylinders of Nabonidus excavated by Mr. Taylor from the four corners of the tower or *ziggurat* of the Temple of the Moon at *Mugheir*.

[4] That is, the cuneiform sign which in the sense of "protecting" must be read as *Hur* in Hamite and *Nazar* in Semitic, is also used to denote "a brother," which is *Shish* in one language and *Akhu* in the other.

[5] Jer. xxv. 26 and li. 41.

[6] Euseb. Præp. Evang. 9.

[7] St. James of Seruj, about A. D. 500, says that the devil deceived the people of Harran through *Sin* and *Bal-shemin*; i. e. "the moon" and "the sun." Assemanni, however, in translating the passage (Bib. Orient. vol. i. p. 327) failed to recognise the name of the moon, and read *Besin* as a single word. See also the frequent notices of *Sin* in "Ssabier und der Ssabismus."

[8] This goddess was associated with *Sin* as tutelary divinity of the city of *Hur*,

The numerical symbol of *Sin* as the head of the lower triad is 30 and the sign representing this number has, as we should expect, an ordinary phonetic value corresponding with the name of the god, but it has also a second value *Ish* or *Esh*, which should thus likewise appertain to the moon-god in some of the old dialects. The identity of this number 30 with the days of the month, over which the moon-god presides, can hardly be accidental, though the figure would seem to have been assigned to him as a symbol, merely from his relative position in the lists.[9] How it happened that the moon in Babylonian mythology was thus placed above the sun we are not, of course, in a position to decide; but there were evidently traditions regarding the god of extreme antiquity, and apparently connected with the first colonisation of the land, which may not improbably have occasioned the preference. Thus in two passages of the inscriptions of Sargon, where he alludes to the conquest of Northern Armenia and the submission of the Greeks of Cyprus, he incidentally notices the antiquity of the moon-god.[10] In the latter passage he speaks of the Cypriots as "a nation of whom from the remotest times, from the origin of the god *Hurki* (or *Sín*),[1] the kings my fathers, who ruled over Assyria and Babylonia, had never heard the mention." What precise idea "the origin" or "the first of *Hurki*" may be intended to convey we cannot, of course, say; but the allusion would seem to be to the commencement of the historical period. A reference may here also be made to the famous passage of Berosus which describes the great female deity who assisted Belus in the formation of the heavens and the earth, under the name of Ὁμόρωκα and Θαλὰτθ, because there is a gloss added in the Greek, that the Chaldæan word Thalatth, which answers immediately to θάλασσα, "the sea," may also be interpreted "the moon."[2] Now the goddess thus indicated is well known to the Assyrian student under the name of *Telita*, but she has no apparent relation to the moon. She is rather the goddess of the lakes or stagnant water about Babylon, and the name may thus really be connected with the Greek θάλασσα.[3] With regard to Ὁμόρωκα or Ὁμόρκα,

and a particular portion of the great temple at that place was dedicated to her, the legends on the bricks of Nabonidus from this spot containing an invocation to her. Both she and her husband *Sin* had arks or tabernacles, probably deposited in this temple, the one being called "the light" and the other "the lesser light."

[9] That is, as the head of the second Triad, which was his proper place in the Pantheon, though he is here for convenience sake put after "the Sun." In all the invocation-lists we possess, except that on Michaux's stone, *Sin* follows next after the three great gods *Anu*, *Bel-Nimrod*, and *Hea* (with Beltis sometimes interposed), and he is therefore misplaced in this Essay.

[10] See Khorsabad Inscriptions, pl. 151, 22, and 153, 2.

[1] The expression here made use of with regard to "the moon-god" is quite unintelligible at Khorsabad, but is illustrated by a variant reading on the Cyprus stone.

[2] See the quotation from Syncellus in Cory's Fragments, p. 25.

[3] She is the goddess of the *Bar* (probably Arabic بحر, *bahar*), which is the first element in the name of *Bar-zip* or Borsippa. In the inscriptions of Sargon a city on the lower Tigris is often mentioned, which was named after her *Dur-Telita*, and which is no doubt the Θαλάθα of Ptolemy, placed by him near the mouth of the river.

the most probable explanation seems to be *Um-urka*, "the mother or lady of *Urka*"[4] or "*Warka*," which was an acknowledged title of Beltis; but there is also another name, applying probably to the same divinity, on a tablet from *Tel Eyd*, near *Warka*, which reads *Marki*, and thus suggests that the Armenian form *Marcaia* may after all be the true reading of the name.[5]

(ix.) We now come to the five minor gods, who, if not of astronomical origin, were at any rate identified with the five planets of the Chaldæan system. In regard to four of the gods in question the identification is certain, because the Mendæans still apply to four of the planets the very terms which are used in the inscriptions as the proper names of the gods, and in the case of the remaining god a coincidence may be inferred, though we cannot at present find a cuneiform correspondent for the Syriac name. This doubtful god then will be first examined. His ordinary names, if read phonetically, are *Bar* and *Nin-ip*, but he had also the earlier Babylonian titles of *Va-lua* and *Va-dana*, which are quite unintelligible. There is no god indeed in the Pantheon, whose proper name is subject to so much doubt, while at the same time we have such an extensive series of his descriptive epithets. A few of these epithets selected from the dedications to the god, recorded by Sardanapalus and *Shamas-Iva* at Calah,[6] as well as from the mythological tablets, where he is discussed at great length, will now be given, and from the terms employed we will then proceed to judge of the god's character and functions. One series of epithets refers to his strength and courage. He is "the lord of the brave," "the champion," "the warrior who subdues foes," "he who strengthens the hearts of his followers;" and again, "the destroyer of enemies," "the reducer of the disobedient," "the exterminator of rebels," "whose sword is good." In more general terms he is "the powerful chief," "the supreme," "the first of the gods," "the eldest son." He is also "the chief of the spirits," "the favourite of the gods," "the glorifier of the meridian sun." With regard to his position in the heavens, he is "the rider on the wind," "he who wields the thunderbolts of the gods," "he who spreads his shield over the heights of heaven and earth;" also, "the light of heaven and earth," "he who like the sun, the light of the gods, illumines the nations." As a motive agent, he is, "he who causes the circles of the heavens and earth to revolve," "he who grants the sceptre and the thunderbolts of power," and "he who incites to everything." More definitely, he is "the god of battle,"

[4] See particularly Sir T. Phillips's Cylinder, col. 2, l. 52, where she is thus named in the notice of the restoration of her temple of Bit Ana by Nebuchadnezzar.

[5] See Aucher's Eusebius, vol. i. p. 23. The goddess commemorated on this tablet, and to whom king *Ilgi* builds a temple at *Tel Eyd*, is called "the Lady of *Marki*," or *Warki*, and a suspicion thus arises that the name *Warki* is after all nothing more than the phonetic reading of the title of the city of *Warka*, which is here for the first time met with.

[6] The invocation of Sardanapalus is repeated on a vast number of mural slabs belonging to the great temple at Calah, and is also prefixed to the king's annals on the pavement slabs belonging to the same building. The invocation of *Shamas-Iva*, which is different, and less detailed, prefaces the king's annals upon the obelisk, also found at Calah, and now in the British Museum.

"he who tramples upon the wide world;" and in reference to his character of the fish-god, which seems so strangely inconsistent with his other attributes, he is "the opener of aqueducts," "the god of the sea and of aqueducts," "he who dwells in the deep." It must be understood that in this list a very small portion only of his epithets are given—the total number being above a hundred; but they are still sufficient to show the great variety of the god's supposed functions. Many of these functions can further be verified from other sources. Thus in the inscriptions he is constantly said to excite the king to undertake his various expeditions both for war and hunting; he accompanies him to the field; he watches over the combat, and he dispenses victory. Again, as the invocation to him is inscribed across each of those remarkable slabs in the British Museum, which are sculptured respectively with the figure of the fish-god, and the figure armed with the thunderbolt who drives away the evil spirit, there can be little doubt but that, notwithstanding their diversity of character, both of the above-named mythical creatures are intended to represent the god under different attributes.[7]

Not less difficult, however, is it to reconcile the Oannes, or fish-god of Berosus, with the Hercules of classical mythology, both of these characters appertaining, as it would seem, to the god in question, than it is to explain his astronomical position in the Pantheon. It has been observed that as the four remaining minor gods, *Bel-Merodach*, *Nergal*, *Ishtar*, and *Nebo*, respectively represent in the heavens the planets Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury, it would appear almost certain *à priori* that the god whom we are now considering must correspond with Saturn, and without any great violence of etymology, the name which Saturn bears in Mendæan, and perhaps also in Scripture,[8] *Kivan*, might also be compared with the Greek Ὠάννης; but how is it possible that the dark and distant planet Saturn can answer to the luminary who "irradiates the nations like the sun, the light of the gods?"[9] All the celestial indications

[7] Both of these slabs indeed come from the same building, the Temple of *Zira*, dedicated to the god of war, which was the principal sacred edifice at Calah. The so-called pyramid at *Nimrud* was the *ziggurat* or "tower" attached to this temple, and, judging from experience, at *Kileh Shergát*, at *Mugheir*, and at *Birs Nimrud*, historical cylinders of *Shalmanubar* are yet to be found in the four corners of the stone walls of the various stages of this building which have not been hitherto explored.

[8] The allusion is to the word כיון in Amos v. 26, which we, following the Vulgate, translate by a "statue," but which the LXX. and all other translators have regarded as a proper name. The LXX., mistaking the initial letter, give the name as Ῥαιφὰν (whence we have Ῥεμφὰν in Acts vii. 43), but the Syrian version retains the reading of *Kivan*, which was the name for Saturn in that language. The assimilation of *Kivan* and Ὠάννης supposes that Berosus represented the Babylonian guttural by a Greek aspirate, which is, to say the least of it, improbable. As Helladius (Phot. Bib. cclxxix. p. 1594) uses the name Ὦη for the same fabulous being, a more natural explanation of Oannes would be as a compound of *Héa* or *Hoa*, and *an* "a god." Hyginus in his 274th fable probably used the orthography of Εὐάνης.

[9] M. Raoul Rochette in his elaborate memoir on the Assyrian Hercules in the Mémoires de l'Institut, tom. xvii., viewing the subject from a classical rather than an Oriental point of view, has accumulated abundant evidence to show that Hercules was commonly confounded in the East with Saturn. Damascius (de Princip. in Wolff's Analecta, iii. p. 254) thus quotes a tradition on the authority of Hellanicus

indeed in the various invocations to *Bar* point to the moon, and recall the connexion which both in Greek and Egyptian mythology existed between the moon and Hercules; whereas in the Stellar Tablets it is clearly established that the god in question must represent the constellation Taurus, in virtue, probably, of his connexion with the man-bull, which, as the impersonation of strength and power, was dedicated to him. As the celestial Bull, *Bar* or *Nin-ip*, had the title apparently of *Thibbi*, but the meaning of the term is obscure, and to establish any connexion between the Constellation Taurus and Saturn, in the astral mythology of Assyria, we have to travel almost beyond the limits of legitimate criticism. The following remarks are offered, however, as a possible solution of the difficulty:—In the mythical names of the East, the termination in *an* may be usually recognised as a mere dialectic development. The true name of the planet Saturn then, instead of *Kivan*, may be *Kiv* or *Giv*, and this term can be connected both with Hercules on the one side, and with the Bull on the other. *Giv* in fact, which is a strictly historical name, as it occurs in Greek characters at Behistun, was a famous warrior of old Persian romance, whilst the same title under another form, *Gav*, which means "a bull," but was also taken as a proper name, was applied to the true Arian Hercules, the founder of Persian nationality.[1] Further the second month of the Assyrian year,

and Hieronymus, the Peripatetic, that from the two primitive elements, water and earth, was born a dragon, who, besides his serpent's head, had two other heads, those of a lion and a bull, between which was placed the visage of god, *Θεοῦ πρόσωπον, Ὠνομάσθαι δὲ Χρόνον ἀγήρατον καὶ Ἡρακλῆα τὸν αὐτόν.* Athenagoras (Legat. pr. Christ. s. xv. 6, p. 3, edit. Lindner.) repeats the tradition, stating, however, still more clearly *ὄνομα Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Χρόνος.* John Lydus (de Mens. iv. 46, p. 220, ed. Roeth) also says, *Ἡρακλῆς δὲ ὁ Χρόνος παρὰ τῷ Νικομάχῳ εἴρηται.* The visage of god, with the symbolical figures of the bull and lion, are strikingly illustrative of the Nineveh sculptures of "the god and goddess of war," and the expression *χρόνον ἀγήρατον*, "time without bounds," also brings into the category the *Zerwan akarené* of the early Magians.

As a further proof of the connexion between Hercules and Saturn, Raoul Rochette, following Movers (Phönizier, i. 292), refers to the name of *Kivan.* This he supposes to be the same as the Greek *κίων* and the Hebrew כיון (Amos v. 26), and to have been assigned because the god Hercules was worshipped under the form of "a pillar" or "column," and he refers the Egyptian name of Χῶν for Hercules to the same source—but there is no evidence in the inscriptions of the columnar worship of Hercules, nor have we yet found any cuneiform name for *Nin* which could represent כיון or *Kivan.* (See Raoul Rochette's Memoir, p. 50.)

Raoul Rochette further quotes many epithets, such as *μάντις, φυσικός, φιλόσοφος, τελεστής*, &c., applying to Hercules as the god of knowledge, and he explains this apparent incongruity by referring to the *Ἡρακλέους στῆλαι*, inscribed with mystic characters, and perhaps the same as the antediluvian columns of Plato and Josephus, as well as the *κόσμου κίονας*, which contained all the secrets of nature, and which Atlas gave to Hercules, according to Herodotus, quoted by Clemens (Strom. I. 15, s. 73, p. 360); but a more satisfactory explanation of the Greek myth is to be found in our discovery that the Assyrian Hercules was confounded with Oannes, the author of all science, being typified at *Nimrud* by the man-fish, which, according to Berosus, was the figure assigned to the other deity.

[1] The connexion however between the names of *Giv* and *Gav* is very doubtful. The name of *Giv*, which belonged to the father of Gotarzes (at Behistun ΓΩΤΑΡΖΗϹ ΓΕΟΠΟΘΡΟϹ), seems to be the same as the *Vivan* of the great inscription of Darius, while *Gav* or *Gava*, the name of the famous blacksmith of Isfahan, who drove out

which, supposing the year to commence with Aries, would fall under the zodiacal sign of Taurus, was represented by the same cuneiform sign which denotes a bull (*alpu*), and to which the name of *Nin-ip* is attached in the Stellar Tablets; this month moreover answering to the *Thura-vahar* of the Persian calendar, where *Thura* is evidently שור, ثور or טור, ταῦρος, and to the *Ziv* of the old Hebrew calendar, which may very well stand for *Giv*, as *Zam-zummim* stands for *Gamgummi*, &c.[2] In our present state, however, of uncertainty as to whether the Mendæan name *Kivan* for Saturn is really of the same antiquity as the other six planetary names, *Bel*, *Nerig*, *Shamas*, *Ishtar*, *Nebo*, and *Sin*, or whether it is a later importation from the Persian—affording as it does the only single instance of identity in the planetary nomenclature of the Mendæan and Syrian on the one side, and the Pehlevi and Persian on the other—there is no use in any further discussion of the question.

Of more interest will it be to attend to the other names of *Nin-ip* and *Bar*. Now with regard to *Nin-ip*, the adjunct *ip* is explained in the vocabularies to signify merely "a name," so that the title may perhaps be read *Nin*, "the lord or master," κατ' ἐξοχὴν, and it is very remarkable that a precisely identical usage seems to have prevailed in the Semitic correspondent of the title, the great warrior-god who was worshipped in Assyria, and who was, according to the tradition of the country, immediately connected with Ninus,[3] being entitled by the Armenian histor-

Zohak (the Scythians), and restored Arian supremacy, must rather, according to the early Arab historians, who apply the title to a dynasty instead of an individual, answer to the Zend *Kava*, "royal" (in *Kava Us*, &c.), if that be really a genuine ancient term. At any rate *Gau*, "a bull" in old Persian, is a distinct word, as in *Gaubaruwa* for Γωβρύας. It is at the same time curious to remark, in reference to this subject, that *Gav* for "a smith" has its correspondent in all the Celtic tongues. Compare Welsh *Gof*, Irish *Gobha* and *Gobhan*, Latin name *Gobanus*, modern *Gowan*, the same termination reappearing as in *Kivan* and *Vivan*. Remark too that the god whose claim to the name of *Kivan* we are now considering is actually the god of *iron*, and thus "the smith" *par excellence*. We need never indeed be startled at finding Arian analogies in examining the old Babylonian terms, for there is abundant evidence of a primitive Arianism, anterior probably to the development of the Sanscrit, in the construction of the cuneiform alphabet.

[2] The identity of *Thura-vahir* with the 2nd month of the year named *Ziv* in the old Jewish calendar, and represented by the cuneiform sign for "a bull," is proved by the Behistun inscription, and helps to establish the fact that the old year commenced as at present with *Nisan*.

[3] If we compare the 13th chapter of the 1st book of Moses of Chorene with the Paschal Chronicle (ed. Dindorf. vol. i. p. 68), we shall be quite satisfied that the same tradition of ancient Assyrian mythology is related by both authorities. In either history Ninus, the founder of the empire, is succeeded by a warrior king, who, for his great achievements, is placed amongst the gods and worshipped by the Assyrians. It is therefore most interesting to observe that this deity, who is named *Bar* (or *Barsam*) in the one tradition, is named Θούρρας in the other, a confirmation being thus obtained of the identity of *Bar* and *Nin* with the constellation *Taurus*, and with the man-bulls of Nineveh. The tradition too in the Paschal Chronicle is of the more importance that it is given on the authority of Σεμηρώνιος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος, Πέρσης. A further proof that the Θούρρας, or *Thur* of this passage, really represents the Assyrian Hercules, typified by the man-bull, is to be found in the tradition which it also preserves of the deified hero having been named Ἄρης after the planet Mars; for there is no better authenticated fact than that the Romans believed this

ians *Bar-shem*, that is "*Bar* by name," or "the lord or master," κατ ἐξοχήν.[4] It is not by any means easy to discriminate the use of these names between Babylonia and Assyria. *Nin-ip* is undoubtedly of Babylonian origin, *Nin* being the Hamite term for a "lord or master," and *ip* signifying "a name," and there is an incidental verification of the reading in the epithet of נינפי *Ninpi*, which the Talmud applies to *Nopher* or *Niffer*, in allusion probably to the patron-goddess of the city being the wife of *Nin-ip* or Hercules; but that the same name, or at any rate its essential element *Nin*, must also have been used in Assyria, can hardly be doubted when we consider the standard traditions of Ninus, and the very name of Nineveh, the capital. On the other hand there is no positive evidence of the name of *Bar* or *Bar-shem* being used in Assyria Proper, except the statement to that effect of the historians of Armenia; but there is proof of the title being used by a people in the immediate vicinity of Assyria, as well as of the connexion of the title both with Hercules and Saturn. Thus the kings of Hatra (modern *Hadhr*, W. of *Kileh Shergát*) who fought with the Romans—both with Trajan and Severus—are always named by the Greek historians Βαρσήμιοι,[5] whilst in old Arabic history, in the accounts of the wars of the same kings with the first Sassanian monarchs of Persia, the names are employed of *Dhizan* and *Satrún; Dhizán*, which was known to the Arabs as the name of an ancient idol, being apparently the same term as *Desanaus*,[6] which, according to Eusebius, was an eastern name for Hercules, and *Satrun* (or Saturn), which, although stated by the Arabs to signify "a king," is not of any known Semitic etymology, being a remnant perhaps, like *Dis*, of a primitive Scytho-Arian nomenclature, which afterwards through the Etruscans penetrated to Rome.[7]

star, according to the Chaldæan mythology, to be sacred to Hercules. (See the various passages cited by Raoul Rochette in his Memoir, p. 46, from the Etym. Mag., Macrobius, Pliny, Servius, Cicero, and Varro.) The origin of this confusion is to be sought in the constant association of the Assyrian *Nin* or Hercules with *Nergal* or Mars, and in their being invoked indifferently as "the god of war and battles." John of Malala (edit. Bonn. p. 19) also mentions this Assyrian king Θούρας, who was also named Ares, and who first raised a στήλη or "column" for worship.

[4] There is however another explanation of the name *Bar-sam*, or *Bar-shem*, of which some notice must be taken. It has been already stated that if the Noachide Triad be compared with the Assyrian, *Anu* will correspond with Ham, *Bel-Nimrod* with Shem, and *Héa* with Japhet. The Armenian *Bar-sam* may then very well be "the son of Shem," alluding to the descent of *Nin* or Hercules from Bel-Nimrod or Jupiter; and it is not a little in favour of this explanation that the Paschal Chronicle gives the name of Σάμης to the father of Θούρας, a name which may very well stand for Sam or *Shem*. That *Bar-sham* was a genuine title may further be inferred from the name of פרשנדתא, *Parshandata* in Esther ix. 7, which signifies given to *Parshan*. The only objection to this etymology is, that there is no evidence of *Bar* being used for "a son" in old Assyrian, though of such general employment in that sense in later times.

[5] See Herodian. III. i. 11.

[6] *Desanaus* is the orthography used in St. Jerome's Latin version of Eusebius, but the Greek text has Διωδάν. The people who used the name are said to be Phœnicians, Cappadocians, and Ilians, all more or less Arabs. See Seld. de Diis Syris, p. 118.

[7] Pocock in his Specimen Hist. Arab. (p. 103) first investigated this subject, recognising the apparent identity of *Satrun* and Saturn, but being unable to find a

As far as the Greek accounts of the wars and hunting expeditions of Ninus may be received as genuine Oriental traditions, they must be referred to *Nin* or *Bar*, the true Assyrian Hercules and the tutelary god of the Assyrian kings. His temple in the Assyrian capital, described by Tacitus (Annal. xii. 13), is perhaps the very building at Nimrud which adjoined the pyramid, and the account of his exploits in the nocturnal chace, which is given in the same passage, is in exact accordance with his character in the inscriptions, as the god who excites and directs the various hunting expeditions of the king. There were, however, two temples at Calah especially dedicated to him, the one named *Bit Zira*, which was probably that adjoining the pyramid, from whence have been obtained the annals of Sardanapalus and the various figures and invocations to *Nin;* and the other *Bit Kura* (?), at the S. E. corner of the mound which contained the obelisk of *Shamas-Iva*, a monument also dedicated to the same deity; and it was in reference to these temples that he took the titles *Pal-Zira* and *Pal-Kura* (the son of *Zira* and the son of *Kura*), which we find in the respective royal names of *Tiglath-Pileser* and *Nin-pal-kura.*

There is not any direct notice in the inscriptions of temples being raised to him in Babylonia, but he must almost assuredly have had some famous shrine at Niffer, the *Nopher Ninpi* of the Talmud,[8] because, in the first place, "the Queen of *Nipur*" was his wife, and in the second place the "Herculis aræ" of the geographers, which Ptolemy makes the southern limit of Mesopotamia,[9] and places in the immediate vicinity of Apamæa (modern ruins of *Sakheriéh*,)[1] can only by possibility refer to Niffer. In Babylonia itself there is some reason for supposing that he was worshipped under another form, the god whose name signifies "the son of the house," and of whom a sculptured figure

correspondent for *Dhizan.* Chwolsohn (Ssabier und der Ssabismus, vol. ii. p. 693) has since carried on the inquiry, accumulating all available Arabic and Syriac authority to illustrate the name *Satrun*, but he has fallen altogether into a wrong track in seeking to identify the *Hadhr* of *Satrun* with the Syriac *Chetra* supposed by Ephraem Syrus to mark the site of the Calah of Genesis. This latter city was on the Tigris between Samarra and Tekrit, and was famous for its Jewish colony. It adjoined طيرهان, *Tirhan*, also a very ancient site, and the Tharrana of the Peutingerian Table. The *Santhirs* of *Chetra* cannot therefore be connected with *Satrun* of *Hadhr.*

[8] This very remarkable epithet occurs in the Joma, and was thus probably in use as late as the 2nd or 3rd century of Christ.

[9] Ptolemy places the Ἡρακλέους βωμὸν in long. 80 and lat. 34·20 and Apamæa in long. 79·50 and lat. 34·20. The Peutingerian map also gives a route from Tiguba (Cutha) "ad Herculem," in which almost every station may be identified. In the Periplus of Marcian (Hudson's Geograph. Min. vol. i. p. 18) the Ἡρακλέους στῆλαι are assigned apparently to the extreme N.W. limit of Susiana, an indication which will suit Niffer sufficiently well. The said altars or pillars were probably obelisks or monoliths, such as have been already found in Assyria, inscribed with the annals of the king, but also bearing an invocation to Hercules.

[1] The identity of the two Apamæas (upper and lower, or the Babylonian and Mesenian) with *Naamaniya* and *Sekherieh* respectively, can be determinately proved by a comparison of the Greek and Latin notices of those towns with the Arab geographers, and especially with the Talmudic tract *Kiddushin.*

was found during the recent excavations at Babylon,[2] taking his place apparently in the later mythology of that city. To this latter deity, at any rate, Nebuchadnezzar raised a temple at Babylon, and assigned the title "he who breaks the shield of the rebellious," which nearly resembles some of the ordinary epithets of Hercules.[3]

That this god, *Nin* or *Bar*, was the son of *Bel-Nimrud*, is constantly asserted in the inscriptions;[4] and we have thus an illustration of the descent of Hercules from Jupiter, and of Ninus from Belus, but he is also called the son of *Kimmut* or *Héa*,[5] as if there were a distinction between *Pal-Zira* and *Pal-Kura*, or between the god *Nin* or Hercules, as worshipped in the two great temples of Calah. It is also clearly stated on one tablet that this same god *Nin* or *Nin-ip*, with the title of "*Khalkhalla*, the brother of the lightning," was the father of *Bel-Nimrud*, in allusion apparently to the descent of Jupiter Belus from Chronos or Saturn.

Of the wife of this god nothing more is known than that she is called "the lady of *Nipur*," "the lady of *Parzilla*," of "*Kar-Rubana*," and of other places equally unknown. On her own monuments at *Niffer*, however, she bears the ordinary title of *Bilat Niprut*, and is thus proved to be Beltis, the wife of Belus. May not this evidence then that "the great Queen"[6] was both the mother and wife of *Nin* explain the tradition

[2] This figure, with the name of the god attached, is given in Mr. Layard's last work. [3] See E. I. House Ins. col. 4, l. 44.

[4] So on Michaux's stone, col. 3, l. 2; on the *Shamas-Iva* obelisk, col. 1, l. 15; and on cylinder seals repeatedly.

[5] The star *Kimmut*, however, is joined in the lists with the lesser Bel-Nimrud as titles applied indifferently to *Héa*.

[6] On further examination it seems quite certain that the goddess called "the queen of the land (?)" the invocation to whom is inscribed across the open-mouthed lion, now in the British Museum, must be the wife of *Nin*, and the same deity therefore as "the lady of Nipur," Beltis in fact assuming the character of Bellona. Her titles are very numerous: she is "the goddess of the land; the great lady; the mistress of heaven and earth; the queen of all the gods; the heroine who is celebrated amongst the gods, and who amongst the goddesses watches over parturition (?); who warms like the sun and marches victoriously over the heights of heaven and earth; she who controls the spirits; *the daughter of Anu;* illustrious amongst the gods; the queen of strangers (?); she who precedes me; she who brings rain upon the lands and hail upon the forests . . . . the goddess of war and battle; who is alone honoured in the temple of *Bit-Zira;* she who refines the laws (?) and protects the hearts of women (?); who elevates society and blesses companionship . . . . the goddess of prophecy (?); the storm rider (?), the guardian who takes care of the heavens and the earth for the benefit of all races of mankind; of auspicious name; the arbiter of life and death . . . . . . whose sword is good." These titles are rendered in many cases almost conjecturally, and must not therefore be critically depended on. They are chiefly of consequence in showing that Beltis was held to be the daughter of *Anu*, which however requires confirmation.

In support of the argument that the "queen or mistress of the land" is really Beltis, we may compare Michaux's stone, col. 3, l. 10, where the supreme goddess is similarly designated and associated with the great gods *Anu*, *Bel-Nimrod*, and *Héa;* and on the tablet where her twelve titles are enumerated a corresponding form is used. It appears to have been always customary to worship the deities in pairs; that is, the god and his goddess wife were placed together in the same temple; and we may thus be assured that the ruin at Nimrud from which the open-mouthed lions were excavated was a chapel belonging to the great temple of *Bit-Zira*, which was especially dedicated to the god and goddess of war.

of the incestuous intercourse of Semiramis with her own offspring, though it does not at present appear from whence the Greeks could have introduced the name of Semiramis at such a very early period of the Assyrian mythology.

The numerical symbol of *Nin* would appear to be 40, though as that number is already appropriated to *Héa*, some error may be suspected in the tablet. Among the divine emblems he probably owns the horned helmet, which is the same as that worn by the man-bull, and which, moreover, always heads the group wherever, as on the pavement-slab of Sardanapalus and on the monolith of *Shamas-Iva*, the invocation is addressed to this particular deity.

One of the metals is also indicated by the exact cuneiform title of the god, the sign *Bar*, preceded by the determinative of divinity. The metal in question seems to be iron, and it can hardly be doubted, therefore, that there must be some connexion between this cuneiform name of *Il-bar* and the Hebrew ברזל *Barzil*, which is used for *Iron* in that language, though of very obscure etymology. Whether the term *Barzil* can be connected with *Abnil*, the "stone god," who was a deity worshipped by the pagan Assyrians as late as the 5th century of Christ, will be discussed under another head.

It only remains to notice the name of Σάνδης, which is applied by Agathias to the Assyrian Hercules, on the authority of Berosus. This name has been much canvassed by classical and Oriental scholars, but without any definite results.[7] It may be interesting, then, to add that *Bar* is explained in one of the Babylonian vocabularies by *Zindu*, as if the one name meant "the binder with chains," and the other "the binder to the yoke,"[8] and both being sufficiently applicable to the god in question, either as Hercules or as the Man-Bull.

(x.) The second of the minor gods is *Bel-Merodach*, or the planet Jupiter. It may well be doubted if the name *Merodach*, which in later times was universally applied to this god, belonged in its origin to the mythology either of Babylonia or Assyria. There is one example, it is true, of a god's name written as *Marduk* in the name of a son of *Merodach Baladan's*, who was called *Nahit-Marduk*,[9] but there is no evidence whatever to show that this was the same deity as the Babylonian *Merodach*. All the evidence, indeed, leads to a contrary conclusion.[1] The god who

[7] M. Raoul Rochette has most elaborately examined this subject in his memoir already referred to, and has sought to connect this name of Σάνδης, not only with varieties of the same title used by other authors (*Sandan* by Ammianus, Σάνδα by Basil of Seleucia, and Σανδὼν by John Lydus), but also with the Desanaus or Διωδὰν of Eusebius. In regard however to the latter identification his arguments are not conclusive, *Dhizan* offering a sufficient explanation for *Desanaus*, without the necessity of correcting St. Jerome's orthography.

[8] There is no indication however that the Hamite word *Bar* thus explained really represents the name of the god. If that had been the case, the determinative of divinity would have been probably prefixed.

[9] See B. M. Ser. pl. 22, l. 33.

[1] It seems quite impossible, if *Marduk* were really the phonetic reading of the name of the god Merodach, that form should never be once used in expressing the name of the Babylonian king Merodach-Baladan, a name for which there are at least half a dozen variant orthographies.

must in later times have been known as *Merodach*, from his title forming the initial element in the name of the king *Merodach-Baladan*, is represented both in Assyrian and Babylonian by three independent groups of characters, which read respectively as *Su*, *Sit*, and *Amarut* (or possibly *Zurut*).[2] *Merodach* was, in all probability, a mere qualificative epithet like *Nipru*, which was originally attached to the name *Bel*, but which afterwards usurped the place of the proper name. Its signification is very doubtful, and all the epithets, indeed, by which Merodach is distinguished in the early period of Assyrian history are equally obscure. He would seem, however, to be called "the old man of the gods," "the judge" (?), and to have had the *gates* under his especial charge, probably as the seats of justice.[3] The earlier Assyrian kings usually name him in their prefatory invocations, but they do not seem to have held him in much veneration. Although as the tutelar god of Babylon from an early period, he was in great estimation in that province, the Babylonian kings being very generally named after him,[4] his worship does not appear to have been cordially adopted in Assyria until the time of Pul, and was perhaps cultivated in consequence of the consolidation of the two monarchies under one head, which, with some show of reason, is assigned to that king's reign. *Pul* at any rate sacrificed to *Bel* (*Merodach*), *Nebo*, and *Nergal* in their respective high seats at Babylon, Borsippa, and Cutha;[5] and he took credit to himself for having first prominently placed Merodach in the Pantheon of Assyria.[6] Sargon, without dedicating to him either a temple or a gate, still paid him great honour, and ascribed to the united influence of Asshur, Nebo, and Merodach his acquisition of the crown of Babylon. It is under the later Babylonian kings, however, that his glories seem to culminate. The inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar are for the most part

[2] That is, the initial character of the old Hamite name generally used for Merodach may be pronounced either *amar* or *zur*, according to the vocabularies. It is just possible that this name itself may read *Amardak* instead of *Amarut* (compare Ἀμορδακία of Ptolemy), but there is nothing to prove such a reading at present. Whether this be the case, or whether the phonetic representative of Merodach is still to be discovered, it is pretty clear that the name is Hamite, and that it is useless therefore to seek for its meaning in the Hebrew language.

[3] If these epithets are rightly rendered, the Assyrian *Bel-Merodach* will answer to the Βελιθὰν of the Phœnicians, *i. e.* בל אירן, "the old Bel" (Damasc. ap. Phot. p. 343), as well as to the بيل شيخ الوقار, "Bel, the grave old man" of the Sabæans of *Harran* (see Chwolsohn, vol. ii. p. 39), and especially to צדק, which is the Hebrew name for the planet Jupiter as the star of "Justice."

[4] One of the primitive Chaldæan kings whose bricks are found at *Warka* was named *Merodach-gina*. Another king of Babylon contemporary with Tiglath-Pileser I. was called *Merodach-adin-akhi*, and the names of the two rival monarchs of Babylon whose wars are recorded on the black obelisk of *Shalmanubar* each contained *Merodach* as the initial element.

[5] During the Assyrian period these were apparently the three high places of god-worship in Babylonia, for they are specifically mentioned both by *Shalmanubar* and Pul as the scenes of their sacrifice. Nothing indeed can be more evident than that Babylonia was a sort of *holy land* to the Assyrians. Every king who penetrates into the province offers sacrifices to the gods at their respective shrines, and the Babylonian idols seem to have been the most valuable trophies that the victorious monarch could carry back to Nineveh.

[6] See B. M. Ser. pl. 70, l. 17.

occupied with the praises of Merodach and with prayers for the continuance of his favour. The king ascribes to him his elevation to the throne; "Merodach the great lord has appointed me to the empire of the world, and has confided to my care the far-spread people of the earth;" "Merodach the great lord, the senior of the gods, the most ancient, has given all nations and people to my care;" "Merodach the great lord has established me in strength;" and Neriglissar speaks of him in the same style as "the first-born of the gods, the layer up of treasures, he who has raised me to supremacy over the world, who has increased my treasures, and has appointed me to rule over innumerable peoples." The prayer also to Merodach with which the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar always terminate, invokes the favour of the god for the protection of the king's throne and empire, and for its continuance through all ages to the end of time. It is quite clear, indeed, that under the later Babylonians, and especially under Nebuchadnezzar, Bel-Merodach was considered the source of all power and blessings, and had in fact concentrated in his own person the greater part of that homage and respect which had been previously divided among the various gods of the Pantheon, though at the same time it is impossible to say over what particular aspect or branch of human affairs he was supposed to preside.

An attempt has already been made under the second section to discriminate between Bel-Nimrud and Bel-Merodach, but a few remarks on the same subject require still to be added. The great Temple of Babylon, which had the old Hamite name of *Bit Saggath*, was the high place of the worship of Bel-Merodach, and it is in reference apparently to the particular idol of the god which was exhibited in this temple that the term Bel came to be used by the Assyrians instead of Merodach, as if the former term had been the proper name of the idol.[7] Thus, although Pul, Tiglath-Pileser and Sargon frequently speak of *Merodach* as an Assyrian god, they use the term Bel alone, and without any adjunct, when they notice the particular idol in the temple of *Beth Saggath*, to whom in conjunction with his wife *Zir-banit* they offer sacrifices, and who is thus positively identified with *Merodach*. It is indeed only on the supposition that the idol of *Merodach*, worshipped in the great Temple at Babylon, had the special title of *Bel*, that we can explain the separate and independent use of the two names in the royal Babylonian nomenclature, as for instance in the names of *Merodach-Baladan* and *Bel-shar-uzur*, or *Bel-shazzar*. The Greeks, as it is well known, are unanimous in ascribing the great Temple at Babylon to Jupiter Belus;[8] and the name

[7] In the famous denunciation of Isaiah against Babylon, chap. xlvi. ver. 1, Bel and Nebo are spoken of as the two great objects of worship, precisely as Sargon, who was the contemporary of Isaiah, uses the names of Bel and Nebo in the account of his Babylonian sacrifice. Jeremiah (chap. l. ver. 2), in a later age distinguishes, it is true, between Bel and Merodach, but it is possible that he merely refers to separate idols of the same god.

[8] The statue of Jupiter Belus described by Herodotus (i. 183), is certainly the same as the great idol of Merodach in the temple of *Bit Saggat*, of which Nebuchadnezzar has left so curious an account. It had been made of silver by an earlier king, but was overlaid with plates of gold by Nebuchadnezzar himself. (See E. I. H. Ins. col. 3, l. 1 to 7.)

of Bel, it may be added, is to the present day attached to the planet Jupiter in the astral mythology of the Mendæans.[9]

Bel-Merodach is frequently mentioned on the tablets as the son of *Hea* and *Davkina*, in exact accordance with the statement already quoted of Damascius; and he is everywhere associated with his wife *Zir-banit*,[1] who is also sometimes called "the queen of Babylon," out of compliment to the husband, though that title more properly belongs to *Ishtar* or *Nana*, as will be presently explained. The name of *Zir-banit* is of considerable interest. It might have been supposed, from the variant orthography as used in the Assyrian inscriptions, that it meant "she who produces offspring;" but from a passage in the great inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, where the goddess is as usual associated with *Merodach*, it is evident that *Zir* must be a proper name, and that *banit*, "genitrix," is the mere feminine of *banu*, which is one of the standard epithets of Merodach. The name, as written in the passage referred to, is *Zir Um-banitiya*, or "*Zir* the mother who bore me;"[2] and it is almost certain that in this title we must look for the original form of the *Succoth Benoth* of Scripture, the goddess worshipped by the Babylonian colonists in Samaria. Whether, however, *Succoth* is a Hamite term equivalent to *Zir*, imported by the colonists into Samaria, or whether, as may be suspected, it is not rather a Semitic mistranslation of the name—*Zirat*, "supreme," being confounded with *Zarat*, "tents,"—is a point we may hardly venture to decide.

There is but one notice of a temple to *Zir-banit* in the inscriptions, which was at Babylon, and probably attached to the temple of *Bit-Saggath*;[3] but as the name of *Zir-fanich* is applied in Arabic geography to a

[9] See Norberg's Onomasticon, p. 28, and observe also that the Sabæans of Harran called the 5th day of the week after *Bíl*, in allusion to the planet Jupiter. (Chwolsohn, vol. ii. p. 22.)

[1] Examples of this association occur, 1st, in the notice of the sacred rites performed by Tiglath-Pileser II. at Babylon (B. M. Ser. pl. 17, l. 15); 2ndly, in all the inscriptions of Sargon referring to his conquest of Babylon; 3rdly, on Sir T. Phillips's Cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar, col. 1, l. 27; 4thly, on the mythological tablets, *passim* and 5thly, in the E. I. House Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, col. 4, l. 16.

[2] It cannot of course be proved that the name which occurs in the E. I. H. Ins. col. 4, l. 16, refers to *Zir-banit*, but the identification is highly probable. For the convertibility of the initial sign with the phonetic reading of *Ziru*, compare B. M. Ser. pl. 12, l. 10, with pl. 87, l. 17, and for the indifferent orthography of this same word *Zir* with the hard or soft *Z*, comp. Sir T. Phillips's Cyl., col. 3, l. i, with *Birs-Nimrud* Cyl. col. 1, l. 3. Supposing *Zir* to be a Hamite name, like *Shala*, *Laz*, *Davkina*, &c., the feminine termination in *t* would not be required.

It may be added that Dr. Hincks prefers regarding the name *Zirbanit* or *Zirpanit* as a feminine adjective from a root *Zirb*, which also occurs in the name of the god *Bil Zirbu*. On the tablets, however, there is no apparent connexion between the two names; and if the *Zir-Umbanit* of the great Nebuchadnezzar inscription be really the same goddess, Dr. Hincks's proposed derivation must fall through.

In the later Persian or Magian mythology the name of *Zirfán* زرفان was applied to the moon. See Hyde, *De Rel. Vet. Pers.* p. 260.

[3] See Sir T. Phillips's Cyl. col. 1, l. 32. In this passage the proper name of the temple of *Zir-banit* is not given, but it may be presumed to be the same building as the *Bit Zir* of the E. I. H. Ins. col. 4, l. 14, though that edifice is explained to be the "temple of the god of *Mul-kharris*," which, according to the tablets, was a title of *Martu's*.

town on the Tigris, near the site of the ancient Apamæa, there can be little doubt but that the goddess also had a temple in that vicinity.

The numerical symbol of Bel-Merodach, as he is named at full length on the tablet, which applies notation to the Pantheon, is unfortunately erased, and there are no means at present of recognising the emblems either of the god or of his wife *Zir-banit*.

It may be added, however, that he is included in a list of stars, and assigned the second place perhaps in allusion to the position of Jupiter among the planets.

(xi.) The next god to be examined is *Nergal* or Mars. There can fortunately be no doubt in this case as to the pronunciation of the name, because it occurs in the first place as the initial element in the name of *Nergal-shar-uzur*, the Νιριγλήσαρος of the Greeks; and, secondly, because the deity in question can be positively identified with the Nergal of Scripture, the god of the Cuthites. This god was of Babylonian origin, and it may be doubted if he was ever known by a Semitic appellation, unless indeed *Aria*, "the lion," may be recognised as one of his proper names. His earliest title was *Va-gur* or *Va-tur*, of uncertain meaning. His standard title, *Ner-gal*, signified probably "the great hero," the first element having a peculiar adjunct attached to it to distinguish *Nir*, "a man or hero," from *Nir*, "an animal," and the second element *gal*, being a dialectic variation of *gula*, "great." The name is sometimes indicated by the use of the first element alone,[4] as has already been observed in the case of *As* for Asshur, *San* for *Sansi*, *Pa* for *Paku*, &c. Another title by which Nergal is frequently designated may be read phonetically as *Si-du*, but this is pure Hamite Babylonian (*si*, "before," *du* "going"), and simply means "preceding" or "going before," not however as "a herald," but rather as "an ancestor." Other names which equally apply to *Ner-gal* are "the brother" and "the great brother,"[5] though neither the phonetic reading of such names, nor the allusion they contain, is very clear. His epithets are not very numerous, but they are for the most part sufficiently distinct; thus, he is "the storm-ruler," "the king of battle," "the champion of the gods," "the male principle" (or "the strong begetter"), "the tutelar god of Babylonia," and "the god of the chace;" and more particularly he is "the ancestral god of the Assyrian kings." *Nergal* and *Nin* are the two gods under whose auspices all the expeditions, both for war and hunting, take place, and by whose assistance foes are discomfited and lions and other wild beasts are slain. If there is any distinction indeed to be observed between them, *Nergal* is more addicted to the chace of animals, and *Nin* or Hercules to that of mankind.[6]

All these special indications would seem to point to a tradition of Nimrod, "the great hunter," and the founder of the Babylonian empire, from whom the kings both of Babylon and Nineveh would trace their

[4] As on the notation tablet so often referred to.

[5] In the inscription of Sargon at *Nimrud*, *Nergal*, under the name of "the great brother," is said to be one of the resident gods of Calah. (B. M. Ser. pl. 34, l. 17.)

[6] See the annals of Sardanapalus throughout, and more particularly the legends on the hunting slabs of *Asshur-bani-pal*.

descent through, according to the boast of Sargon, three hundred and fifty generations; and there are circumstances also relating to the local worship of Nergal, which go far to confirm the connexion. Thus *Nergal* is constantly spoken of in exact accordance with Scripture, as the god of *Cutha* or *Tiggaba*.[1] On Sir Thomas Phillips' cylinder, *Nergal* and *Laz* are the gods of the temple of *Mishaa* in the city of *Tiggaba*. On a tablet in the Museum, *Nergal* is said to live in *Tiggaba*. *Pul* sacrifices to *Nergal* in *Tiggaba*, and it is therefore curious to find that at the time of the Arab conquest of Babylonia, and before Koranic fables could have penetrated into the country, *Cutha* was already recognised as the city of the old Nimrud of popular tradition, and a shrine was established there to mark the spot where the Chaldaean tyrant had cast the patriarch Abraham into the fire for refusing to embrace idolatry.[2]

There are other points of considerable interest relating to *Nergal*. A cuneiform term, written precisely like the name of the god, with the exception of the omission of the adjunct which qualifies *Nir*, is used in an inscription at *Khorsabad* as a synonym for the more ordinary term to denote "a lion,"[3] both of the phrases meaning, as it would seem, "the great animal," or "the noble animal." We might thus infer, that *Nergal* being amongst the gods as the lion amongst animals, was represented in the Assyrian sculptures by the figure of the *Man-Lion*, as his associate *Nin* was by the figure of the *Man-Bull*, and this inference becomes certainty when we discover on another tablet that *Aria*, the Hebrew and Syriac word for "a lion," is the Semitic name for the god who was king of *Tiggaba*. Whether then this name of *Aria* for "the god of battle," may not be connected with the Greek Ἄρης, becomes a legitimate object of inquiry.[4]

The only temple with which we are acquainted as belonging to *Nergal* besides the famous shrine at *Tiggaba*, is a small edifice that was late-

[1] For the identification of Cutha and *Tiggaba* compare B. M. Ser. pl. 46, l. 15, with pl. 91, l. 82. The city was named Διγουα by Ptolemy, *Digba* by Pliny, and *Tiguba* in the Peutingerian map. The ruins of Cutha, distant about twelve miles from Babylon, were first discovered by Sir H. Rawlinson in 1846, and have since been repeatedly visited by travellers.

[2] *Ibn Athir* in the *Kámil*, quoting from contemporary authority, states that *Saad*, the Arabian general in A. H. 16, after taking possession of *Cutha* in his advance on Ctesiphon, visited and offered up prayers at the shrine of *Ibrahim-el-Khalil*. The shrine, which still exists, and is yearly visited by crowds of pilgrims, is one of the holiest spots in the country. The fable of Abraham being cast into the furnace, which is founded on a mistranslation of the name of אור *Ur*, dates from the 3rd century of our era, and may very possibly have been engendered in the neighbouring Jewish academies of *Sura* and *Pumbeditha*, but no reason can be assigned for transferring the scene of the fable from *Mugheir* to Cutha, except the local tradition of the worship of *Nimrud* or *Nergal* at the latter place. In Arabic history the seat of Nimrud's empire is always placed at Cutha.

[3] This remarkable variant occurs in the Ins. No. 14, from Salle, 10.

[4] The more especially as the *Nedim* states that the Sabaeans of Harran still applied the name of *Ares*, اريس, to the 3rd day of the week, or Dies Martis. (Ssabier und der Ssabismus, vol. ii. p. 22.) It may be worth while also to notice the tradition preserved by Massoudi that the Assyrian kings took the name of *Arián*, or "the Lions," which was the same as *Nimrud*. (Notices des Manuscrits, tom. viii. p. 148.

ly opened on the mound of *Sherif Khan*, near Nineveh, the slabs and bricks of which bore legends stating that "Sennacherib, king of Assyria, had raised a temple named *Gallumis*, in the city of *Tarbiz*, to his lord the god *Nergal*."

Of *Laz*, the supposed wife of Nergal, who is associated with the god, both in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser II. and of Nebuchadnezzar we positively know nothing beyond the name.

The name of Nergal has not yet been found in the cuneiform stellar lists, but *Nerig*, a contraction for *Nergal*,[2] is the Mendæan name for the planet Mars to the present day.

It remains to consider whether the name of *Abnil*—a god who was worshipped in Assyria as late as the 4th century, Jovian having destroyed his temple at Nisibis[3]—applies to *Nergal* or *Nin*. As *Abnil* and *Barzil* appear to mean the same thing ("the stone god"),[4] and as the metal iron, which is named *Barzil* in Hebrew, is evidently connected with the god *Bar* in Assyrian, the same cuneiform signs being used for both, it would certainly seem most probable that *Abnil* was also a name for Hercules; and this conjecture is strengthened by the fact that the hieroglyphic name of a god found on the ivories of the north-west palace at Nimrud, and thus recording, it may be presumed, the guardian deity of the spot, whom we know to have been Hercules, has been read *Aubn-Ra*,[5] which is the same as *Aubn-il* or *Abnil*, *Il* and *Ra* for "a god" being used indifferently in the ancient Babylonian; but on the other hand, in the passage upon the cylinder of Neriglissar, where we have the actual cuneiform name of *Abn Ra*, we must, it would seem, suppose a reference to *Nergal* rather than to *Nin*, inasmuch as the one god was the guardian deity of the king (*Nergal-shar-uzur* meaning "*Nergal* protects the king"), whilst the other was, as has been already remarked, almost unknown to the later worship of the Babylonians. The passage on the cylinder is simply as follows:—"*Abn Ra*, the champion of the gods, has given him his shield," which of course may apply equally to either deity, though on the whole *Nergal* would seem to have a superior claim.

The name of *Nergal* is of very common occurrence on the cylinder-seals, but there is no emblem that can be distinctly assigned to him; and the numerical symbol which he bears, 12, is equally devoid, as far as we can ascertain, of any phonetic import.

(xii.) Next in order we have a goddess, whose ordinary phonetic name is *Ishtar*, the Ἀστάρτη of the Greeks and Ashteroth of Scripture. She is not very clearly distinguished from Beltis in some localities, but they are of course in their functions entirely different, the one answering

[2] The same contraction may be remarked in the name of Ἀβεννήριγος, king of Spasini Charax, mentioned by Josephus, Ant. xx. 2, § 1.

[3] The father of the famous Ephraem Syrus was a priest of this temple. (Asseman. Bib. Orient. vol. i. p. 26.)

[4] *Bard* or *Barz* in Kurdish is precisely the same as אבן in Hebrew, and traces of the old Hamite Babylonian are constantly to be recognised in that and the other mountain dialects.

[5] Mr. Birch, in his paper on the Nimrud ivories in the Journal of the Royal Society of Literature, has translated this name "the shining sun," but he was not then aware of the identity of the terms *Il* in Assyrian and *Ra* in Babylonian for "a god."

to the Rhea or Cybele of the Greeks, and the other to Venus. *Ishtar* was probably in its origin an Assyrian term rather than a Babylonian, but in process of time it came to be used in both countries, as a generic name for a goddess, precisely as *Asshur* was also used in Assyrian for a god.[6] What the primitive Babylonian synonym may have been cannot be proved; as the complicated monogram which represents it, is otherwise unknown.[7] During all the best known period however of Babylonian history, the name of *Nana*, phonetically written, is everywhere used to denote the goddess in question. As far as our present experience goes, the local name of *Nana* seems to have been unknown in Assyria, and the local name of *Ishtar* to have been unknown in Babylonia, until very recent times, and we should therefore be almost justified in believing *Ishtar* and *Nana* to be absolute synonyms—and the more especially as the two names are actually in use at the present time, *Ashtar* in Mendæan,[8] and *Nani* in Syrian,[9] to denote the planet Venus,—were it not that in some of the lists of the idols belonging to the different temples, *Ishtar* and *Nana* are given as independent deities. Perhaps, however, even in this case, the distinction may only be that *Ishtar* is the Babylonian, and *Nana* the Assyrian Venus The epithets applied to the goddess are as follows. On the Tiglath-Pileser cylinder she is "the head of the gods," "the Queen of victory," "the avenger of battles," and throughout the inscription she has the title attached to her of *Asurah*, "the fortunate" or "the happy." In the Sardanapalus inscriptions she is "the mistress of heaven and earth," "she who defends from attack." Sargon, who joins her with *Anu* as the patroness of the western gate at Khorsabad, merely describes her as "the goddess who rejoices mankind." Although Sennacherib and Esar-haddon both mention her, they do not make any allusion to her functions; but in the hunting legends of *Asshur-bani-pal*, she is distinctly called both "the goddess of war" and "the goddess of the chace."

Her shrines also were numerous. Whether she was worshipped at Calah is doubtful, but she had certainly a fane at *Asshur*, and two very celebrated temples at Nineveh and Arbela. An inscription indeed has been found at *Koyunjik*, recording the erection of a temple to her on that site by the great Sardanapalus; and there is also a minute account on a clay tablet of the restoration of her shrine at Arbela by *Asshur-bani-pal*, in whose historical inscriptions she is moreover usually called "the Lady of Arbela." There can be little doubt then but that Esar-

[6] So in Scripture *Baalim* and *Ashteroth* (or *Asheroth*) are simply used for the idols of gods and goddesses. (Compare Judges xi. 13 with 1 Sam. vii. 12.)

[7] In the E. I. House Inscription, col. 5, ls. 47 and 54, where this monogram is used in reference to a particular locality in Babylon, named after the goddess, it must be presumed that the phonetic reading would be *Nana*.

[8] See Norberg's Onomasticon, p. 20.

[9] The name of *Nani* is given by the Syrian lexicographer *Bar Bahlul*, as one of the fifteen titles applied to the planet Venus by the Arabs, but it may be doubted if the name is found in any Arabic poetry or history that is now extant. The Elymæan temple of Venus, as it is well known, is called the Temple of Ναναΐα in 2 Maccab. i. 12, and the same legend of NANAIA is constantly found on the coins of the Indo-Scythians, who borrowed their religion as well as their letters from the banks of the Euphrates. Places also which still bear the name of *Bíbí Náni*, or "the lady Venus," are not uncommon in Afghanistan.

haddon's address, which has been already noticed, to the goddess XV. of Nineveh and the goddess XV. of Arbela must refer to this divinity, although the numeral in question, being identical with the sign *Ri*, ought to indicate the other female goddess, Beltis.[1] *Ishtar* is occasionally spoken of even in the inscriptions of Assyria, as "the lady of Babylon,"[2] but in general, where the Babylonian Venus is mentioned by the kings of Assyria, the name is used of *Nana*. Thus Tiglath-Pileser records his having sacrificed in Babylonia to *Nana* the Lady of Babylon, together with four other pairs of deities—*Asshur* and *Sheruha*, *Bel* (*Merodach*) and *Zir-banit*, *Nebo* and *Varamit*, and *Nergal* and *Laz*; and Sennacherib also relates how he carried off as trophies from his Babylonian expedition the sun-god of *Larancha*, *Beltis* of *Rubesi*, and *Beltis* of *Warka*; *Nana*, *Bilat Tila* (or the Queen of Life?), *Bidinnu*, *Bishit*, and *Nergal*.

On one mythological tablet, containing equivalent lists of the gods arranged in three columns, it must be admitted that *Ishtar* and *Nana* are separated, as if they were distinct deities, *Ishtar* being joined with "the queen of the chace" and *Bilat Ili*, while *Nana* is associated with *Telita*, "goddess of the lakes;" with "the queen of Babylon," or (according to the old nomenclature) *Din-Tirki*;[3] and with another deity, "the queen of the stars," evidently the planet Venus; but it is impossible to say whether association in this tablet implies identity or merely relationship.

It must further be noticed that on Sir Thos. Phillips's cylinder *Nana* is throughout joined with *Nebo*, as if they were man and wife, taking the place of the goddess *Varamit*, who appears everywhere else as the associate of the god, and thus leading to the inference that the two names must relate to the same deity. This is a difficulty which our present means of information do not enable us to clear up, for the only list we possess of the synonyms of *Varamit*, the wife of Nebo, is too much injured to be of any use; and although on another tablet the double union is given of *Nebo* and *Nana* and *Nebo* and *Varamit*, it is not explained whether the two names do, or do not, refer to the same goddess. The evidence, such as we have, however, is certainly against the identity. *Varamit*, otherwise of great celebrity, is never once mentioned in the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar, full as they are of information with regard

[1] The Babylonian *Ri* for 15 is probably cognate with the Pehlevi *Ré* for 20, and the term may perhaps have been used indiscriminately for "a goddess," which would account for its indifferent application both to Beltis and *Ishtar*. Another proof of the confusion between these goddesses is in the Sabæan use of the name of بلثى, *Belthi* or *Beltis*, for the 6th day of the week, or "Dies Veneris." (See Ssabier und der Ssabismus, vol. ii. p. 22.)

[2] This may be observed in the inscription on the back of the slab from *Negub*, near *Nimrud*, which has not yet been published.

[3] The old Hamite name, or at any rate one of the old Hamite names of the city of Babylon, must have been read *Din-Tirki*, *din*, "a city," being the root of صل ينه, and the final *ki* being the mere affix of locality; what the meaning of *Tir*, however, may have been, is very doubtful. The name, entirely unknown in sacred or profane history, seems nevertheless to have been in use as late as the age of Darius Hystaspes, for in the Babylonian version of the Behistun inscription it replaces the *Babirush* of the Persian text.

to the temples of Babylonia; she was evidently therefore out of favour with that monarch, and *Nana* may very possibly have been thrust temporarily into her place; but the marriage of the two planets Venus and Mercury would be such a solecism in astral mythology, that it cannot be admitted without direct proof. *Ishtar* is left without any number on the notation tablet, and her emblem among the divine symbols cannot be recognised with any certainty.

(xiii.) The last of the five minor gods is Nebo, or Mercury. This god was also of Babylonian rather than Assyrian origin, and had the primitive names of *Paku* (the intelligent (?)), *Ak*, and *Nabiú*, *Nabu* being a later Semitic reading.[4] His functions are not by any means clearly defined, the epithets which describe them being for the most part of doubtful import. The following titles, however, afford some clue to his character in the Assyrian Pantheon. He is "the holder of the sceptre of power"—"the god who teaches or instructs." Upon his statue, executed by an artist of Calah, for Pul and Semiramis, there is a long list of epithets, but a few only can be understood. He is "the inspector over the heavens and the earth"—"he who hears from afar"—"the holder of the sceptre" (?)—"he who possesses intelligence"—"he who teaches"—"the glorifier of Bel Nimrod"—"Lord of lords, who has no equal in power"—"the sustainer"—"the supporter"—"the ever ready"—"whose wand is good."[5] Nebuchadnezzar, who was under his especial protection, calls him "the inspector over the heavens and earth, who has given the sceptre of power into my hand for the guardianship of mankind;" and again, "the lord of the constellations (?) who has granted me the sceptre of power for the guidance of my people." So also Neriglissar—"Nabu, the eldest son, has given the sceptre of power into my hand, to guide mankind and to regulate the people." There are many other epithets which seem to refer to Nebo, as the god of learning, or rather of letters, but it would hardly be safe to translate them. It may, however, be remarked, that on the numerous tablets of *Asshur-bani-pal*, which the king ordered to be drawn up for the purpose of acquainting the people of Assyria with the language, the religion, the science, and even the literature of the earlier and more polished Babylonians, the work is usually said to be undertaken under the auspices of the "far-hearing" gods, *Nabu* and *Warmita*, in evident allusion to their character as the divinities who presided over knowledge.[6]

The statues of Nebo in the British Museum were found in a chamber at the south-east corner of the mound at Nimrud, which chamber

[4] *Nabiu* or *Nabiv* has been hitherto believed to be a mere irregular phonetic rendering of the name; but the vocabularies show that *Nabiu* was Hamite and *Nabu* Semitic for the same term, which was probably connected with the Hebrew root נבא, "to boil forth" or "prophesy."

[5] There are other titles which appear to relate to Nebo as the patron of the magic art, but further research is necessary before they can be satisfactorily explained.

[6] Nebo occupies a very inferior place in the Pantheon under the early Assyrian kings; he is either not mentioned at all, or, at the very close of the invocation passages, as the last of the minor gods. Pul indeed appears to have first brought Nebo prominently forward in Assyria after his settlement of Babylon.

must have belonged to a temple called *Bit Saggil*, as the god is named in the inscription *Pal-Bit Saggil*, "the son of the temple of *Saggil*," in the same manner as *Nin* is named *Pal-Zira* and *Pal-Kura* from the various temples in which he was worshipped. The most famous temple, however, of Nebo's was at Borsippa, and is known in the inscriptions under the name of *Bit Zida*, an old Hamite term of which the Semitic equivalent has not yet been found. This temple indeed of Nebo at Borsippa was almost as celebrated as the neighbouring temple of Bel-Merodach at Babylon. Each of these temples had a tower attached, in which was deposited the ark or tabernacle of the god. The tower of the temple of *Bit Saggath*, containing the ark of Merodach, is fully described in the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar; and is that of which Herodotus has given so remarkable an account in his notice of the great temple of Belus at Babylon. The tower of the temple of *Bit Zida* at Borsippa, which contained the ark or tabernacle of Nebo, and which was built after the fashion of the seven spheres, is that celebrated edifice of which the ruins exist to the present day, bearing the name of *Birs-Nimrud*.[7]

On Sir Thomas Phillips's cylinder it is repeatedly stated that *Nana* was associated with Nebo in the worship at this temple, but in no other inscription of Nebuchadnezzar's is there any allusion to such a union. There was a part of Babylon apparently called after *Nana* "protecting her votaries,"[8] but she has no temple in Nebuchadnezzar's detailed list on the East India House slab; nor is there any allusion to the name of *Varamit*, who was the true wife of Nebo, throughout that inscription. It is only from the tablets and from the Babylonian notices in the Assyrian inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser and Sargon that we are positively assured of *Varamit* being the wife of Nebo.[9]

There is another interesting circumstance connected with Nebo's patronage of learning. In an interior chamber of the *Birs Nimrud*, which seems to have been a chapel or oratory, all the bricks are found to be stamped—in addition to the ordinary Nebuchadnezzar legend—with the triangular figure of the wedge or arrow-head, an emblem which is also commonly found both on the cylinder seals and among the groups of divine emblems. The inference from this fact certainly is that the arrow-head was adopted as the symbol of Nebo because it was the essential element of cuneiform writing, which must have thus been under his especial care; and there is further a coincidence between this symbol

[7] Dr. Hincks has remarked that the two signs employed to represent Nebo on the often-quoted notation tablet are those which separately indicate "fire;" but he is unable to detect any connexion between "fire" or "flame" and the god in question. Norberg, however, under the head *Nebo*, in his Onomasticon, p. 98, remarks of Mercury, "Solatus et perustus, cum cæteris planetis soli vicinior sit, a poetis fingitur;" and the stage or sphere of Nebo at Birs-Nimrud is thus formed of brick burnt into slag, and exhibiting the blue colour which was sacred to him.

[8] See E. I. H. Ins. col. 5, ls. 47 and 54.

[9] The reading of *Varamit* or *Urmit* is not quite certain, nor is there any etymology for the name which appears particularly applicable, for a derivation from רום, "to be high," would suit any other god or goddess equally well. If the name might be read *Khammamit* (and there is authority for thus valuing the initial sign) a far more interesting field would be opened for comparison with Arabic and Mendæan names.

and one of the best authenticated names of Nebo which can hardly be fortuitous. The name alluded to is *Tír*, which means, on the one hand, "an arrow," and which, on the other, is the old Persian name of the planet;[1] and that this title must have been applied to Mercury as early as the time of Nebuchadnezzar is proved by the city which the king built and dedicated to his favourite deity at the mouth of the Euphrates, calling it Τερήδων[2] or Διρίδωτις, "given to Mercury." In the Mendæan books also, Nebo, who represents the planet Mercury, is called "the scribe;" and the same character appertains, to a certain extent, to the Egyptian Tet, the Greek Hermes, and the Latin Mercury.[3] Of course it is to this god that we must refer the traditions of the Babylonian Hermes, the reputed author of the Chaldæan oracles.[4] There was an old Syriac legend that Hermes was buried at Kalwadha,[5] the city from whence the Chaldæans took their name;[6] but no particular connexion has been yet detected in the inscriptions between that city and Nebo. The high place of the latter was Borsippa,[7] and it was no doubt in the colleges attached to this shrine of the god of learning that the Borsippene Chaldæans obtained such celebrity.[8] The respective worship of *Bel-Merodach* at Babylon and of *Nebo* at Borsippa, was maintained, it would seem, to the 3rd or 4th century of Christ, as it is mentioned in the Talmudic tract on Idolatry, which is supposed to be of the latter period of history.[9] The tablets do not give any satisfactory information as to the parentage of Nebo or his relationship to the other gods; but on his statue he calls himself the son of *Kimmut*, the astronomical name of *Héa*, and there is doubtless in their functions a general resemblance between the two gods. In this respect, however, Babylonian departs from classical tradition, as the Greek Hermes was the well known son of Zeus and Maia.

[1] It is here taken for granted that Nebo is the planet Mercury. The identification indeed is proved both by the books of the Mendæans and by the calendar of the Sabæans of Harran, in which the fourth day of the week (Dies Mercurii) was named نبوق, *Nebuk*, with the guttural termination which was so often added after a long vowel.

[2] As the name of this city involves some very important ethnological considerations, it may be as well to note that the fact of its foundation by Nebuchadnezzar is given by Megasthenes from Abydenus, on the authority of Berosus. (See Cory's Frag. p. 46.) That the name is at any rate as old as the time of Alexander is further proved by the occurrence of the name of Διρίδωτις, which has precisely the same meaning in Arrian. de Reb. Ind. p. 588. See all the authorities for Teredon and Diridotis in Cell. Geog. vol. ii. p. 641, 642. The name of Tiridates, so well known in later history, is of cognate derivation.

[3] The Persians pretended that the planet Mercury received the name of *Tir*, "an arrow," from the swiftness of its movement. (See Hyde de Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 242.)

[4] See the various notices of this Hermes collected by Chwolsohn in "Ssabier und der Ssabismus," also Smith's Biograph. Dic. in voc. Trismegistus.

[5] Abulfarage has preserved this tradition in his Historia Dynastiarum (p. 8.)

[6] See the quotation from *Massoudi's Tenbih* in Not. des Man. tom. viii. p. 158.

[7] *Nabu* is thus especially named on the tablets the Lord of *Barsip* or Borsippa.

[8] Strabo, lib. xvi. § 6, p. 509.

[9] *Babel* and *Bursif* are repeatedly named together in the Mendæan Sidr precisely as *Babel* and *Bursi* are associated in the *Avodha Sara*, but the worship of Bel and Nebo seems to have expired at these places before the former work was written.

4. A very few lines must suffice for the remaining gods of the Pantheon. Those most deserving of attention are—1. *Allata*, a goddess named independently, as if of some importance, and probably therefore identical with the 'Αλίττα of Herodotus. 2. *Bel Zirpu*, a god to whom Nebuchadnezzar erected a temple in the city of *Baz*, and who is named, though not described, on the tablets. He may be the Jupiter Serapis in whose temple at Babylon Alexander's officers held their vigils in his last fatal illness, praying for the life of their lord. 3. *Idak* and his wife *Belat Muk*, gods of the Tigris; and *Supulat* of *Vaddula*, Lord of the Euphrates. 4. *Kanisura*, who had a temple at *Cutha*.[1] 5. *Kurrikh* of *Bit Akkil*, a goddess who is very frequently mentioned on the tablets. 6. *Sarrakhu* and *Mumit*, Lord and Lady of *Kis* (Κισσία of Herodotus). 7. *Zamali* of *Khupshan*, also of great celebrity in the old Chaldæan time, being mentioned on Porter's Hymer brick. 8. *Lagamal*, who is perhaps the same god as *Ip*, to whom Nebuchadnezzar raises a temple in the town of *Asbi*.[2] 9. *Wada* or *Nin-Wada* of *Tarmaz*, whose name probably occurs in *Kalwadha*, answering to the Scriptural *Chilmad*.[3] 10. *Bahu*, which may be a name for the Sun, being joined with *Sin*, "the Moon:" and a vast number of other names, such as *Ebikh*, *Zarik*, *Zalmu*, *Miskhara*, *Gasran*, *Vara*, or *Bel Vara*, (to whom Tiglath Pileser I. raised a temple at Asshur), *Shasit*, *Narud*, *Kippat*, *Paniri*, *Gunura*, *Kilili*, *Sakhirta*, *Pashirta*, &c.[4]

5. Every town and village indeed throughout Babylonia and Assyria appears to have had its own particular deity, many of these no doubt being the great gods of the Pantheon disguised under rustic names, but others being distinct local divinities. It can be of no interest to pursue the subject into greater detail, nor indeed are the materials available. If the Oriental student will recall the multitudinous names that swarm up out of the Pantheon of the Hindoos or Mendæans, he will be able to form some idea of the result which awaits the labours of any zealous antiquary who will take the trouble to clean the thousands of mythological clay tablets now mouldering on the shelves of the British Museum, and who will afterwards copy and decipher their legends.—[H. C. R.]

[1] It is curious that on one tablet *Kanisura* should be assigned to Cutha, and Nergal should be called king of Larancha, in opposition to all other authorities which, as far as Babylonia is concerned, pretty well confine Nergal to Cutha or Tiggaba.

[2] See Sir T. Phillips's Cyl. col. 2, l. 46. *Asbi* is said in the vocabularies to be equivalent to *Nabu*, and the town on the tablets is associated with Borsippa, as if in its immediate vicinity.

[3] *Wadd*, ود, was still worshipped by the Arabs up to the time of the Prophet, and is denounced in the Koran. (See Pococke's Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 95.)

[4] In this brief abstract of the names of some of the gods mentioned in the mythological tablets the foreign deities are not included, though some of their names are of considerable interest. The tutelar god of Susa, for instance, was named *Armannu*, which would seem to be connected with Arimanes on the one side and with the Teutonic *Herman* or Arminius on the other. Another Elymæan god was *Humba*, and a city was called after him near the mouth of the Euphrates, which seems to be the Ἄμπη of Herodotus. On the cylinder indeed of *Asshur-bani-pal* there is a list of twenty gods whom the king carried off as trophies from Susa.

ESSAY XI.

ON THE ETHNIC AFFINITIES OF THE NATIONS OF WESTERN ASIA.

1. Intermixture of races in Western Asia. 2. Earliest population Turanian. 3. Development of Hamitism and Semitism. 4. Indo-European family. 5. Turanian races: (i.) Parthians—(ii.) Asiatic Ethiopians—(iii.) Colchians—(iv.) Sapeiri—(v.) Moschi and Tibareni—(vi.) Early Armenians—(vii.) Cappadocians—(viii.) Susianians—(ix.) Chaldæans—(x.) Nations probably Turanian. 6. Semitic races: (i.) Cilicians—(ii.) Solymi—(iii.) Lydians not Semitic—(iv.) Cappadocians and Himyaritic Arabs not Semitic—(v.) Other Semitic races. 7. Division of the Semitic races into groups: (*a*) Eastern, or Assyro-Babylonian group—(*b*) Western, or Hebræo-Phœnician group—(*c*) Central or Arabian group. 8. Small extent of Semitism. 9. Late appearance of the Indo-Europeans, historically. 10. Spread of the race from Armenia, threefold. 11. Northern migration, into Europe. 12. Nations of the Western migration: (i.) Pelasgi—(ii.) Phrygians—(iii.) Lydians—(iv.) Carians—(v.) Mysians—(vi.) Lycians and Caunians—(vii.) Matienians (?). 13. Eastern, or Arian migration. 14. Nations belonging to it: (i.) Persians—(ii.) Medes—(iii.) Carmanians—(iv.) Bactrians—(v.) Sogdians—(vi.) Arians of Herat—(vii.) Hyrcanians—(viii.) Sagartians—(ix.) Chorasmians—(x.) Sarangians—(xi.) Gandarians, &c. 15. Tabular view.

1. In Western Asia, the cradle of the human race, the several ethnic branches of the human family were more closely intermingled, and more evenly balanced than in any other portion of the ancient world. Semitic, Indo-European, and Tâtar, or Turanian races, not only divided among them this portion of the earth's surface, but lay confused and interspersed upon it, in a most remarkable entanglement. It is symptomatic of this curious intermixture, that the Persian monarchs, when they wished to publish a communication to their Asiatic subjects in such a way that it should be generally intelligible, had to put it out, not only in three different languages, but in three languages belonging to the three principal divisions of human speech. Hence the trilingual inscriptions of Behistun, Persepolis, &c., which consist of an Indo-European, a Tâtar and a Semitic column. Hence, too, through the unchangingness of all things human in the East, the remarkable parallelism of modern with ancient edicts in these regions, where at the present day it is necessary in many places to employ three tongues, representatives of the three families, the Persian, the Arabic, and the Turkish, in proclamations addressed generally to the inhabitants. Indo-European and Semitic races continue as of old the principal occupants of the territory. The Tâtar element is present now, as then, in a less proportion than the others. The only difference is, that from a subject the Tâtar has become the dominant race.

In attempting to reduce into some order this chaos, and to refer the several nations existing in Western Asia at the time of Herodotus to their true ethnic type, I shall follow what appears, on a view of the

entire phenomena, to have been the chronological series in which the several families spread themselves over the region in question.

2. If then we go back to the earliest times to which either the light of history, sacred and profane, or the less certain but still valuable clue of ethnological research, enables us to reach, we seem to find spread over the whole of the tract of which we are speaking, a Scythic, or Turanian population. It is indeed perhaps too much to presume a real affinity of race between all the nations whose form of speech was of this character. For the Turanian type of language is not, like the Semitic and the Indo-European or Arian, a distinct and well-defined family.[1] The title of *Allophylian*, by which the greatest of English ethnologists[2] designated this linguistic division, was not without a peculiar appropriateness; marking, as it did, the fact that there is no such affinity between the various branches of this so-called ethnic family, as that which holds together the several varieties of Semitic and Arian speech. Turanian speech is rather a stage than a form of language; it seems to be the earliest mould into which human discourse naturally, and as it were spontaneously, throws itself; being simpler, ruder, coarser, and far less elaborate than the later developments of Semitism and Arianism. It does not, like those tongues, possess throughout its manifold ramifications a large common vocabulary, or even a community of inflexions. Common words are exceedingly rare;[3] and inflexions, though formed on the same plan, are in their elements entirely unlike. It is only in general character and genius that the Turanian tongues can be said to resemble one another, and the connexion between them, although it may be accounted for by real consanguinity or descent from a common stock, does not necessitate any such supposition, but may be sufficiently explained without it. The principle of *agglutination*,[4] as it is called, which is their

[1] Professor Max Müller says, "The third family is the Turanian. It comprises all languages spoken in Asia or Europe not included under the Arian or Semitic families, with the exception perhaps of the Chinese and its dialects. This is, indeed, a very wide range; and *the characteristic marks of union ascertained for this immense variety of languages are as yet very vague and general*, if compared with the definite ties of relationship which severally unite the Semitic and the Arian." (Languages of the Seat of War, p. 86, 2nd ed.)

[2] Dr. Prichard.

[3] "The most necessary substantives, such as father, mother, daughter, son, have frequently been lost, and replaced by synonyms in the different branches of this (the Turanian) family; yet common words are found, though *not with the same consistency and regularity* as in Semitic and Arian dialects. The Turanian numerals and pronouns *point to* a single original source; yet here again the tenacity of these nomadic dialects *cannot be compared* with the tenacity of the political languages of Asia and Europe (the Semitic and the Arian): and common roots, discovered in the most distant nomadic idioms, are mostly *of a much more general form and character* than the radicals of the Arian and Semitic treasuries."—(Müller's Languages of the Seat of War, p. 88.)

[4] Thus explained by Professor Müller: "Agglutination. This means not only that in their grammars pronouns are glued to the verbs in order to form the conjugation, or prepositions to substantives in order to form declensions.... What distinguishes the Turanian languages is, that in them the conjugation and declension can still be taken to pieces; and although the terminations have by no means retained their significative power as independent words, they are still felt as modificatory syllables, and distinct from the words to which they are added." (Languages of the Seat of War, p. 90.)

most marked characteristic, seems almost a necessary feature of any language in a constant state of flux and change, absolutely devoid of a literature, and maintaining itself in existence by means of the scanty conversation of nomades. A natural instinct, working uniformly among races widely diverse, might produce the effect which we see; and at any rate we are not justified in assuming the same original ethnic unity among the various nations whose language is of the Turanian type, which presses upon the mind as an absolute necessity when it examines the phenomena presented by the dialects of the Semitic or of the Arian stock.

3. All then, perhaps, that can be said with any certainty is, that in the most ancient times of which we possess any knowledge, the form of speech called the Turanian seems to have been generally prevalent from the Caucasus to the Indian Ocean, and from the shores of the Mediterranean to the mouths of the Ganges. We might perhaps largely extend these limits, and say, that the whole Eastern hemisphere was originally occupied by a race or races, whose various dialects possessed the characteristics of the linguistic type in question.[5] It is, however, enough for our present purpose to confine the assertion to the region known as Western Asia, the tract lying between Hindustan and the Egean, the Black Sea and the Southern or Indian Ocean. Within this district the Armenians (?), the Susianians, or Elymæans, the early Babylonians, the inhabitants of the south coast of Arabia, the original people of the Great Iranic plateau and of the Kurdish mountains, and the primitive population of India, can be shown, it is said, to have possessed dialects of this character;[6] while probability is strongly in favour of the general occupation of the whole region by persons speaking the same type of language. The primitive form of the tongue, crystallising among the less civilised hordes, has remained from the early times of which we are here speaking to the present day, the language of four-fifths of Asia, and of many of the remoter parts of Europe. It is spoken by the

[5] The original occupation of Asia by Turanian races is proved in the text, and is generally admitted; the peopling of Europe in primeval times by tribes having a similar form of speech, which yielded everywhere to the Indo-European races, and were either absorbed or driven into holes and corners, is apparent from the position of the Lapps, Finns, Esths, and Basques, whose dialects are of the Turanian type. Africa, where the Hamitic character of speech prevails, might seem to be an exception, more especially since Hamitism is represented by the best modern Ethnologers (Bunsen's Philosophy of Universal History, vol. i. ch. vi.; Max Müller's Languages of the Seat of War, p. 24, 2nd ed.) as a form of Semitism, and distinct altogether from the Turanian family. But the early Babylonian language in its affinity with the Susianian, the second column of the cuneiform trilingual inscriptions, the Armenian cuneiform, and the Mantchoo Tátar on the one hand, with the Galla, the Gheez, and the ancient Egyptian on the other, may be cited as a proof of the original unity between the languages of Africa and Asia; a unity sufficiently shadowed out in Genesis (x. 6–20), and confirmed by the manifold traditions concerning the two Ethiopias, the Cushites above Egypt, and the Cushites of the Persian Gulf. Hamitism, then, although no doubt the form of speech out of which Semitism was developed, is itself rather Turanian than Semite; and the triple division corresponding to the sons of Noah, which the earlier ethnologers adopted, may still be retained, the Turanian being classed with the Hamitic, of which it is an earlier stage.

[6] For the detail of the proof, vide infra, pp. 528–533.

Finns and Lapps, the Turks and Hungarians, the Ostiaks and Samoeides, the Tâtars and Thibetians, the Mongols, Uzbeks, Turcomen, Mantchous, Kirghis, Nogais, &c.; by all the various races which wander over the vast steppes of Northern Asia and Eastern Europe; by the hill-tribes of India, and by many nations of the Eastern Archipelago. In certain favoured positions—in the great Mesopotamian plain, and in the valley of the Nile, where settled communities were early formed and civilisation naturally sprang up, the primitive or Turanian character of speech exhibited a power of development, becoming first Hamitic, and then, after a considerable interval, and by a fresh effort, throwing out Semitism. It is impossible to say at what exact time the form of speech known as Hamitic originated. Probably its rise preceded the invention of letters, and there are reasons for assigning the origination of the change to Egypt. From the Egyptians, the children of Mizraim, it naturally spread to the other Hamitic races—then perhaps dwellers in that land[7]—and by them was carried in one line to Ethiopia, Southern Arabia, Babylonia, Susiana, and the adjoining coast; in another, to Philistia, Sidon, Tyre, and the country of the Hittites. The steps of this development cannot be traced; but in the Babylonian records there are said to be evidences of the gradual development of Semitism from the Hamitic type of speech, which throw some light upon the previous transition. This change, which seems to have attained to a certain degree of completeness about the beginning of the 20th century B. C.,[8] was accompanied or shortly followed by a series of migratory movements, which carried the newly formed linguistic type to the upper Tigris, and middle Euphrates, to Syria, Palestine, Arabia, and the borders of Egypt. Asshur probably "went forth" at this time out of Babylon into Assyria,[9] while the Aramæans ascended the stream of the Euphrates; the Phœnicians (perhaps, however, at that period hardly Semitized) passed from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean;[1] Abraham and his followers proceeded from Ur by way of Harran to the south of Palestine; and the Joktanian Arabs overspread the great peninsula. From these seats subsequent migrations carried Semitism at a later period to Cyprus, Cilicia, Pisidia, Lycia, on the one hand; to Carthage, Sicily, Spain, and Western Africa, on the other.

4. The origin of the Indo-European tongue is involved in complete obscurity. Whether it was from the first a form of language distinct from the Turanian, or whether, like Semitism, it was a development, we have no linguistic records left us to determine. It is perhaps most philosophical to suppose that one law produced both the

[7] Egypt is κατ' ἐξοχὴν the "land of Ham" (Ps. lxxviii. 51; cv. 23, 27; cvi. 22), therefore perhaps called *Chemi*, its only title upon the monuments. Ham probably took up his abode there, and his name passed on both to the country, and to its original chief god, Khem, the special deity of the Thebais, which was the first seat of civilisation in Egypt. Egypt too furnishes the natural centre from which the different Hamitic races can diverge to Ethiopia, Arabia, Babylonia, Palestine, and the Syrian coast. (See the genealogy of the children of Ham, Gen. x. 6–20.)

[8] Supra, Essay vi. p. 356. [9] Gen. x. 11.

[1] See note [2] on Book i. ch. 1, and compare the Essay appended to Book vii., 'On the Migration of the Phœnicians.'

Semitic and Indo-European types; and as the former can, it is thought, be proved to have been developed from the primitive cast of speech, to assume the same of the latter. This too would be more in accordance with Scripture than the contrary supposition, since we read of a time when "the whole earth was of one language."[2] The place where the development arose was most probably Armenia, whence the several lines of Indo-European migration appear to have issued. Westward from that high mountain region one line may be supposed to have passed into Asia Minor, and thence flowed on to Greece, Italy, and Sicily; northward another to have penetrated the Caucasus, and entering the region of the Steppes to have spread widely over them, proceeding thence round the Black Sea into Central and Western Europe; while eastward a third line, passing to the south of the Caspian, found its way across the mountains of Affghanistan, and settled upon the Indus.

5. Of the original period of Turanian preponderance—the period designated by the term Σκυθισμὸς in early Christian writers[3]—when Turanian or Scythic races were everywhere predominant, and neither Arian nor Semitic civilisation had as yet developed themselves, it is not of course to be expected that we should possess, either in Herodotus or elsewhere, much authentic history. The second, or Median dynasty of Berosus in Babylon,[4] and the Scythic domination of Justin,[5] seem however to be distinct historical notices of the time in question. The most striking trace of the former condition of things which remained in the days of Herodotus, was the existence everywhere in Western Asia of a large Scythic or Turanian element in the population. The historian indeed is not himself distinctly conscious of the fact. But the notices which his work contains of Scyths and Scythic influence in Western Asia,[6] are indicative of the real condition of things, which the recently discovered cuneiform records place altogether beyond a doubt. Besides the Scythic inscriptions of Armenia (?), Susa, and Elymais, it is found that the Achæmenian monuments, wherever set up, contain in one column a Scythic dialect,[7] which would certainly not have been added unless a considerable section of the population had understood no other tongue.[8] These Scythic writings appear not only in Media, as at Elwand and Behistun, but in Persia Proper—at Nakhsh-i-Rustam and Pasargadæ. They can only be accounted for by the supposition, that before the great immigration of the Arian races from the East, Scythic or Tâtar tribes occupied the countries seized by them. This population was for the

[2] Gen. xi. 1.

[3] Paschal Chronicle (p. 49, A), Epiphanius (adv. Hæres. i. 5–7), John of Malala (Chronogr. p. 25–6).

[4] Beros. Fr. 11.

[5] Justin. i. 1, and ii. 1–4.

[6] Herod. i. 73, 104–6; iii. 93; vii. 64.

[7] This was first asserted by Col. Rawlinson (Beh. Inscr. i. p. 34). It has since been abundantly proved by Mr. Norris of the Foreign Office. (Journal of the Asiatic Society, vol. xv. part i.)

[8] M. Bunsen produces a wrong impression when he speaks of the Scythic translation as intended "for the *Transoxanian* or Scythian populations" (Philos. of Univ. Hist. i. p. 194). They could only be intended for the Scythian population of the places where they were set up.

most part absorbed in the conquering element. In places however it maintained itself in some distinctness, and retained a *quasi* nationality, standing to the conquerors as the Welch and ancient Cornish to the Anglo-Saxons of our own country. The Sacæ of Herodotus, and *Saka* of the inscriptions, distinguished into *Saka Humawarga*,[9] and *Saka Tigrakhuda*, are remnants of this description; and, taken in conjunction with the Armenians (?), Susianians, Chaldæans, and Southern Arabs, mark the original continuity of the Turanian occupation of these countries, just as rocks of the same formation, rising separate and isolated from the surface of the ocean, indicate the existence anciently of a tract uniting them, which the waves have overpowered and swept away.

If we inquire more particularly which of the Western Asiatic nations in the time of Herodotus were either wholly or largely Turanian, we may find probable grounds for concluding under the former head—besides the Sacæ—the Parthians, the Asiatic Ethiopians, the Colchians, the Sapeiri, the Tibareni, and the Moschi; under the latter the Armenians, the Cappadocians, the Susianians, and the Chaldæans of Babylon. A few words must be said with regard to each of these nations.

(i.) The Scythic (*i. e.* Turanian) character of the Parthian kingdom of the Arsacidæ, is generally admitted,[1] and was evidenced as well by their manners and customs, as by the character of their language.[2] It is reasonable to suppose that this kingdom began, not by a foreign conquest of the Parthians, but by a revolt of that people.[3] The retention of the name of Parthians is *primâ facie* evidence of this, and entitles us to extend to the tribe which bore the name in Achæmenian times, what is certainly known of the later people. Justin, who follows Trogus Pompeius, asserts the identity, and distinctly maintains the original Scythic character of the race.[4] The Parthians, therefore, though constantly joined, on account of their locality, with Arian races—the Chorasmians, Sogdians, Arians of Herat, Zarangians, Sagartians, &c.[5]—must

[9] Behist. Inscr. ii. p. 294. The *Humawarga* are clearly identical with the Ἀμύργιοι of Herodotus (vii. 64) and Hellanicus (Fr. 171). The *Tigrakhuda* are proved by the Babylonian transcript to be "Scythian bowmen."

[1] Strab. xi. p. 750. Justin. xli. 1–4. Arrian. Fr. 1.

[2] Strabo speaks of their customs as ἔχοντα πολὺ μὲν τὸ βάρβαρον καὶ τὸ Σκυθικόν. Justin says, "armorum patrius ac *Scythicus* mos" (xli. 2). The latter writer derives their name from a Scythic word ("Scythico sermone Parthi 'exules' dicuntur," xli. 1), and says their language was a mixture of Scythic and Median (xli. 2). He represents them, like the Calmucks and other Tâtars, as always on horseback (ch. 3). [Justin's etymology, however, if true, would be Arian. His reference is to the Sanscrit परदेश *Pardes*, "of another country," or at any rate to some word containing the root *Par*, "another."—H. C. R.]

[3] Arrian expressly asserted this (Fr. 1). He is followed by Syncellus (p. 248, B), Zosimus (i. 18), Moses of Chorênê (ii. 1), &c. Strabo makes Arsaces a king of the Dahæ who *conquered* Parthia (l. s. c.); but he allows that some authors spoke of him as leading a Parthian revolt.

[4] Justin, i. 2; xli. 1. So Arrian: Πάρθους ἐπὶ Σεσώστριδος τοῦ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέως . . . ἀπὸ τῶν σφῶν χώρας Σκυθίας εἰς τὴν νῦν μετοικῆσαι (Fr. 1). John of Malala relates that Sesostris brought them from Scythia and settled them in Persia (p. 26). It is strange that Moses of Chorênê should suppose that they were descendants of Abraham by Keturah (ii. 65), and therefore a Semitic race.

[5] See Herod. iii. 93; vii. 66. Beh. Inscr. col. i. par. 6, Persep. Ins. iv. par. 2 (i. p. 42, Lassen), Nakhsh-i-Rust. Ins. vi. par. 3 (NR. p. 81, Lassen).

be considered a remnant of the early population, conquered by the Arians and held in subjection, but never more than very partially assimilated,[6] and probably in the time of Herodotus as purely Turanian as any race included within the limits of the Persian empire.

(ii.) The Asiatic Ethiopians, by their very name, which connects them so closely with the Cushite people, inhabiting the country above Egypt, may be assigned to the Hamitic family; and this connexion is confirmed by the uniform voice of primitive antiquity, which spoke of the Ethiopians as a single race, dwelling along the shores of the Southern Ocean, from India to the pillars of Hercules.[7] The traditions of Memnon, which brought him indifferently from the Eastern or Western Ethiopia, illustrate the primitive belief, to which ethnological research is daily adding corroboration.[8]

(iii.) The Scythic, or at least the Hamitic character of the Colchians, may be regarded as sufficiently evidenced by the resemblance which Herodotus observed between their language, physical type, customs, &c., and those of the Egyptians.[9] If we accept the statement made by Agathias and Procopius,[1] that the Lazi of their day were the true representatives of the ancient Cholchians, we may regard their Tâtar character as further evidenced by the fact that the modern Lazis speak a Turanian dialect.[2]

(iv.) The Turanian character of the Sapeiri will depend on the correctness of their identification with the Iberians of the geographers,[3] who were certainly Scyths, and who may fairly be regarded as the an-

[6] Their language became (as Justin says) partly Median, and we may see that they affected Arian names. The Emperor Julian says, *διασώζουσι καὶ ἀπομιμοῦνται τὰ Περσικὰ, οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, Παρθυαῖοι νομίζεσθαι, Πέρσαι δὲ εἶναι προσποιούμενοι.* (Or. de Constant. gest. ii. p. 63, A.)

[7] Cf. Hom. Od. i. 23. Ephor. Fr. 28. Strab. i. pp. 48–51. Strabo calls this view "*the* ancient opinion concerning the Ethiopians" (*τὴν παλαιὰν περὶ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας δόξαν*).

[8] For the traditions concerning Memnon see note on Book v. ch. 54. Recent linguistic discovery tends to show that a Cushite or Ethiopian race did in the earliest times extend itself along the shores of the Southern ocean from Abyssinia to India. The whole peninsula of India was peopled by a race of this character before the influx of the Arians: it extended from the Indus along the sea-coast through the modern Beloochistan and Kerman, which was the proper country of the Asiatic Ethiopians; the cities on the northern shores of the Persian Gulf are shown by the brick inscriptions found among their ruins to have belonged to this race; it was dominant in Susiana and Babylonia, until overpowered in the one country by Arian, in the other by Semitic intrusion; it can be traced, both by dialect and tradition, throughout the whole south coast of the Arabian peninsula, and it still exists in Abyssinia, where the language of the principal tribe (the *Galla*) furnishes, it is thought, a clue to the cuneiform inscriptions of Susiana and Elymais, which date from a period probably a thousand years before our era.

[9] Herod. ii. 104.

[1] Agath. ii. 18, p. 103. Proc. de B. G. iv. 2. vol. i. p. 566. C. D.

[2] Müller's Lang., &c., p. 126, 2nd ed.

[3] See note [2] to Book i. ch. 104. The connecting links between the two names are found in writers of the time of the Byzantine empire, as Menander Protector, Priscus Panites, and others. By them the Iberians (who as usual are coupled with the Albanians, Men. Protect. Fr. 41) are called Sabeiri, Sabiri, and sometimes, though more rarely, Abeires. (Ibid. Fr. 42; comp. Steph. Byz. *Σάπειρες οἱ νῦν λεγόμενοι Σάβειρες.*)

cestors of the Georgians of the present day.[4] The Iberians, according to Strabo, lived within the country to which he gives the name of Moschica, or Moschia[5]—the country, that is, of the Moschi, or *Meshech* of Scripture, whose Turanian origin will be proved presently. They resembled the Scythians in their mode of life,[6] and were, he adds, of the same race with them.[7] It is confirmatory of this to find, that the language of their modern representatives, the Georgians, while in many respects peculiar, and to a certain extent mixed, is pronounced by the best judges to belong, on the whole, to the "Turanian family of speech."[8]

(v.) The Moschi and the Tibareni, always coupled together by Herodotus,[9] and constantly associated under the names of *Muskai* and *Tuplai*, in the Assyrian inscriptions (just as Meshech and Tubal are in Scripture[1]), can scarcely fail to belong to one and the same ethnic family; so that if we can succeed in distinctly referring either of them to a particular branch, we may assume the same of the other. Now the *Muskai* (or Μόσχοι of the Greeks) are regarded on very sufficient grounds as the ancestors of the Muscovites, who built Moscow, and who still give name to Russia throughout the East; and these Muscovites have been lately recognised as belonging to the Tchud or Finnish family,[2] which the Sclavonic Russians conquered, and which is a well known Turanian race. The Moschi then, and with them the Tibareni, must be assigned to that Scythic or Turanian people, who, as stated above, spread themselves in very early times over the entire region lying between the Mediterranean and India, the Persian Gulf and the Caucasus. It is a confirmation of this view to find the Tibareni distinctly called by a Scholiast of more judgment than the generality, a Scythian people.[3]

(vi.) That the early inhabitants of Armenia were Turanian, may be inferred from the inscriptions of Van, which are written in a language

[4] See Prichard's Physical Hist. of Mankind, vol. iv. p. 262. The Armenians still call the Georgians by the name of *Virk*, which is Iberi (pronounced Iveri) with a guttural termination. Georgian—which is the Persian Gürjy—means nothing but the people dwelling on the *Kur* or Cyrus river.

[5] Strab. xi. p. 728. Ἡ Μοσχικὴ τριμερής ἐστι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔχουσιν αὐτῆς Κόλχοι, τὸ δὲ Ἴβηρες, τὸ δὲ Ἀρμένιοι.

[6] Ibid. p. 730.

[7] Ibid. Σκυθῶν δίκην ζῶντες καὶ Σαρμάτων, ὧνπερ καὶ ὅμοροι καὶ συγγενεῖς εἰσιν. This testimony is weakened by the addition of the words καὶ Σαρμάτων, since the Sarmatians were certainly Indo-European, being the ancestors of the Slavonic race.

[8] Dr. Prichard pronounces the Georgian language to be "unconnected or but distantly connected with any other idiom," and the people to be "a particular race" (Phys. Hist. of Mankind, vol. iv. p. 268); but the progress of philological science enables Professor Müller to determine that the Georgian and other Caucasian dialects form "one of the outstanding and degenerated colonies of the Turanian family of speech." (Languages of the Seat of War, p. 113.)

[9] Herod. iii. 94; vii. 78.

[1] Gen. x. 2. Ezek. xxvii. 13; xxxii. 26; xxxviii. 2–3.

[2] See a paper by M. Osann in the Philologus, vol. ix. art. ii.

[3] Scholiast. ad Apollon. Rhod. ii. 1010. Τιβαρήνοι, ἔθνος Σκυθίας. If we hold, with Herodotus, that the Colchians were of the same race with the Hamites of Egypt, then the close connexion of the Moschi and Tibareni, especially the former, with the Colchians, will be an additional argument in favour of their Scythic character. For this connexion, which *may* however be one of mere locality, compare Hecat. Fr. 188 (Μόσχοι, ἔθνος Κόλχων), and Strab. xi. p. 728.

identical, in many respects, with the old Hamitic dialect of Chaldæa. At what time these primitive inhabitants gave way to the Indo-European race, which at present occupies the country—whose language and literature may be distinctly traced as far back as to the fourth century of our era [4]—is uncertain; but probably the two ethnic elements were blended together in the country from a very ancient date; and it may be suspected that the westward movement of the Arians in the eighth and seventh centuries B. C. was connected with the transfer of power. The Armenian language is not indeed, strictly speaking, Iranian, but it possesses more points of connexion with that tongue than with any other.[5] At the same time a Tâtar element is traceable in it, indicative of a mixture of races. The statement of Herodotus, that the Armenians were colonists of the Phrygians,[6] though echoed by Stephen, who adds that "they had many Phrygian forms of expression,"[7] is not perhaps entitled to great weight, as Herodotus reports such colonisations far too readily,[8] and his acquaintance with the Armenians must have been scanty. Still, so far as it goes, it would imply that the ethnic change by which a Indo-European had succeeded a Tâtar preponderance in Armenia, was prior to his own time; and on the whole there are perhaps sufficient grounds for assigning the movement to about the close of the seventh century before our era.

(vii.) The ethnic character of the Cappadocians has been, beyond that of almost any other nation, a subject of dispute among ethnologists.[9] The question is one presenting peculiar difficulties, and at the present stage of the inquiry it is impossible to offer more than a probable solution of it. [Perhaps on a review of all the evidence, the most reasonable explanation of the entire matter is as follows:—The *Muskai*, or Moschi of the Greeks, who held possession of the high platform of Asia Minor during the whole period of the Assyrian empire, and who can be historically traced in the inscriptions from the commencement of the twelfth to the middle of the seventh century B. C., were in all probability of the *Tchud* or Finnish family,[1] having ascended the mountain-chain of Syria on being pressed upon by Semitic immigrants. About the middle of the seventh century B. C. the Cappadocians, an Arian race, who formed part of the great immigration which in the eighth and seventh centuries B. C. passed into Western Asia from the East, superseded the Moschi in

[4] See Neumann's Versuch einer Geschichte der Armenischen Literatur. Leipsic, 1836.

[5] Prichard's Phys. Hist. vol. iv. pp. 258–9. Müller's Languages of the Seat of War, p. 34, 2nd ed.

[6] Herod. vii. 73.

[7] Τῇ φωνῇ πολλὰ φρυγίζουσι (Steph. Byz. ad voc. Ἀρμενία).

[8] As when he accepts the Lydian colonisation of Etruria (i. 94), and the derivation of the Venetians from the Medes (v. 9).

[9] See Prichard, vol. iv. pp. 557–561.

[1] See the last page. A trace of the occupation of the high platform of Asia Minor by this people is found in the old name for the great capital city—called in later times Cæsarea—which was Mazaca. Josephus speaks of this town as founded by Meschech, the son of Japhet, whom he makes the progenitor of the Mosocheni or Moschi; and he expressly asserts that this people came afterwards to be called Cappadocians (Ant. Jud. i. 6). Moses of Chorêné calls the founder Mesacus, and makes him the son of Aram, and contemporary with Abraham (i. 13, p. 39).

power, amalgamating to a certain extent with these previous Scythic inhabitants, and forming a mixed Scytho-Arian race, such as we have examples of in the present day in the immediately contiguous nations of the Armenians and Georgians, in the language of one of which the Scythic element predominates, in the other the Arian. At any rate this appears to be the only possible mode of reconciling the following array of incongruous ethnic evidence. 1. The Cappadocians are always called "Syrians," or "White Syrians," by the Greeks,[2] in allusion to the country from whence they moved out before ascending the range of Taurus. 2. The names of the Moschian kings, of which we have a tolerably extensive series in the inscriptions, present no trace of either Semitic or Arian etymology. They belong apparently to that linguistic family of which we have various very ancient specimens in the primitive cuneiform legends of the Chaldæan monarchs, as well as in the inscriptions of Susa, of Elymais, and of Armenia, and at a later period in the Scythic versions of the records of the Achæmenian kings. 3. The Arian Cappadocians must have been at the Halys at least as early as B. C. 650, for one of the fellow-conspirators of Darius Hystaspes was fifth in descent from Pharnaspes, king of Cappadocia, who married Atossa, sister of a Cambyses king of Persia (probably the great-grandfather of Cyrus the Great), and who must therefore certainly have been an Arian: and further, all the names which are given in the early royal line of Cappadocia are evidently of Persian origin.[3] 4. Strabo seems to consider the Cappadocians to be cognate with the Persians, as he assigns the same customs and religious ceremonies to the two nations,[4] and expressly says that the Cappadocians worshipped Persian deities.[5] And lastly, the names of these deities are distinctly Arian, Omanus being *Vahman*, Anandates *Amendat* (the Pehlevi form of *Amerdad*), and Anaitis, the *Anahita* whose worship was first introduced into Babylon from Persia by Artaxerxes Mnemon.[6] The Cappadocian months also, which occur in the Hemerology of the Florence Library, have all Persian names.—H. C. R.]

(viii.) The Tâtar character of the Susianians is evidenced unmistakeably by the inscriptions, existing not only at Susa, but also along the northern shore of the Persian Gulf, which are in a language resembling that of the second column of the trilingual inscriptions, distinctly proved by Mr. Norris to be Turanian.[7] A mixture of races followed the Persian conquest of the country, when the Arians from Persia Proper descended the flanks of Zagros and spread themselves into the fertile plain at its base, deserting for this region their own poorer country, and transferring the seat of empire from the outlying cities of Pasargadæ and Ecbatana to the more central situation occupied by the Susian capital. On the occurrence of this influx the Tàtar population was by degrees swallowed up, so that Susiana came to be looked upon as a part of Persia,[8]

[2] See note [3] to Book i. ch. 72. [3] See Diod. Sic. ap. Phot. Bibl. cod. p. 1150.

[4] Strab. xv. pp. 1039–1042.

[5] *Ἐν τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ πολύ ἐστι τὸ τῶν Μάγων φῦλον . . . πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν Περσικῶν θεῶν ἱερά*, xv. p. 1040. [6] Berosus, Fr. 15.

[7] Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xv. part 1.

[8] Strab. xv. p. 1031. *Σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ ἡ Σουσὶς μέρος γεγένηται τῆς Περσίδος.*

and its inhabitants almost lost any special appellation. In the time of Herodotus, however, the absorption was only in progress, and the name of Cissian (Κίσσιοι), which was in use in his day, and which is a mere variant for Cush or Cushite,[9] serves to show that the Scythic descent of the inhabitants was, at least tacitly, recognised, and their connexion with the Egyptian, Ethiopian, and other Hamitic races[1] acknowledged.

(ix.) The monuments of Babylonia furnish abundant evidence of the fact that a Hamitic race held possession of that country in the earliest times, and continued to be a powerful element in the population down to a period but very little preceding the accession of Nebuchadnezzar. The most ancient historical records found in the country, and many of the religious and scientific documents to the time of the conqueror of Judæa, are written in a language which belongs to the Allophylian family, presenting affinities with the dialects of Africa on the one hand, and with those of High Asia on the other. The people by whom this language was spoken, whose principal tribe was the *Akkad*, may be regarded as represented by the Chaldæans of the Greeks, the Casdim (כַּשְׂדִּים) of the Hebrew writers.[2] This race seems to have gradually developed the type of language known as Semitism, which became in course of time the general language of the country; still, however, as a priest-caste a portion of the Akkad preserved their ancient tongue, and formed the learned and scientific Chaldæans of later times. Akkadian colonies also were transported into the wilds of Armenia by the Assyrian kings of the Lower Empire, and strengthened the Hamitic element in that quarter.[3]

(x.) Besides the nations here enumerated as wholly or in part Turanian, for whose ethnic character there is more or less of direct and positive evidence, the following may be assigned with some degree of proba-

Compare Solin. c. 58; Eustath. ad Dion. Perieg. 1074. Susiana, however, is distinguished from Persia by Pliny (H. N. vi. 26), and Ptolemy (Geogr. vi. 3–4).

[9] So Bochart, Geograph. Sac. iv. 12.

[1] Cush is the son of Ham, and brother of Misraim (Gen. x. 6). In the Hebrew Scriptures the word Cush (כּוּשׁ) is used frequently in an ethnical sense, and ordinarily means the Ethiopians. In Numbers xii. 1, however, it seems to designate the Midianites, a people of Southern Arabia, which was originally occupied by Cushites (Gen. x. 7), who thus extended from the country above Egypt through Arabia to the shores of the Indian ocean. In Ezek. xxxviii. 5, where Cush in connexion with Phut and Elam, Susiana or an adjoining district must be intended. The eastern Ethiopians of Herodotus (iii. 94; vii. 70) are probably Cushites from the south-eastern portion of the Persian empire. (Supra, p. 353, note [9].)

[2] See Col. Rawlinson's note on Book i. ch. 181. It must not, however, be supposed that there is any etymological connexion between the words *Akkad* and *Casdim*. The latter term is represented by the cuneiform *Kaldai*, which is found in the same inscriptions with *Akkad*, and is a completely different word. The *Kaldai* appear to have been the leading tribe of the *Akkad*.

[3] This is possibly the true explanation of the occurrence of Chaldæans among the mountain-tribes of Armenia (so often found in the Greek historians and geographers, Xen. Anab. IV. iii. § 4; VII. viii. § 25; Strab. xii. p. 802; Steph. Byz. ad voc. Χαλδαῖοι. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 768, &c.), which led to the wild theory of Gesenius, Heeren, and others, that the Chaldæans of Babylonia were a colony from the northern mountains, settled in that country by some one of the later Assyrian kings. Or perhaps the name Chaldæan was widely spread among the Hamitic inhabitants of Western Asia, before the development of Semitism in the Mesopotamian valley caused a separation between the northern and the southern Hamites.

bility to the same stock—viz. the Alarodians, the Macrônes, the Mosynœci, the Mares, the Median tribes of the Budii and the Magi, and the earlier, though not the later, Cilicians.[4] Local position, constant association with tribes known to have been Turanian, peculiarity of nomenclature, and other reasons, seem to incline the balance in these comparatively obscure cases in favour of a Tâtar or Scythic origin for the nation in preference to any other. The conclusion, however, in these cases is conjectural, and it is far from improbable that in some of them the conjecture may be disproved in the further process of ethnological and historical discovery.

6. The development of Semitism, as has been already remarked, belongs to the early part of the 20th century B.C., long subsequently to the time when Hamitic kingdoms were set up on the banks of the Nile and the Euphrates. Commencing in Babylonia among the children of Ham, but especially adopted and perhaps mainly forwarded by those of Shem, who were at that time intermixed with the Hamites in Lower Mesopotamia,[5] it advanced into the continent northward and westward, up the course of the two great streams, and across the upper part of Arabia, extending gradually in the one direction to the Sinaitic peninsula,[6] in the other to the shores of the Mediterranean and the range of Taurus. The races which in the days of Herodotus may be assigned to this family are the following:—the Assyrians, the Syrians or Aramæans, the Phœnicians with their colonies, the Canaanites, the Jews, the Cyprians, the Cilicians, the Solymi, and the northern Arabians. The Babylonians also, as distinct from the Chaldæans, may be joined to this group, for in the time of the later empire they had fully adopted the Semitic character and speech.

(i.) With regard to the nations here mentioned there is no great diversity of opinion among ethnologers. They are for the most part inclined to extend somewhat further the limits of the ethnic branch in question, but they are tolerably well agreed concerning the Semitic character of the peoples enumerated. Gesenius indeed affects to doubt the Semitism of the Cilicians,[7] but his negative arguments are of little weight against the positive testimony of historians supported by

[4] The Alarodians are coupled with the Sapiri by Herodotus (ib. ch. 79; cf. iii. 94), and said to have worn the same arms as the Colchians (vii. 79). The Macrones, Mosynœci, and Mares are always joined with the Moschi and Tibareni (iii. 94; vii. 78; Xen. Anab. VII. viii. § 25), and are said to have been armed as the latter. The Scythic origin of the Magians has been discussed in the Essay on the Religion of the Ancient Persians, and that of the Budians may be concluded from their probable identity with the *Phut* of Scripture (vide suprà, page 342, note [5]). The early Cilicians are so closely connected with the Moschi and Tibareni in the Assyrian inscriptions, that they must be regarded as belonging to the same race. (See note [7] on Book i. ch. 74.)

[5] Asshur had dwelt in Babylon before he "went forth" into Assyria (Gen. x. 11). Elam was settled in Susiana. The descendants of Arphaxad lived in "Ur of the Chaldees" (ib. xi. 28).

[6] Where the rock-inscriptions are Semitic, and connect with the language of the northern or Joktanian Arabs. (See Bunsen's Philosophy of Universal History, vol. i. pp. 231–3.)

[7] See his Scripturæ Linguæque Phœniciæ Monumenta, p. 11.

the evidence of facts. Herodotus[8] and Apollodorus[9] witness to the traditional connexion of Cilicia with Phœnicia, and Bochart[1] proves a community of names and customs which even alone would be decisive of the point. Besides, if the Solymi of Herodotus, and the Pisidians of later writers, are granted to be of Phœnician, i. e. of Semitic origin, the intermediate country of Cilicia can scarcely be assigned to a different race. It is likely enough that the first occupants of Cilicia were Turanian,[2] but when the maritime power of the Phœnicians grew up on the adjoining coast, Cilicia naturally fell under their influence, and the Turanians were absorbed or driven to the mountains. It is granted that at least the later coins of Cilicia have all Phœnician legends,[3] which would not have been the case unless the population had been a kindred people. Cilicia during Persian times always maintained a position of *quasi*-independence, and was quite separate from Phœnicia, which even belonged to a different satrapy.[4]

(ii.) The ethnic character of the Solymi depends mainly upon the assertion of Chærilus[5] that they spoke a Phœnician dialect. It is confirmed by their name, which connects remarkably with the Hebrew שָׁלֵם and יְרוּשָׁלֵם (*Salem* and *Jerusalem*), by their habit of shaving the head with the exception of a tuft,[6] by their special worship of Saturn,[7] and by the occurrence of a number of Phœnician words in their country.[8] If we regard the Solymi as Semitic on this evidence, we must suppose an early Semitic occupation of the whole southern coast of Asia Minor, followed by an Indo-European invasion, before which the primitive inhabitants yielded, losing the more desirable territory and only maintaining themselves in the mountains. The Milyans, according to Herodotus[9] and Strabo,[1] and the Cabalians, according to the latter,[2] were tribes of the Solymi, to whom the Pisidians also belonged, according to Pliny[3] and Stephen.[4] The war between the old inhabitants and the new-comers is represented in the myth of Bellerophon, and the fabled Chimæra denotes the valour and agility of the mountaineers.[4a]

[8] Herod. vii. 91. Οὗτοι (Κίλικες) ἐπὶ Κίλικος τοῦ Ἀγήνορος, ἀνδρὸς Φοίνικο , ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην. Compare Arrian. Fr. 69.

[9] Bibliothec. III. i. § 1. Apollodorus makes Agenor the brother of Belus, and gives him three sons, Cadmus, Phœnix, and Cilix. Another account made Cilix the son of Phœnix. (Schol. ad Apollon. Rhod. ii 178.)

[1] Phaleg. part ii. book i. ch. 5.

[2] See the last page, note [4], and compare note [7a] on Book i. ch. 74. Were the Cilicians of the western coast of Asia Minor (Hom. Il. vi. 397; Strab. xiii. pp. 878–880) a remnant of the same race? [3] Gesenius, l. s. c. [4] Herod. iii. 90–1.

[5] Ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. ix. 9, and Joseph. c. Ap. i.

[6] Tzetzes (Chil. vii. Hist. 149) says that they were τροχοκουράδες, "shorn all round their heads," a custom ascribed by Herodotus to the Arabs (iii. 8), and mentioned in Scripture as practised by the Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites (Jerem. ix. 26), who were all Semitic tribes. [7] Plut. de Def. Orac. ii. p. 421, D.

[8] As the mountains Solyma, Phœnix, and Massicytus (comp. Heb. מְצִיקָה); the district Cabalia (Heb. גְּבָל as in Psalm lxxxiii. 7; Arabic, *Gebel*, as in *Gebel al Tarif*, "Gibraltar"), &c. And see Bochart, part ii. book i. ch. 6. [9] Herod. i. 173.

[1] Strab. xiv. p. 952. [2] Ibid. xiii. p. 904. [3] H. N. v. 27. [4] Ad voc. Πισιδία.

[4a] The term *Shalamu* was used by the Assyrians for the West, in allusion to the Sun's retiring to *rest*—and this may be the origin of the name of the Solymi. It is

(iii.) It may perhaps be thought that in thus bringing a Semitic people as far into Asia Minor as the confines of Caria, the way is prepared for extending them still further, and an increased probability imparted to the theory of the Semitic origin of the Lydians. This theory, however, notwithstanding that it has the support of the most eminent of modern ethnologists,[5] has been already opposed in these pages, and seems to be based on no sufficient evidence. The argument from the etymology of the names Sadyattes and Alyattes, which has been lately paraded,[6] is in the highest degree uncertain, resting as it does entirely upon conjecture. We have far more satisfactory, because historic, evidence of the Indo-European character of several Lydian words, than has as yet been adduced for the Semitic derivation of any.[7] Again, the testimony of Herodotus, on which the advocates of the theory are wont to insist,[8] is invalidated by his inconsistency; for while on the one hand he seems to favour the Semitic character of the people by making Agron, *the son of Ninus and grandson of Belus*, founder of a Lydian dynasty, on the other he may be quoted as distinctly opposed to the view, since he derives Agron and his dynasty from the Grecian Hercules, and connects the Lydian race with the Mysians and Carians,[9] the latter of whom he considers actual Leleges.[1] The Lydians therefore must be regarded, unless additional evidence can be produced, as an Indo-European people, and the Semites of the continent must be considered to have reached at farthest to the eastern borders of the kingdom of Caria.

(iv.) The other races, usually reckoned among the nations belonging to the Syro-Arabian or Semitic group, which are here excluded from it, are the Cappadocians and the Ekkhili or Himyarite Arabs. The

at any rate from this word *Shalam*, "the West," that the name of Selm is derived, who ruled over the *western* division of the dominions of Feridun.—[H. C. R.]

[5] See Bunsen's Philosophy of Universal History, vol. ii. p. 10; Movers, Phönizier, i. 475; O. Muller, Sandon and Sardanapal. p. 38; Prichard, Phys. Hist. of Mankind, vol. iv. p. 562; Lassen, Ueber die Sprachen Kleinasiens, pp. 382–3.

[6] See Bunsen, l. s. c., who refers to an essay by P. Boetticher, entitled 'Rudimenta Mythologiæ Semiticæ,' published at Berlin in the year 1848, where Sadyattes is explained by שַׁדִּי חָטֵר, "potens per Attidem," and Alyattes by עַלִּי חָטֵר, "elevatus per Attidem" (p. 15); on which it is enough to observe that the Lydian form of the god's name was not Attes or Attis, like the Phrygian (Dem. de Cor. 324; Pausan. VII. xvii. § 5, and xx. § 2; Polyhist. Fr. 47; Diod. Sic. iii. 57), but Atys (Herod. i. 7, 34, 94; vii. 27, 74; Xanth. Fr. 1; Dionys. Hal. A. R. i. 28).

[7] The Arian derivation of Candaules (from Sanscr. श्वन् = Gr. κύων, Lat. *canis*, Germ. *hund*, and दृ *drî*, "to tear,") is witnessed by Hippônax (Fr. 1), a poet of the time of Crœsus, in the famous line, Ἑρμῆ κυνάγχα Μηονιστὶ Κανδαύλα, whence Tzetzes (Chil. vi. 482) has his explanation: τὸ δὲ Κανδαύλης Λυδικῶς τὸν σκυλοπνίκτην λέγε (Chil. vi. Hist. 54). That Sardis in Lydian meant "the year" was declared by Lydus (de Mensibus, iii. 14); and a similar word with that meaning is found in Sanscrit, Zend, Armenian, and Achæmenian Persian (see note [7] on Book i. ch. 7). *Ma* was the Lydian term for Rhea, "the great *Mother*" (Steph. Byz. ad voc. Μάσταυρα); and *nymphæ* (νύμφαι) was the Lydian name for the Muses (Dionys. Rhod. Fr. 11). Perhaps the supposed connexion of Atys with ἄτη (Etym. Magn. ad voc. Ἄτης; cf. Clem. Al. Cohort. ad Gentes, p. 16) was not purely imaginary.

[8] Prichard, l. s. c.

[9] By making Car and Mysus brothers of Lydus (i. 171).

[1] Ibid. Κᾶρες . . τὸ παλαιὸν ἐόντες Μίνω τε κατήκοοι καὶ καλεόμενοι Λέλεγες.

grounds for regarding the Cappadocians as a mixed race, half Scythic half Arian, have been already stated,[2] and need not be repeated here. The Himyaritic Arabs are excluded because it is believed that their language, admitted to be closely akin to the Ethiopian, is Cushite, and so, though intermediate between the Turanian and the Semitic, really more akin to the former.

(v.) The Semitic character of the Assyrians, the later Babylonians, the Syrians or Aramæans, the Phœnicians, the Jews, the later Canaanites, and the Northern or Joktanian Arabs, rests upon abundant evidence, and cannot reasonably be questioned. The primeval Canaanites indeed were of the race of Ham,[3] and no doubt originally spoke a dialect closely akin to the Egyptian; but it is clear that before the coming of Abraham into their country they had by some means been Semitised, since all the Canaanitish names of the time are palpably Semitic.[4] Probably the movements from the country about the Persian Gulf, of which the history of Abraham furnishes an instance, had been in progress for some time before he quitted Ur, and an influx of emigrants from that quarter had made Semitism already predominant in Syria and Palestine at the date of his arrival. Of the other nations the language is well known through inscriptions,[5] and in some instances through its continuance to modern times;[6] and this language presents in every case the character and features which are familiar to the modern student through the Hebrew.

7. It has been customary to divide the languages of this class into four groups,[7] which might be called respectively, the eastern, the western, the central, and the southern group; but the arrangement here made requires the reduction of the number to three, the southern or Ekkhili Arabic being assigned to the Turanian division.

(*a.*) The eastern group consists of the nations inhabiting the Mesopotamian Valley, extending northwards to Armenia, and westward to the mountain-chain of Lebanon. It comprises the Assyrians, the later Babylonians, and the Aramæans or Syrians, whose language seems to be continued in the modern Chaldee.

(*b.*) The western group is formed of the nations on the coast of the Mediterranean from the borders of Egypt to Pamphylia, and thence inland to Caria. It includes also the colonies sent out from places within this district, which were numerous and of great importance. The nations of this group are the Canaanites, the Jews and Israelites,

[2] Supra, pp. 531–2. [3] Gen. x. 6 and 15–20.

[4] As Melchizedek (מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק "king of righteousness"), Abimelech (אֲבִי־מֶלֶךְ "a king is my father"), Salem (שָׁלֵם "peace"), &c.

[5] On the Semitic character of the later Babylonian language, see Col. Rawlinson's Memoir (As. Soc. Journal, vol. xiv. part i.); on that of the Assyrian, see his "Commentary" (pp. 10–16); on the Semitic character of the Phœnician remains, see Gesenius (Scripturæ Linguæque Phœniciæ Monumenta); on the Sinaitic rock-inscriptions, compare Bunsen (Philosophy of Univ. Hist. vol. ii. pp. 231–9).

[6] As in the case of the Arabic and the Syriac, which is continued in the Chaldee.

[7] Prichard, Phys. Hist. of Mankind, vol. iv. p. 556. Bunsen, Philos. of Univ. Hist. vol. i. pp. 193–245.

the Phœnicians, the Cilicians, (with whom may be classed the Pisidians and the Solymi), the Cypriots, and the Pœni of Africa. Remnants of this race remain in the modern Hebrews, and perhaps to some extent in the Maltese[8] and the Berbers of northern Africa.[9]

(*c.*) The central group occupies the desert between the Valley of the Euphrates and that of the Jordan, and likewise the northern and western portions of the great peninsula. It consists of the Joktanian and Ishmaelite Arabs, to the latter of whom may be assigned the Sinaitic inscriptions.

8. What is especially remarkable of the Semitic family is its concentration, and the small size of the district which it covers compared with the space occupied by the other two. Deducting the scattered colonies of the Phœnicians, mere points upon the earth's surface, and the thin strip of territory running into Asia Minor from Upper Syria, the Semitic races in the time of Herodotus are contained within a parallelogram 1600 miles long from the parallel of Aleppo to the south of Arabia, and on an average about 800 miles broad. Within this tract, less than a thirteenth part of the Asiatic continent, the entire Semitic family was then, and, with one exception, has ever since been comprised. Once in the world's history, and once only, did a great ethnic movement proceed from this race and country. Under the stimulus of religious fanaticism, the Arabs in the seventh century of our era burst from the retirement of the desert, and within a hundred years extended themselves as the ruling nation from the confines of India to Spain. But this effort was the fruit of a violent excitement which could not but be temporary, and the development was one beyond the power of the nation to sustain. Arabian influence sank almost as rapidly as it had arisen, yielding on the one side before European, on the other before Tâtar attacks, and except in Egypt and northern Africa maintaining no permanent footing in the countries so rapidly overrun. Apart from this single occasion, the Semitic race has given no evidence of ability to spread itself either by migration or by conquest. In the Old World indeed commercial enterprise led one Semitic people to aim at a wide extension of its influence over the shores of the known seas; but the colonies sent out by this people obtained no lasting hold upon the countries where they were settled, and after a longer or a shorter existence they died away almost without leaving a trace.[1] Semitism has a certain kind of vitality—a tenacity of life—exhibited most remarkably in the case of the Jews, yet not confined to them, but seen also in other instances as in the continued existence of the Chaldæans in Mesopotamia, and of the Berbers on the north African coast. It has not, however, any power of vigorous growth

[8] See the Essay of Gesenius, entitled 'Versuch über die Maltische Sprache,' published at Leipsic in 1810. Other writers call the Maltese "a corrupt *Arabic*" (Müller's Languages of the Seat of War, p. 26).

[9] The Berber language is far more decidedly Semitic than the Egyptian (Müller, p. 24), which is probably the result of Carthaginian influence, or even admixture. Phœnician inscriptions are found in the heart of Numidia, and the coins of Juba have Phœnician legends.

[1] The exceptions are the somewhat doubtful cases above mentioned of the Berbers and the Maltese.

and enlargement, such as that promised to Japhet,[2] and possessed to a considerable extent even by the Turanian family. It is strong to resist, weak to attack, powerful to maintain itself in being notwithstanding the paucity of its numbers, but rarely exhibiting, and never for any length of time capable of sustaining, an aggressive action upon other races. With this physical and material weakness is combined a wonderful capacity for affecting the spiritual condition of our species, by the projection into the fermenting mass of human thought, of new and strange ideas, especially those of the most abstract kind. Semitic races have influenced, far more than any others, the history of the world's mental progress, and the principal intellectual revolutions which have taken place are traceable in the main to them.[3]

9. The first distinct appearance of the Indo-European race in Western Asia as an important element in the population is considerably subsequent to the rise of the Semites. At what exact time the Indo-European type of speech was originally developed, it is indeed impossible to determine; and no doubt we must assign a very early date to that primitive dispersion of the various sections of this family, of which a slight sketch has been already given,[4] and which may possibly have been anterior to the movements whereby the Semitic race was first brought into notice. But no important part is played by Indo-European nations in the history of Western Asia, till the eighth or seventh centuries before our era,[5] the preceding period being occupied by a long course of struggles between the Semites and the Turanians. The Indo-Europeans thus occupy, chronologically, the third place in the ethnic history of this part of Asia, and consequently the consideration of their various tribes and divisions has been reserved to form the closing portion of this discussion.

10. It may reasonably be conjectured, as has been already remarked, that the scene of the original development of the Indo-European dialect, or at any rate of the first large increase of the races speaking this lan-

[2] Gen. ix. 27.

[3] The West has known two great revolutions, conversion to Christianity, and the Reformation. The East has only experienced one, conversion to Mahometanism. Of these three changes, two proceeded, beyond all question, from the Semitic race. Even the Reformation, which we are apt to consider the mere fruit of Teutonic Reason, may be traced back to the spirit of inquiry aroused by the Arabians in Spain, who invented algebra, turned the attention of studious persons to physical science, and made Aristotle intelligible by means of translations and commentaries.

[4] Suprà, p. 527.

[5] The Medes, who (according to Berosus) reigned in Babylon before the first (historical) Chaldæan dynasty (from about B. C. 2458 to B. C. 2234), are not to be regarded as Indo-Europeans, but as Turanians of the primitive type. (See above, Essay iii. p. 319, and vi. p. 352.) It is doubtful whether the name Mede is originally Arian, or whether it was not adopted from the previous Scythic inhabitants by the first Arian occupants of the country known in history as Media. If, however, it be considered strictly Arian, we may suppose Berosus to have meant that Babylon was in these early times held in subjection by a race which issued from the country called Media in his day. The latter seems to me the more probable supposition; for I cannot imagine that, if there had been really a powerful race of Medes in these parts, they would have disappeared altogether from history for fifteen hundred years, and then reappeared stronger than ever.

guage, was the mountain district of Armenia. It is from this point that the various tribes constituting the Indo-European family may with most probability be regarded as diverging, when the straitness of their territory compelled them to seek new abodes. As Cymry, Gaels, Pelasgi, Lithuanians, Teutons, Arians, Slaves, &c., they poured forth from their original country, spreading (as we have said) in three directions, northward, eastward, and westward. Northward across the Caucasus went forth a flood of emigrants, which settled partly in the steppes of Upper Asia, but principally in Northern and Central Europe, consisting of the Celtic, Teutonic, Lithuanian, Thracian, Slavonic, and other less well-known tribes. Westward into the high plateau of Asia Minor descended another body, Phrygians, Lydians, Lycians, Pelasgi, &c., who possessed themselves of the whole country above Taurus, and in some instances penetrated to the south of it, thence proceeding onwards across the Hellespont and the islands from Asia into Europe, where they became, perhaps, the primitive colonists of Greece and Italy. Eastward wandered the Arian tribes in search of a new country, and fixed their home in the mountains of Affghanistan, and upon the course of the Upper Indus.

11. With the first-mentioned of these three migrations we are in the present discussion but slightly concerned. Its main course was from Asia into Europe, and the Asiatic continent presents but few traces of its progress. It is perhaps allowable to conjecture that the Massa-getæ and Thyssa-getæ (Greater Goths and Lesser Goths) of the steppe country near the Caspian,[6] were Teutons of this migration, and the Thracians of Asia Minor appear to have been an eddy from the same stream;[7] but otherwise Asia was merely the region whence these Indo-European races issued, and their various movements and ultimate destinies belong to the ethnic history of Europe.

12. The western and eastern migrations come properly within our present subject. The former may be supposed to have been about contemporaneous with an occupation of the southern coast of Asia Minor by the Semites, the two races being for some time kept apart by the mountain barrier of Taurus, and extending themselves at the expense of the Turanians, who were thinly spread over the peninsula. After a while the barrier was surmounted by the more enterprising people, and the Indo-Europeans established themselves on the south-coast also, driving the Semites into the mountain fastnesses, where we have already found them under the names of Solymi and Pisidæ. The nations of this migration are the Pelasgi, the Phrygians, the Lydians, the Carians, the Mysians, the Lycians, and Caunians, and perhaps the Matiêni.[8]

[6] Herod. i. 201; iv. 11, 22.

[7] Among the Asiatic Thracians are to be reckoned, besides the Thyni and Bithyni, to whom the name especially attaches (Herod. i. 28; vii. 75), the Mariandyni, and the Paphlagones (see Schol. ad Apollon. Rhod. ii. 181; Strab. viii. p. 501; and xii. 785; Theopomp. Fr. 201). Perhaps we should add to these the Chalybes, unless they are a remnant of the ancient Turanian population. (Compare the Χάλυβος Σκυθῶν ἄποικος of Æschylus, Sept. c. Th. 725.)

[8] The Matiêni intended are those on the Halys, for whose existence Herodotus is

These last form a connecting link between Armenia, the country whence the migration issued, and Phrygia, that into which it was directed and whence it proceeded onward to fresh conquests.

(i.) The Indo-European origin of the Pelasgi seems to be sufficiently established by the fact that the Greek or Hellenic race, and the Latin probably to some extent, sprang from them.[9] It is impossible to suppose that Hellenism would have gradually spread itself, as it did, from a small beginning over so many Pelasgic tribes *without conquest*,[1] unless there had been a close affinity between the Hellenic tongue and that previously spoken by the Pelasgic races. The statement of Mr. Grote[2] that we "have no means of deciding whether the language of the Pelasgians differed from Greek as Latin *or as Phœnician*" is one of undue and needless scepticism. These are sufficient grounds for concluding that the two languages differed even less than Greek and Latin,[3] the Pelasgic being an early stage of the very tongue which ripened ultimately into the Hellenic. This view is quite compatible with the declaration of Herodotus,[4] that certain Pelasgic tribes in his day "spoke a barbarous language," since the earlier stages of a language become in course of time utterly unintelligible to the nation which once spoke them, and would not be recognised by the ordinary observer as in any way allied to the tongue in its later form. Anglo-Saxon is a barbarian or foreign tongue to a modern Englishman; and so is Gothic to a modern German, Provençal to a Frenchman, Syriac to a Chaldee of Mosul. The diversity between the Hellenic and the Pelasgic was probably of this nature, as Niebuhr,[5] Thirlwall,[6] and C. O. Muller suppose.[7] The nations were essentially of the same stock, the Hellenes having emerged from among the Pelasgi, and we may confidently pronounce on the Indo-European character of the latter from the fact that the language of the former belongs to this family.

The Pelasgi scarcely appear as a distinct people in Asia at the period when Herodotus writes. They formed apparently the first wave in the flood of Indo-European emigration, which passing from the Asiatic continent broke upon the islands and the coasts of Greece. Abundant traces of them are found in early times along the western shores of Asia Minor,[8] but except in a few towns, as Placia and Scylacé

our chief authority (see i. 72, and vii. 72). They are unnoticed by the later geographers, but seem to be the Matiêni spoken of by Xanthus (Fr. 3) and Hecatæus (Fr. 189).

[9] Even if the grammatical forms of the Latin language are traceable rather to the Oscan than to the Greek, as Lassen thinks (*Rheinische Museum*, 1833–4), yet the large number of roots common to the Latin and Greek would seem to be best explained by a Pelasgic admixture in the former people.

[1] See Herod. i. 58, and Thucyd. i. 3. It must be remembered that the Ionians (including in them the Athenians), the Æolians, and the Achæans were all originally Pelasgic tribes (Herod. i. 56; vii. 95; Strab. viii. p. 485).

[2] History of Greece, vol. ii. p. 356, note.

[3] The Pelasgic, according to the view taken in the text, differed from the Greek, as Gothic from German; the Latin stood to the Greek more as English to German.

[4] Herod. i. 57.

[5] History of Rome, vol. i. p. 27, E. T.

[6] History of Greece, vol. i. p. 56.

[7] Dorians, vol. i. p. 6, E. T.

[8] Hom. Il. ii. 840; Herod. i. 57; Strab. v. p. 221; xiii. p. 621. Compare what has been shown (i. 172, note [3]) of the Leleges, a kindred race.

on the Propontis,[9] they had ceased to exist separately in that region, having been absorbed in other nations, or else reduced to the condition of serfs.[1]

(ii.) The Indo-European character of the Phrygians is apparent from the remnants of their language whether as existing in inscriptions,[2] or as reported by the Greeks.

[9] Herod. i. 57.

[1] As in Caria. See Philipp. Theang. Fr. 1.

[2] The inscription on the tomb of Midas (vide suprà, i. 14) has long been known, and its Greek character noticed. (See Müller's Dorians, vol. i. p. 9, note [1], E. T.) It has recently been copied *accurately* by M. Texier, and is found to run as follows:—

ATΓES:APKIAEFASIAKENANOΓAFOS:MIDAI:ΛAFAΓTAEI:FANAKTEI:EΔAES
BABAIMEMEFAIS:ΓPOITAFOS:KΦI:ZANAFEΓOS:SIKEMAN:EΔAES

Here the characters, the case endings, and several of the words are completely Greek. Line 1 may be understood thus:—"Ates-Arciaëfas, the Acenanogafus, built (this) to Midas the warrior-king." Line 2 thus:—"Lord (lit. father) Memefals, son of Prætas, . . . a native of Sica, built (this)." It will be seen that the nominative, genitive (?), and dative cases exactly resemble common Greek forms. The nom. is marked by -ας, ες (=ης), ις, and ος—in one instance by α. (Compare νεφεληγερέτα, εὐρυόπα, ἱππότα, κ.τ.λ) the gen. by -αFος (compare ναός, γραός, γήραος, κ.τ.λ.), the dative by -ᾳ and -ει. The verb, which is probably in past time, seems to have the augment (ἔ-δαες); while the third pers. sing. is marked by the ancient suffix ς (retained in δίδωσι, τίθησι, κ.τ.λ.) The word Βαβα connects with the Greek πάππας, Ζεὺς Παπίας, and the like; while Fανακτει is within a letter of ἄνακτι, and ἐδαες suggests a variant of δέμω, indicated likewise by the Latin word *ædes*. The locative termination -μαν (if the word Σικεμαν be rightly rendered), although unknown in Greek, reappears in Oscan, and may be traced even in the Latin *tamen* (= ta-men, "these things *being so situated*.")

Another inscription, of greater length and of a more ancient character, recently given to the world for the first time by Texier (Asie Mineure, vol. ii. p. 157), confirms the impression which the writing on the tomb of Midas has created among comparative philologists. It is written in the manner called βουστροφηδὸν, and is unfortunately somewhat illegible in the latter portion. Texier gives it thus:—

ZƎꟼƎTAM:ZATꟼAIMYTꟻAMƎꟻ:ZƎꓘOΛƎꓘ
SOSESAT:MATEPES:EFETEKSETIS:OFEFINONOMAN:ΛAΨIT:Γ∧(?)
OꟻA1OMAMƎꓘA:XOMOB MITZAZƎꟼA:MAꟼƎTAM
EPEKYN:TEΛATOS:SOSTYTINANOΓAKENANOΓAFOSAEP
1OTꟼIƎꟻAT·MOZƎMAZꟼYꓘ:MƎZIꟼATA

This may be read conjecturally:—

Κηλοκης FεναFτυν αFτας ματερες
"Celoces sepulchrum suæ matris

σοσεσαιτ ματερες EFετεκσετις OFεFινονομαν· λαχιτ γα
exstruxit matris Ephetexetis ex Ofefinone. Sortita est Tellus

ματεραν αρεσαστιν· Βονοχ, ΑκενανογαFος,
matrem amatam. Bonok, qui Acenanogafus erat,

ερεκυν τελατος σοστυτ· Ιvανων, ΑκενανογαFος,
hordeum sacrificii obtulit. Inanon, Acenanogafus, * * * *"

(iii.) That the Lydians belonged to this Indo-European family is probable from what we know of their language,[3] as well as from their geographical position, and connexion with other Indo-Germanic races. They had common temples with the Carians and Mysians,[4] and in mythical tradition the three nations were said to have had a common ancestor.[5] In manners and customs they closely resembled the Greeks,[6] and their habit of consulting the Hellenic oracles[7] would seem to show that their religion could not have been very different. They may therefore with much probability be assigned to this family, and regarded as a race not greatly differing from the Greeks.

(iv.) The Carians, whose connexion with the Lydians was peculiarly close, are said by Herodotus to have been Leleges[8]—a statement which is probably beyond the truth,[9] but which he could scarcely have made (having been born and bred up on the Carian coast) unless the two races had been connected by a very near affinity. That the Leleges were closely akin to the Pelasgi does not admit of a doubt.[1] Of the

In this archaic Phrygian, while the forms and words in general resemble the Greek, there are some which differ from those upon the tomb of Midas, and are more akin to the Latin. The third pers. sing. of the verb is marked by the termination *-τ* instead of *-ς*, as in *σοσεσαϊτ*, *λαχιτ*, and (probably) *σοστυτ*. (Compare the Greek *passive* terminations *-ται*, *-το*, and for the *υ* in *σοστυτ* compare *δείκνυμι*, *ζεύγνυμι*, &c.). The augment is wanting, being replaced in one instance (*σοσεσαϊτ*) by a reduplication. The accusative has the termination *-αν* where the Latins have -em, the Greeks only *-α*. Again the genitive, *ματερ-ες*, is more like the Latin "matr-is" than the Greek *μητέρ-ος*. Some expressions, however, are thoroughly Greek: *αϜτας ματερες* is almost exactly *αὐτῆς μητέρος*—*λαχιτ γα ματεραν αρεσαστιν* is (ἔ) *λαχε γῆ μητέρα ἐραστήν* (or *ἀρίστην*). The rare form of the letter χ deserves special notice. It is written almost like a capital Ψ, as in the alphabet of the Theræans.

The probable connexion of the Phrygian *βέκος*, "bread," with the Germ. *backen*, and our "bake," is noticed in the foot-notes to the second book. The Phrygian words for "fire," "water," "dog," and many other common terms, were so like the Greek as to attract the attention of the Greeks themselves (Plat. Cratyl. p. 410 A.). The terms mentioned are most of them widely spread in the Indo-European family. Fire is in Greek *πῦρ*, in high German *viuri*, in low German *fūr*, in Armenian *hur*. Water is Sansc. *uda*, Lat. *unda*, Greek *ὕδωρ* or rather Ϝυδωρ, Phrygian *βέδυ*, Slav. *voda*, Goth. *vato*, Engl. *water*, Germ. *wasser*, Celtic *dour* or *dwr*. Dog is Sansc. *çvan*, Greek *κύων*, Lydian *καν*, Lat. *canis*, Armen. *shun*, Germ. *hund*, Engl. *hound*. The moon is Greek *μήνη*, Phrygian *μήν*, Germ. *mond*: compare Lat. *men-sis* and our *month*. God was in Phrygian Βαγαῖος (Hesych. ad voc.), in old Persian *baga*, in Zend *bagha*, while in Slavonic it is still *bogh*. "Bake" is Sansc. *pac*, Servian *pec-en*, Anglo-Sax. *bac-en*, Erse *bac-ail-im*, as well as Germ. *backen*, Engl. *bake*, and Phrygian *βεκ*. The few words said to be Phrygian, which appear to be Semitic rather than Indo-European (Βαλήν, Ἅδων, Ἀδαγούς), are either late importations, or assigned upon very weak grounds to the Phrygian language.

[3] See p. 536, note [7], and compare Boetticher's Rudiment. Myth. Semit. pp. 18, 14.

[4] Herod. i. 171. Strab. xiv. p. 943.

[5] According to Herodotus (l. s. c.), the native Carian tradition made Lydus and Mysus the brothers of Car.

[6] Λυδοὶ . . . νόμοισι μὲν παραπλησίοισι χρέωνται καὶ Ἕλληνες (Herod. i. 94). Compare vii. 74: Λυδοὶ . . ἀγχοτάτω τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν εἶχον ὅπλα. And see also i. 35.

[7] Herod. i. 14, 19, 46, 55, &c.

[8] Herod. i. 171.

[9] See the foot-note on the passage.

[1] See, for a summary of the arguments, Thirlwall's History of Greece, vol. i. pp. 42–5, and Clinton's Fasti Hellenici, vol. i. pp. 31–4.

Carian tongue the remains are too scanty to furnish us with any very decisive argument, but Philip of Theangela, the Carian historian, remarked that it was fuller than any other language of Greek words.[2] The Carians too seem to have adopted Greek customs with particular facility,[3] and perhaps the very epithet of "strange-speaking," which they bear in Homer,[4] is an indication of their near ethnic approximation to the Greek type, whereby they were led to make an attempt from which others shrank, and to adopt in their intercourse with the Greeks, the Greek language.[5]

(v.) The Mysians, who, like the Carians, claimed kinship with the Lydian people, and had access in common with persons of these two nations to the great temple of Jupiter at Labranda[6]—who spoke, moreover, a language half Lydian and half Phrygian,[7] must evidently be classed in the same category with the races with which they are thus shown to have been connected.

(vi.) The Lycians and Caunians belong likewise to the Indo-European family, though rather to the Iranic or Arian, than to the Pelasgic group. Their language is now well-known through the inscriptions discovered in their country, and, though of a very peculiar type,[8] presents on the whole characteristics decidedly Indo-European. Herodotus says

[2] See Müller's Fragm. Hist. Gr. vol. iv. p. 475 (Fr. 2), ἡ γλῶττα τῶν Καρῶν . . π λ ε ῖ σ τ α Ἑλληνικὰ ὀνόματα ἔχει καταμεμιγμένα.

[3] Strab. xiv. p. 947. Herod. vii. 93.

[4] Hom. Il. ii. 867.

[5] This at least is the explanation which Strabo (l. s. c.) gives of the Homeric epithet. Lassen admits its truth (Ueber die Sprachen Kleinasiens, p. 381), while maintaining the *Semitic* character of the Carians.

[6] Herod. i. 171. Strab. xiv. p. 943.

[7] Xanthi Fragm. ap. Müller (Fr. 8), τὴν [τῶν Μυσῶν] διάλεκτον μιξολύδιόν πως εἶναι καὶ μιξοφρύγιον.

[8] Professor Lassen of Bonn has recently published an account of these inscriptions (Ueber die Lykischen Inschriften, and Die Alten Sprachen Kleinasiens, von Professor Christian Lassen, published in the Zeitschrift v. Morgenland), in which he has proved more scientifically than former writers the Indo-European character of the language. This, however, had long been sufficiently apparent from the labours of Sir C. Fellows and Mr. Daniel Sharpe. Bilingual inscriptions, in Greek and Lycian, upon tombs rendered the work of decipherment comparatively easy. The most important specimens are given at the end of this Essay.

These inscriptions are sufficient to show that in syntactical arrangement and inflexional rules and forms the Lycian language is Indo-European, coinciding, as it often does, almost word for word with the Greek: *e. g.*,

Ewuĭnu	itatu	mēnē	prinafutu	Polēnida	Molleweseū	sē
τοῦτο	(τὸ) μνῆμα	[ὃ]	ἐργάσαντο	Ἀπολλωνίδης	Μολλίσιος	καὶ

Lapara	Polenidau	Poreweměteu	prinēzeyēwe	urppe	lada
Λαπάρας	Ἀπολλωνίδου	Πυριμάτιος	οἰκεῖοι	ἐπὶ	(ταῖς) γυναῖξιν

ēpttēwē	sē	tedēemē.
(ταὶς) ἑαυτῶν	καὶ	(τοῖς) ἐγγόνοις.

The roots, however, are for the most part curiously unlike those in any other Indo-European language: the most certainly known, *tedēeme* (child), *prinafu* (work), *itatu* (memorial), *sē* (and), *urppe* (for), &c., have no near correspondents either in the Arian or the European tongues. *Lada* (wife) may perhaps compare with "lady" (although Lassen questions this, p. 348), and the pronouns have some analogy to the Zend.

that in manners and customs the Lycians resembled the Carians and the people of Crete, and their art has undoubtedly a Grecian character; but these are points upon which it is not necessary to lay any great stress, since their ethnic affinity is sufficiently decided by their language.

(vii.) The Matieni are added to this group conjecturally, on account of their position and name;[9] but it must be admitted that these are merely grounds affording a very slight presumption. The term itself may not be a real ethnic title; it is perhaps only a Semitic word signifying "mountaineers,"[1] and may not have been really borne by the people. It certainly disappears altogether from this locality shortly after the time of Herodotus, while even in Mount Zagros it vanishes after a while before that of the Gordiæi or Kurds,[2] so that its claim to be considered the real name of a race is at least questionable.

13. The eastern or Arian migration, whereby an Indo-European race became settled upon the Indus, is involved in complete obscurity. We have indeed nothing but the evidence of comparative philology on which distinctly to ground the belief, that there was a time when the ancestors of the Pelasgian, Lydo-Phrygian, Lycian, Thracian, Sarmatian, Teutonic, and Arian races dwelt together, the common possessors of a single language. The evidence thus furnished is, however, conclusive, and compels us to derive the various and scattered nations above enumerated from a single ethnic stock, and to assign them at some time or other a single locality. In the silence of authentic history Armenia may be regarded as the most probable centre from which they spread; and the Arian race may be supposed to have wandered eastward about the same time that the two other kindred streams began to flow, the one northward across the Caucasus, the other westward over Asia Minor and into Europe. The early history of the Arians is for many ages an absolute blank, but at a period certainly anterior to the fifteenth century before our era they were settled in the tract watered by the Upper Indus, and becoming straitened for room began to send out colonies eastward and westward. On the one side their movements may be traced in the hymns of the Rig-Veda, where they are seen advancing step by step along the rivers of the Punjab, engaged in constant wars with the primitive Turanian inhabitants, whom they gradually drove before them into the various mountain ranges, where their descendants still exist speaking Turanian dialects.[3] On the other, their progress is as distinctly marked in the most early portions of the Zendavesta, the sacred book

[9] Their position, as a connecting link between Armenia and Phrygia, has been already noticed (supra, p. 541). Their name seems to connect them with the Medes (*Mada*). Comp. Sauro-*matæ*.

[1] See note [3] on Book i. ch. 189.

[2] Strabo calls a certain part of Media by the name of Media Mattiana (i. p. 108, xi. 742), but he barely mentions the Mattiani (xi. p. 748): his chief inhabitants of Mount Zagros are the Gordiæi (xi. p. 769, 772, xvi. p. 1046, 1060, &c.). In Pliny the Mattiani are found only east of the Caspian (vi. 16). In Ptolemy they disappear altogether.

[3] See Müller's Essay on the Bengali Language in the Report of the British Association for 1848, p. 329; and Bunsen's Philosoph. of Univ. Hist. vol. i. pp. 340–364.

of the western or Medo-Persic Arians. Leaving their Vedic brethren to possess themselves of the broad plains of Hindoostan and to become the ancestors of the modern Hindoos, the Zendic or Medo-Persic Arians crossed the high chain of the Hindoo-Koosh, and occupied the region watered by the upper streams of the Oxus.[4] Here too the Arians would come into contact with Scythic or Turanian races, whom they either dispossessed or made subject. Sogdiana, Bactria, Aria (or Herat), Hyrcania, Arachosia, Rhagiana, Media Atropatene (Azerbijan),[5] were successively occupied by them, and they thus extended themselves in a continuous line from Affghanistan to beyond the Caspian. At this point there was, perhaps, a long pause in their advance, after which the emigration burst forth again with fresh strength, projecting a strong Indo-European element into Armenia, and at the same time turning southward along the chain of Zagros, occupying Media Magna, and thence descending to the shores of the Persian Gulf, where Persia Proper and Carmania formed perhaps the limits of its progress. Everywhere through these countries the Tâtar or Turanian races yielded readily to the invading flood, retiring into the desert or the mountain-tops, or else submitting to become the dependents of the conquerors.

14. The nations which may be distinctly referred to this immigration are the following:—the Persians, the Medes, the Carmanians, the Bactrians, the Sogdians, the Arians of Herat, the Hyrcanians, the Sagartians, the Chorasmians, and the Sarangians. The similarity of the language spoken by the more important of these nations has been noticed by Strabo,[6] who includes most of them within the limits of his "Ariana." Modern research confirms his statements, showing that the present inhabitants of the countries in question, who are the descendants of the ancient races, still speak Arian dialects.[7] A few words will suffice to indicate the special grounds upon which these various tribes are severally assigned to this family.

(i.) The Persian language, which we possess in five of its stages,[8] furnishes the model by which we judge of Arian speech, and distinctly shows the ethnic character of the people who spoke it, proving their

[4] This tract is probably the *Aryaněm Vaějo* of the Vendidad. (See Hupfeld's Exercitat. Herod. Spec. Diss. ii. p. 16.)

[5] The *Varena* of the Vendidad is, perhaps, this region. (Vide supra, Essay iii. p. 319, note [7].)

[6] *'Επεκτείνεται δὲ τοὔνομα τῆς 'Αριανῆς μέχρι μέρους τινὸς καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων, καὶ ἔτι τῶν πρὸς ἄρκτων Βακτρίων καὶ Σογδιανῶν εἰσὶ γάρ πως καὶ ὁμόγλωττοι παρὰ μικρόν.* Strab. xv. p. 1026.

[7] See Müller, Languages of the Seat of War, pp. 32–4.

[8] These are, 1. The Zend, or language of the Zendavesta, the earliest type of the speech, corrupted however in places by an admixture of later forms. 2. The Achæmenian Persian, or language of the Cuneiform Inscriptions from the time of Cyrus to that of Artaxerxes Ochus. 3. The several varieties of Pehlevi (A. D. 226–651), known to us from rock inscriptions, legends on coins, and the sacred books of the Parsees. 4. The Pazend or Parsi, preserved to us in the commentaries on the Zend texts, and recently critically treated by M. Speigel. And, 5. The Persian of the present day, which is a motley idiom, largely impregnated with Arabic, but still chiefly Arian both in its grammar and its roots.

connexion on the one hand with the non-Turanian inhabitants of India, on the other with the principal races of Europe. As this point is one on which ethnologers are completely agreed[1] it is not necessary to adduce any further proof of it.

(ii.) That the Medes of history were Arians, closely akin to the Persians, has been already argued in the Essay "On the Chronology and History of the Great Median Empire."[2] Whether the name originally belonged to the Scythic races inhabiting the country immediately east of Armenia and Assyria, and was from them adopted by their Arian conquerors—as that of Pashtú or Pushtú is said to have been by the Affghans,[3] and as that of Britons has certainly been by the Anglo-Saxons—or whether it is a true Arian sectional title first brought into that region by the Arian races at the time of their conquest, is perhaps uncertain.[4] But, however this may be, there can be no reasonable doubt that the Medes of authentic history, the conquering subjects of Cyaxares, were Arians, of a kindred race to the Persians, who had accompanied them from the East during the migrations recorded in the Vendidad. The name Arian was recognised by all the surrounding nations as proper to the Medes.[5] The similarity of their language with the Persian was noticed by Nearchus, the naval commander of Alexander,[6] and by Strabo;[7] it is also remarkably evidenced by the entire list of authentic Median names, which are distinctly referable to Arian roots,[8] and have a close resemblance to the names in common use among the Persians. Isolated Median words, the meaning of which is known, lead to the same conclusion.[9] And the special trust reposed by the Persians in the Medes,[1] together with the identity between the two races presumed by the Greeks,[2] mark still more strikingly the affinity which they bore to one another.

(iii.) The Carmanians are included by Herodotus among the tribes

[1] See Prichard's Phys. Hist. vol. iv. ch. x. Bunsen's Philosophy of History, vol. i. pp. 110–127. Müller's Languages of the Seat of War, p. 32.

[2] Supra, pp. 317, 318.

[3] Müller's Languages of the Seat of War, p. 32.

[4] In favour of the view that Scythic Medes preceded the Arian Medes in these parts may be urged, 1. The belief of Berosus in a Median dynasty at Babylon before B.C. 2234 (Fr. 11). 2. The Greek myths of Andro*meda* and *Medea*, which connect the Medes with the early (Scythic) Phœnicians and with the Colchians. The strongest argument against it is, the absence of the word Mede (*Mad*) from the Assyrian inscriptions till the time of the black-obelisk king, ab. B.C. 800. (Vide supra, p. 320.)

[5] Herod. vii. 62. Οἱ Μῆδοι ἐκαλέοντο πάλαι πρὸς πάντων Ἄριοι. Compare Mos. Chor. i. 28.

[6] Ap. Strab. xv. p. 1053. Νέαρχος τὰ πλεῖστα ἔθη καὶ τὴν διάλεκτον τῶν Καρμανιτῶν Περσικά τε καὶ Μηδικὰ εἴρηκε.

[7] See note [6] on the preceding page, where the passage is quoted.

[8] See the analysis of the Persian and Median names at the close of Book vi.

[9] As *spaca*, "dog," which occurs in the same sense in Zend, and in some modern Persian dialects: *Aj-dahak* (Astyages), (nom. *Ajis Dahako*), which is used symbolically for the Median nation throughout the Zend Avesta, and means literally in Zend "the biting snake;" being, moreover, still used for "a dragon" in Persian at the present day.

[1] See note [7], p. 318. [2] See note [1], p. 318.

of the Persians,[3] and were said by Nearchus, who coasted along their shores, to resemble the Medes and Persians both in customs and language.[4] Their descendants, the modern people of *Kerman*, spoke a distinct dialect allied to Persian up to a recent period of history.[5]

(iv.) The Bactrians are included by Strabo in his 'Ariana,' and are said by him to have "differed but little in language from the Persians."[6] Herodotus remarks their similarity in equipment to the Medes.[7] That they belonged to the most ancient Arian stock is evident from the Vendidad, where Bakhdhi, which is undoubtedly Bactria, is the third country occupied by the Arians after they quit their primitive settlements. It may further be noticed that the few Bactrian names which have come down to us on good authority are either Persian or else modelled upon the Persian type.[8]

(v.) The reasons adduced for regarding the Bactrians as Arians apply for the most part to the Sogdians. Çughdha, or Sogdiana, appears in the Vendidad as the first place to which Ormazd brought his worshippers from the primitive *Airyanem vaejo*. Strabo includes it with Bactria in his Ariana, and makes the same remark concerning the language of the two people. Sogdian names are wanting, but the intimate connexion of Sogdiana with Bactria[9] would alone render it tolerably certain that the two countries were peopled by cognate races.

(vi.) The Arians of Herodotus seem to parade their ethnic character in their name, but it is not improbable that this apparent identity is a mere coincidence. Herodotus himself distinguishes between the Ἄριοι and the Ἄρειοι;[1] and a still wider difference is observable in the corresponding terms as they come before us in the Zendavesta and the cuneiform monuments. In the Vendidad the original Ariana is *Airya* (*Airyanem vaejo*), the later Aria is *Haroyu*. Similarly in the inscriptions

[3] Herod. i. 125. The form of the name used by Herodotus is *Germanians* (Γερμάνιοι); a word which may teach us caution in basing theories of ethnic affinity on a mere name. [4] See above, note [6].

[5] Von Hammer (Farhang Jehangiri, preface), quoted by Prichard (Phys. Hist. vol. iv. p. 16). [At present there is no distinct dialect known as *Kermáni*.— —H. C. R.]

[6] See note [6] on page 546. Apollodorus of Artemita had included Bactria in Ariana before Strabo. (Strab. xi. p. 752.)

[7] Book vii. ch. 64.

[8] As the Roxana and Oxyartes of Arrian, which are Persian (comp. Arrian, Exp. Alex. vii. 4, with Ctes. Pers. Exc. § 12), and his Spitamenes, which is on a Persian type. Compare Spithobates (Diod. Sic.), Spitamas, Spitaces, Spitades, Medes (Ctesias), the initial element in all these names being the Zend *Sventa* or *Spenta*, "sacred," and the lapse of the nasal before the dental being a peculiarity of Persian articulation; and for the termination *menes*, compare Achæmenes, Hieramenes (Thucyd.), Phradasmenes (Arrian), &c. Tenagon in Æschylus (Pers. 308), is probably a fictitious name.

[9] Sogdiana follows immediately upon Bactria in the three lists of the satrapies (Beh. Ins. col. i. par. 6; Persep. Ins. par. 2; Nakhsh-i-Rustam Ins. par. 3). The Bactrians and Sogdians are closely united by Strabo in many places (ii. p. 107, 169: xi. 752–3, &c.). Compare Arrian (Exp. Alex. iii. 8; iv. 1; v. 12, &c.).

[1] This is the name given to the Arians of Herat in Book iii. ch. 93. In Book vii., however, the difference is overlooked, and both they and the true Arians are called Ἄριοι. (Comp. chs. 62 and 66.)

of Darius, Arian in its wider sense is *Ariya*,[2] Aria (the province) *Hariva*.[3] The initial aspirate, which was lost by the Greeks,[4] but which still maintains its place in the modern *Herat* and in the *Heri rud* or "Arius amnis," sufficiently distinguishes the two words, which differ moreover in the final element—Aria (the province) having a terminal *u* or *v*, which has no correspondent in the other word. The eastern Arians therefore (Ἄρειοι) are not to be assigned to the Medo-Persic or Iranic family on account of their name. They are, however, entitled to a place in it from the occurrence of their country in the Zendavesta among the primitive Arian settlements, as well as from their being constantly connected with races whose Arian character has been already proved.[5] Herodotus also, it is worthy of notice, mentions that in their arms and equipments they resembled the Medes and Bactrians.[6]

(vii.) The country of the Hyrcanians (called Vehrkâna) appears in the Zendavesta among those occupied by the Arians. Their equipment in the army of Xerxes exactly resembled that of the Persians.[7] A name too mentioned in Ctesias as that of a Hyrcanian is Arian.[8] These seem to be sufficient grounds for assigning them to the Medo-Persic family.[9]

(viii.) That the Sagartians were Persians in language,[10] and to a great extent in dress and equipment,[1] is witnessed by Herodotus. Their Arian character is apparent in the inscriptions, where Chitratakma,[2] a Sagartian, throws Sagartia into revolt by proclaiming himself a descendant of Cyaxares.[3] Darius seems to include their country in Media,[4] while Herodotus informs us that in the army of Xerxes they "were drawn up with the Persians."[5]

(ix.) The Arian character of the Chorasmians is apparent from the mention of their country (Khairizao) in the Zendavesta[6] in close connexion with Aria (*Herat*), Margiana (*Merv*), and Sogdiana (*Sughd*). The word itself is probably of Arian etymology,[7] and the Chorasmians are

[2] Nakhsh-i-Rustam Ins. par. 2, ad fin. Behist. Ins. (Scythic version), col. i. par. 5.

[3] Behist. Ins. col. i. par. 6. Persep. Ins. (I, Lassen) par. 2. The Nakhsh-i-Rustam inscription is imperfect.

[4] By Hellanicus (Fr. 168), Strabo, and Ptolemy, as well as by Herodotus.

[5] In the Inscriptions they usually accompany the Bactrians. In Herodotus they are placed with the Sogdians and the Chorasmians (iii. 93, sub fin.).

[6] Herod. vii. 66. Ἄριοι δὲ τόξοισι μὲν ἐσκευασμένοι ἦσαν Μηδικοῖσι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατάπερ Βάκτριοι. [7] Herod. vii. 62. Ὑρκάνιοι κατάπερ Πέρσαι ἐσεσάχατο.

[8] Artasyras, Persic. Exc. § 9. Compare, for the initial element, the names Artaxerxes, Arta-banus, &c., and for the final one, the Sanscrit *surya*, "light," or "the sun."

[9] It may be added that the name Hyrcanians signifies "the wolves" in Zend, and is exactly represented by the modern Persian *Gurgan*.—[H. C. R.]

[10] Herod. vii. 85. Σαγάρτιοι . . . ἔθνος Περσικὸν τῇ φωνῇ.

[1] Ibid. Σαγάρτιοι . . . σκευὴν μεταξὺ ἔχουσι πεποιημένην τῆς τε Περσικῆς καὶ τῆς Πακτυϊκῆς.

[2] For the Arian character of this name, see Col. Rawlinson's Vocabulary of the Ancient Persian Language, pp. 143–5; and compare the note on Tritantæchmes (suprà, i. 192). [3] Behist. Ins. col. ii. par. 14.

[4] After relating the revolt of Sagartia under Chitratachma, and its reduction, Darius concludes by saying, "This is what was done by me *in Media*" (ibid. par. 15). [5] Herod. vii. 85. ἐπετετάχατο [οἱ Σαγάρτιοι] ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας.

[6] In the fourth Fargard. See Burnouf's Commentaire sur le Yaçna, p. 108.

[7] Burnouf derived it from *khairi*, "nourishment," and *zemo*, "land," or "earth,'

almost always found conjoined with races of the Arian stock.[8] A Chorasmian name too, preserved by a Greek writer, is plainly Arian.[9]

(x.) The Sarangians of Herodotus, whose arms resembled those of the Medes,[1] and who are generally conjoined with Arian tribes,[2] seem to be correctly identified with the Drangians of later writers,[3] whose close affinity to the Persians is witnessed by Strabo.[4] Their name does not occur in the Vendidad, but their country, called after its chief river, the Etymandrus[5] (modern *Helmend*), is distinctly noticed among the earliest settlements of the Arians.[6]

(xi.) The Gandarians, whose country (*Sindhu Gandhara*) lay upon the Upper Indus,[7] have not been included among the Arians of this migration, since they appear to have been (as Hecatæus was aware[8]) an Indian rather than an Iranian race.[9] They probably remained in the primitive settlements of the Arian people, while the Medo-Persic tribes moved westward, sending with them only some few colonists, who carried the name into Sogdiana and Khorassan.[10] With the Gandarians may perhaps be classed the Sattagydians and the Dadicæ, who were included with them in the same satrapy,[1] and who occur generally in this connexion.[2] These nations form a subdivision of the Arian group.

giving it the sense of "fruitful land." Col. Rawlinson suggests a connexion with the Sanscrit *swarga*, "heaven." (Vocabulary, p. 91.)

[8] Herodotus joins them in the same satrapy with the Sogdians and Arians of Herat (iii. 93). In the army of Xerxes he unites them with the Sogdians and Gandarians, noticing that they wore the same arms with the Bactrians (vii. 66). In the cuneiform inscriptions they are conjoined with the Arians and the Bactrians (Beh. Ins. col. i. par. 6), with the Sogdians and Sattagydians (Persep. Inscr.), and with the Sogdians and Sarangians (Nakhsh-i-Rustam Inscr.).

[9] Pharasmanes (Arrian, Exp. Alex. iv. 15). Compare the Pharismanes of the same author (ib. vi. 27), who is a Persian; and see the analysis of Arian names appended to Book vi.

[1] Herod. vii. 67.

[2] With the Sagartians (Herod. iii. 93); with the Arians of Herat (Beh. Ins. and Persep. Ins.); with the Chorasmians and Arachotians (Nakhsh-i-Rustam Ins.).

[3] Strab. xv. pp. 1023–6. Arrian, Exp. Alex. iii. 21, 28; vii. 10, &c. Ptol. vii. 19. Steph. Byz. &c.

[4] Strab. xv. p. 1027. Οἱ Δράγγαι περσίζοντες τἄλλα κατὰ τὸν βίον οἴνου σπανίζουσι.

[5] The reasons for regarding the Sarangians as the inhabitants of the country called in the Zendavesta Haëtumat are given by Ritter. (Erdkunde, West-Asien, ii. pp. 64–6.)

[6] As the primitive historical traditions of Persia refer to this province, so does the name of the Drangians etymologically signify "the ancient." It was probably indeed here that the Perso-Arians first exercised sovereignty.—[H. C. R.]

[7] See Col. Rawlinson's Vocabulary, sub voc. Gadara (pp. 125–8). The Gandarians of the Indus seem to have first emigrated to Candahar in the fifth century of our era.

[8] Cf. Hecat. Fr. 178. Γάνδαραι, Ἰνδῶν ἔθνος; and for his knowledge of their location upon the upper Indus, compare his Κασπάπυρος, πόλις Γανδαρική (Fr. 179), with Herod. iv. 44.

[9] The Gandarians appear as Indians in Sanscrit history (Wilson's Arian. Antiq. p. 131, et seqq.; Lassen's Indisch. Alterthumskunde, p. 422, &c.), and are commonly joined with the Indians in the inscriptions. (Persep. Ins. and Nakhsh-i-Rust. Ins.)

[10] Gandarians (Candari) are found on the northern frontier of Sogdiana in Pliny (H. N. vi. 16), and Ptolemy (vi. 12). Compare Mela (i. 2). Isidore of Charax has a town *Gadar* in Khorassan (p. 7).

[1] Herod. iii. 91.

[2] The Gandarians and the Dadicæ were united under one commander in the

15. The subjoined table will exhibit at a glance the connexion which it has been here the object of this Essay to trace among the various races.

INHABITANTS OF WESTERN ASIA.	Turanian	Hamitic or Cushite	Southern or Himyaritic Arabs. Canaanites (early). Chaldæans (early). Susianians (early). Ethiopians of Asia.
		Scythic or Tâtar	Cappadocians (early) Cilicians (early). Armenians (early Sapirians. Colchians. Moschi. Tibereni. Alarodii (?). Macrones (?). Mosynœci (?). Mares (?). Budii. Magi. Sacæ. Parthians.
	Semitic	Assyro-Babylonian	Assyrians. Babylonians. Syrians.
		Hebræo-Phœnician	Canaanites (later). Hebrews. Phœnicians. Cyprians. Cilicians (later). Solymi. Pisidæ.
		Arabian	Joktanian Arabs. Ishmaelite Arabs.
	Indo-European	Lydo-Phrygian	Phrygians. Lydians. Mysians. Carians. Pelasgi. Greeks.
		Lycian	Lycians. Caunians.
		Thracian	Thynians. Bithynians. Mariandynians. Paphlagonians. Chalybes (?).
		Western Arian or Medo-Persic	Persians. Medes. Bactrians. Sogdians. Arians of Herat. Hyrcanians. Chorasmians. Sarangians. Sagartians. Carmanians. Armenians (later). Cappadocians (later).
		Eastern Arian or Indic	Indians. Gandarians. Sattagydians (?). Dadicæ (?).

army of Xerxes (Herod. vii. 6). Gandaria occurs in juxtaposition with Sattagydia in the Behistun and Nakhsh-i-Rustam inscriptions.

(1.) At Limyra.

ēwēeya   ērafazeya   mēte

prīnafatu   Sedēreya   Pē . . .

nēu   tedēeme   urppe   ētle   ēuwe   sē

lade   ēuwe   sē   tedēeme   P . . .

TOMNHMATOΔEEΠ

lēyē   το   μνημα   τοδε   ἐπ-

OIHΣATOΣIΔAPIOΣΓAPME

οιησατο   Σιδαριος   Παρμε-

NTOΣYIOΣEAYTΩIKAITHIΓYN

ντος   υἱος   ἑαυτῳ   και   τη   γυν-

AIKIKAIYIΩIΓYBIAΛHI

αικι   και   υἱῳ   Πυβιαλη.

(2.) At Antiphellus.

↑BΨΞΊΨΡΡΞΡΨFΟΜ↑ΤΕΓΡΞΡΡFΡΤΨ[illegible]

ewuinu prīnufo mēte prīnafatu . . . . . .

IVTTΡ[illegible]+ΛΡ+:ΤΕΔ↑ΕΜΕ+ΡΓΓΕΛΡΔΕ↑+ΒΕ

Igtta(s)ulau tedēeme urppe lade ēuwe

.S↑ΤΕΔ↑ΕΜ↑:↑+ΒΕΙ↑S↑ΕΙ↑ΤΕ↑ΔΕ:ΤΕΚΜΨΤΨ

sē tedēemē ēuweyē sē eyé teēde tekmutu

Μ↑Ν↑ϽΙϹΡ≶ΤΤΟ·ΨΝΕ:ϽΙϹΔΡ+Ε↑ΒΕ:↑+Ε≶↑Ε↑ΔFΕF↑+ΞΤ↑ΙΕ

mēnē uastto une ulawe ēweyē . . . .

ΙΚΤΑΣΛΑΑΝΤΙΦΕΛΛΙΤΗΣΤΟΥΤΟΤΟΜΝΗΜΑΗΡΓΑΣΑΤΟΑΥΤΩΙ

Ἰκτασλα Ἀντιφελλιτης τουτο το μνημα ἠργασατο αὐτῳ

ΤΕΚΑΙΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΚΑΙΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΕΑΝΔΕΤΙΣΑΔΙΚΗΣΗΙΑΓΟΡΑΣΗΙΤΟΜΝΗΜΑΗΛΙΤΩΑΥΤΟΝΕΠΙΤΝΨ

τε και γυναικι και τεκνοις ἐαν δε τις ἀδικησῃ [ἢ] ἀγορασῃ το μνημα ἠλιτω αὐτον ἐπιτν. ψ.

(3.) At Leveesy.

ΤΒΨΞΝΨΞΤΡΤΨ ΜΤΝΤΓΡΞΝΡFΨΤΥ[illegible]ΟΔΤΜΙΔΡΠΟΛΓΕΙΤSΤ+SΤΛΡΓΡΡΡΓΟΛΤΝΙΔΡ+ΓΟΡΕ

ēwuīnu ītatu mēnē prīnafut*u* *P*olēnida Mollewēsēu sē Lap*a*ra Polēnidau Por

+ΕΠΤ( )ΤΤ+ΤΓΡ ΙΓΤΞΕΙΤ+Ε+ΡΙ ΙΕΛΡΔΡΤΓΤΤΤ+ΤSΤΤΕΔΤΕΠΤSΤΕΙΤΤΕSΤΡΕΤΙ

wemē . . . tēu pr . . . .*i*nēzeyēwe urp . . *pe* lada ēpttēwē sē tedēemē sē eyē tesē reti

ΔΕΤΕΤΞΤΡΤ ΤΒΤ+ΕΜΤΕΙΤ Ο ΤΤΕΡΟΝΡΜΡΧΧΕ : ΡΔΡΔΡ+ΡΔΕ: ΡΔΡ:4

deteē itat(u) ēwēwe mēeyē oēte ponamakke adadawade ada . . . .

ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΜΝΗΜΑ ΕΡ ΑΣΑΝΤΟ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΗΣ ΜΟΛΛΙΣΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΠΑΡΑΣ

τουτο το μνημα ερ[γ]ασαντο Ἀπολλωνιδης Μολλισος και Λα[π]αρας

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΟΥ ΠΥΡΙΜΑΤΙΟΣ ΟΙΚΕΙΟΙ ΕΠΙ ΤΑΙΣ ΓΥΝΑΙΞΙΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΕΑΟΤΩΝ

Ἀπολλωνιδου Πυριματιος οἰκειοι ἐπι ταις γυναιξιν ταις ἑα[υ]των

ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΓΓΟΝΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΝ ΤΙΣ ΑΔΙΚΗΣΗΙ ΤΟ ΜΝΗΜΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ

και τοις ἐγγονοις και ἀν τις ἀδικησῃ το μνημα τουτο

ΕΞΩΛΕΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΩΛΕΑ ΕΙΗ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ

ἐξωλεα και πανωλεα εἰη αὐτῳ παντων.

NOTE A.

ON THE VARIOUS TITLES OF JUPITER.

HERODOTUS, in Bk. i. ch. 44, invokes Jupiter under three names, illustrative of the subdivision of the Deity, mentioned in notes on ch. 131, B. i. App. and on ch. 4, B. ii. App. Cicero (de Nat. Deor. b. iii.) mentions three Jupiters: one the son of Æther, and the father of Proserpine and Bacchus; another the son of Heaven, and father of Minerva; and the third born to Saturn in Crete, where his tomb was shown. Many characters and epithets were also given to him by the Romans, as by the Greeks. (Cp. Aristot. de Mundo, 7.) He often took the place and office of other gods, as of Neptune, Æolus, the Sun, and many more; he contained all others within himself (see note on ch. 4, B. ii. App.); he was supreme, ordering all human events, and directing them at his own pleasure. Æschylus, however, makes him subservient to Fate, and this accords with the reply of the oracle of Delphi to Crœsus, that "it is impossible even for a god to evade destiny" (Herod. i. ch. 91); and though Homer shows that Jupiter willed and promised, still man's destiny was settled at his birth, at which therefore the Fates attended. But the promises of Jupiter were equally fixed and unalterable as fate, and thus Sarpedon's death once pronounced to Thetis could not be revoked. (Cic. de Div. ii. 10.) Of the philosophers, the Stoics particularly held to destiny; while the views of the Peripatetics on this subject were less stringent. (Of the Stoics and Fate, see Cicero de Div. ii. 8; and of *πρόνοια*, Providence, the Anima Mundi, see Nat. Deor. ii. 22 and 29.) To illustrate the variety of epithets applied to Jupiter by the Greeks, I avail myself of the following remarks, for which I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. A. Cumby, who, by a long research in the works of the ancients, has collected a mass of valuable information on their manners, customs, and literature, particularly of the Greeks, which we may hope will some day be given to the public:—

"As the giver of success and failure he is called Ζεὺς ἐπιδότης, Pausan. viii. 9, 2; Z. χαριδότης, Plut. Op. Mor. 1048 C.; Z. τέλειος, Æsch. Ag. 973, Eum. 28, Pausan. viii. 48, 6, Athen. 16 B.; Z. κτήσιος, Demosth. xxi. p. 531, Antiph. i. p. 113; Isæus, viii. p. 70. Harpocrat. s. v. κτησίου Διός. Add Ζεὺς σωτὴρ, which is frequent in Attic writers, and in Pausanias, Æsch. Suppl. 27, Eur. Her. F. 48.

"Jupiter presides more especially over celestial phenomena, lightning clouds, and rain: hence Ζεὺς ὑέτιος, Pausan. ii. 19, 8, ix. 39, 4; ὄμβριος, Plut. Op. Mor. 158 E., Pausan. i. 32, 2. Also Z οὔριος, Æsch. Suppl. 594, Cic. in Verr. iv. p. 465 Elzev.; Z. εὐάνεμος, Pausan. iii. 13, 8. He also presides over

the seasons: hence Ζεὺς ἰκμαῖος, Ap. Rhod. ii. 522, and Sch.; Ζ. μόριος, Soph. Œd. C. 705; Ζ. ἐπικάρπιος, Plut. Op. Mor. 1048 C.

"The principal attendants upon Jupiter were Themis, with her two daughters, Δίκη and Εὐνομία: hence he presides over ἀγοραὶ, and hence Ζεὺς ἀγοραῖος, Herod. v. 46, Æsch. Eum. 973, Eur. Heracl. 40, Aristoph. Eq. 410, 500, Plut. Op. Mor. 789, D. 792, F. Pausan. iii. 11, 9, v. 15, 4, ix. 25, 4 (cf. Ζεὺς πανομφαῖος, Il. Θ. 250); Ζεὺς βουλαῖος, Antiph. vi. 146, Plut. Op. Mor. 801 E. (cf. 802 B., Pausan. i. 3, 5).

"We find Ζεὺς πολιεὺς, Plut. Vit. Demetr. 909, Op. Mor. 789 D., 792 F., Pausan. i. 24, 4, in which office his temple would be in the Acropolis; so Ζεὺς ὕπατος, Plut. Op. Mor. 1065 E., Pausan. iii. 7, 6, and viii. 14, 7, ix. 19, 3; ὕψιστος. Pausan. ii. 3, 1, v. 15, 5, ix. 8, 5. We find Ζεὺς βασιλεὺς, Ran. 1278 and elsewhere, Plat. Alc. ii. p. 143, Pausan. ix. 34, 4; for Ζεὺς βασιλεὺς and Ζ. ἡγεμὼν, see especially Xen. Cyrop. and Anab. We find from Homer and Hesiod that Jupiter especially protected kings and generals, and determined the event of battles: hence Ζεὺς τροπαῖος, Eur. El. 671, Heracl. 867, 936 (cf Phœn. 1250, 1473), Pausan. iii. 12, 9; Ζεὺς στράτιος, Herod. v. 119, Strab. xiv. 659, Plut. Vit. Eum. 594.

"In adjurations and invocations Jupiter is often called by an appropriate surname: see especially Herod. i. 44, Luc. Tim. 98, 152, Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 500, and Ran. 756, Schol. Eur. Hec. 345: such are Ζεὺς αἰδοῖος, Æsch. Suppl. 192 (cf. Œd. Col. 1267); Ζεὺς νεμήτωρ, Sep. Theb. 485, and κλάριος, Æsch. Suppl. 360, Pausan. viii. 53, 9; Ζ. ἀραῖος. Soph. Philoct. 1181, and Sch.; Ζ. ἐπόψιος, Ap. Rhod. ii. 1124, 1132; Ζ. πανόπτης, Æsch. Suppl. 139; πανδορκέτης, Eur. El. 1177; φύξιος, Ap. Rhod. ii. 1147, iv. 119, Pausan. ii. 21, 2, iii. 17, 9. So, in the comedians, Ζ. διόπτης καὶ κατόπτης, Aristoph. Ach. 435, and Sch.; Ζ. ὁμομαστιγίας, Ran. 756.

"Ζεὺς ἑταίρειος, see Sup. and Athen. xiii. 572 D. E., x. 446 D.; Ζ. ἐφέστιος, Æsch. Ag. 704, Soph. Aj. 492, and Sch.; Ζ. ἱκέσιος, Æsch. Suppl. 346, 616, Soph. Philoct. 484, Eur. Hec. 345, Ap. Rhod. ii. 215, 1131 sqq., Pausan. i. 20, 7; also the forms ἱκετήσιος, Od. v. 213; ἀφίκτωρ, Æsch. Suppl. 1; ἱκταῖος. Æsch. Suppl. 385; ἱκτὴρ, Æsch. Suppl. 478; Ζ. ξένιος, Il. v. 625, Od. i. 270; ξ. 284, 389 (cf. Od. 2, 207, and ξ. 57); Pind. Ol. viii. 28, Nem. v. 61, xi. 9; Æsch. Ag. 61, 362, 748, Suppl. 627, 672, Eur. Cycl. 357, Xen. Anab. iii. 2, 4, Plat. de Legg. v. 730, viii. 843, xii. 953 (cf. ix. 879, xii. 965), Plut. Vit. Arat. 1052, Op. Mor. 766 C. (cf. 158 C.), Pausan. iii. 11, 11, Athen. xv. 696 D.

"Ζεὺς ὁμόγνιος, Eur. Andr. 921, Aristoph. Ran. 750, 756, and Sch., Plat. Legg. ix. 881; so Ζεὺς σύναιμος, Soph. Antig. 658 (cf. πρός σε θεῶν ὁμογνίων, Soph. Œd. Col. 1333, and Ruhnk. Lex. Tim. s. v.); so Ζ. πατρῷος, Nub. 1468 (cf. Plut. Op. Mor. 758 D., which epithet has frequently a different signification); θεοὶ πατρῷοι, Æsch. Sep. Theb. 1018, and elsewhere; Ζ. πατρῷος, Plat. Rep. iii. 391, Euthyd. 302, de Legg. ix. 881; see Herod. v. 66 and 61.

"Ζεὺς φράτριος, Demosth. xliii. 1054, Athen. xi. 460, F.; Ζ. ὁμόφυλος, Plat. Legg. viii. 843; Ζ. γενέθλιος, Pind. Pyth. iv. 298, Plut. Vit. Alex. M. 682, Op. Mor. 166 D. 1119 E.; here the epithet signifies πατρῷος, but it denotes *presiding over birth*, Pind. Ol. viii. 20 (cf. xiii. 148, cf. also Æsch. Eum. 7, 293, Soph. Œd. C. 972); and *protecting parents*, Plut. Op. Mor. 766 C. (cf. Æsch. Choeph. 912).

"Ζεὺς ὅρκιος, Soph. Philoct. 1324, Eur. Hippol. 1025, Plut. Vit. Eum. 594 (cf. Æschin. i 16, add Pausan. v. 24, 9).

"Ζεύς φίλιος, Plat. Phædr. 234, Minoe. 321, Luc. Tox. 518 (cf. Aristoph. Ach. 730, Plat. Alc. i. 109, Euthyphr. 6, Gorg. 500).

"To these we may add Ζεὺς ἕρκειος, Eur Troad 17, Plat Euthyd. 302, and Sch. Pausan. ii. 24, 3, iv. 17, 4, v. 14, 7, viii. 46, 2, x. 27, 2; Ζεὺς ἐλευθέριος, Pind. Ol. xii. 1, Herod. iii. 142, Eur. Rhes. 358, Plut. Vit.

Aristid. 331, and Pausan. x. 21, 5 and 6; *Ζεὺς ὅριος*, Plat. Legg. viii. 842 im., Demosth. vii. 86, Polyb. ii. 39; also in expiation of murder, *Ζεὺς μειλίχιος* was invoked."

Zeus was put for the heaven (Hor. 1 Od. i. 25, "Manet sub Jove frigido venator.") He was said "to rain;" and Clemens (Strom. v. p. 571) says, "Jove's tears signify rain." Athenæus, x. p. 430A. Pausan. ii. 19 (see *ὑέτιος* above, Ep. Wet.) *Διιπετὴς* was also applied to the Nile (see note on ch. 19, b. ii.) Cp. Clem. Strom. v. p. 603. His name Diespiter is the Indian Diuspiter, "Sun-father," or "Heavenly light;" and perhaps connected with Divas-pati, "Lord of the day," or "of the sky," as Jupiter answers to Diu-piter, "Heaven," or "Air-father." Zev, Sev, and Jov are the same word, as Sir W. Jones has shown (vol. i. p. 249), as are zugon and jugum. The old Latin name was Jovi or Jovis. Cp. the Assyrian god Iav. The Samaritans called Ihôh or Ihôah (lengthened by us into Jehovah), 'Ιαβε, according to Theodoret (the *β* being a *v*); the Greeks 'Ιάω. Clemens very properly says the name is "of four letters," יהוה (Ihôh). It signified "is," or "will be." "Iah" is יה (Ih). The Royal Scythians called Jupiter Papæus (Herod. iv. 59). For Jupiter's patronage of kings, cp. *διοτρεφέων βασιλήων*. (See note on ch. 4, B. ii. App. p. 12, 12*a*.)—[G. W.]

NOTE B.

ON THE INVENTION OF COINING, AND THE EARLIEST SPECIMENS OF COINED MONEY.

The question of the first invention of coined money is one of those which it is impossible to solve, and on which we can only hope at best to arrive at a probable opinion. There can be no doubt that the precious metals have been selected in various places quite independently, to serve as the common medium of exchange, for which they are better suited than any other commodity. But whether the practice of stamping certain masses of them with a government mark, as a guarantee of their being of the professed weight and purity, arose in one place only, and then spread from a single centre gradually over the known world; or whether the idea occurred separately to several nations, will perhaps never be determined. The latter of these two hypotheses is at least as likely to be the true one as the former; and in this case it is evident that we can entertain but slight hopes of ever settling the question of priority of discovery. With respect however to the statement of Herodotus concerning the Lydians, it is not necessary to enter on so wide a field. His assertion is limited to the nations of which himself and his countrymen had knowledge. By this we are not to understand, as has been argued (Edinburgh Review, No. 211, p. 170), the states of Asia Minor only, with which he was from his birth and breeding most familiar, but the various countries and kingdoms through which he had travelled, or of which he had gained authentic information, extending from India on the east to Sicily and Italy on the west, and including Persia, Media, Babylon, Egypt, Phœnicia, Phrygia, as well as the numerous Greek states scattered over the countries bordering the Mediterranean and its tributary seas, from Olbia to Naucratis, and from Trapezus to Massilia. The expression used is the one constantly occurring throughout the whole work for knowledge of the most general kind, and which is applied to nations as little known as the Scythians (iv. 46), the Neuri, who dwell above them (iv. 17), and the Atarantes of the African desert (iv. 184). Herodotus then, it appears, was convinced that the practice of coining money originated, not with the Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Phœnicians, Phrygians, or Greeks, but with the Lydians, who were the first (he says) to coin both gold and silver, and from whom he probably regards other nations as having adopted the practice. It is the truth of this assertion which requires consideration, the question being one of much interest in itself, and important in its bearing upon the general character of Lydian civilisation.

Now it is certainly most remarkable, that among the numerous remains of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquity which have come down to us, not a single coin has been yet found. In Egypt it is said to be ascertained from hieroglyphical discovery, that there was at no time a native coinage; and it appears that the Persians first (Herod. iv. 166), and the Greeks afterwards, had to introduce their own monetary systems there, at the time of their respective conquests. Had Assyria or Babylonia possessed a coinage, it is almost impossible that the researches recently pursued with so much success throughout Mesopotamia, should have failed to bring to light a specimen. Clay tablets, commemorating grants of money *specified by weight*, have been found in considerable numbers, but not a coin or the trace of a coin has been discovered. As far therefore as negative evidence can decide a question of this kind, it would seem that the invention of coining was certainly not made by the nations whose position in the van of Oriental civilisation would have led us to expect it from them. It is confirmatory of this view to find that the Jews appear to have had no coined money of their own till the time of the Maccabees, when King Antiochus gave leave to Simon to "coin money for his country with his own stamp" (1 Maccab. xv. 6), and that their first knowledge of the invention seems to have been derived from the Persians. (See Gesenius' Lex. Heb. ad voc. אֲדַרְכֹּן). Previous to the captivity it would appear that the commercial dealings of the Hebrews were entirely transacted after the model of that primitive purchase recorded in Genesis, when Abraham bought the field of Machpelah of Ephron the Hittite, and "*weighed* to him the silver which he had named in the audience of the sons of Heth, four hundred *shekels* of silver, current money with the merchant." Coined money is first mentioned in the books of Scripture written after the captivity—Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles; and then the term used appears to represent the Persian "Daric," indicating the quarter from which the invention had reached the Hebrew nation.

One of the countries most likely to originate such an improvement would seem to have been Phœnicia. Engaged in commercial dealings of the most extensive description from a very early time—possessing either actually or through their colonists almost the entire carrying trade of Asia and Africa—the Phœnicians could not but be peculiarly interested in a change which must have had so great an effect in simplifying and expediting commercial transactions. But inventions do not always arise where they are most wanted; and certainly at present there are no grounds for assigning the invention in question to this people. No Phœnician coins hitherto discovered have the appearance of such antiquity as attaches to a large number of specimens belonging to Greece and Lydia. No traditional record ascribes to them the invention, which, had it been theirs, would probably (like that of letters) have been conceded to them at least by some writers. The probable fact noticed above, that the Jews derived their first knowledge of coined money at the time of the captivity from the Persians, makes it very un likely that it was invented centuries before by their near neighbours the Phœnicians. Antecedent probability must therefore give way to

evidence, and the claim of the Phœnicians to be regarded as the inventors of coining, must be set aside as wholly unsupported by any facts.

It has recently been maintained by a writer of great eminence (Col. Leake, Num. Hellen. App.), that the real inventors of the art of coining money were the Greeks. This conclusion rests in the main upon certain statements of late Greek authors, by whom the invention is ascribed to Pheidon, king of Argos, who flourished about B. C. 750. (See Ephor. Fr. 15; Pollux, ix. 83; Etym. Mag. ad voces Εὐβοϊκὸν νόμισμα, and ὀβελίσκος. Compare Ælian. Var. Hist. xii. 10.) But the authority of these writers is weak, and certainly not to be compared with that of Herodotus, and Xenophanes of Colophon, his older contemporary, who both regarded the invention as Lydian (Pollux, l. s. c.). Even were the two statements supported by authorities of equal value, that of Herodotus would have to be preferred, since it runs counter to the spirit of national vanity, which the other favours. Besides, it is easy to explain how the tradition of Pheidon may have arisen, without conscious dishonesty; for the earliest writers on the subject might mean no more than that Pheidon was the first who coined money *in Greece*, and those who followed might misapprehend them, and think they meant the first who coined money *anywhere*. Even moderns have represented the Parian Marble as evidence for the claim of Pheidon (Eckhel. Doctr. Num. Vet. Proleg., cap. iii.; Smith, Dict. of Antiq., ad voc. Nummus, p. 810, 2nd ed.), whereas it leaves the question, as between him and the Lydians, wholly untouched. Further, since it is now universally admitted, that Pheidon introduced his scale of weights and measures (known as the Eginetan) *from Asia*, it is at least not unlikely that he may have been beholden to the Asiatics for his other innovation. On the whole, then, it may be said, that authority and probability are alike in favour of a Lydian rather than a Grecian origin of the invention.

Modern research has not succeeded in throwing any considerable light on this disputed point. It is doubtful whether any of the coins hitherto discovered date within some centuries of the original invention. But in the opinion of many excellent judges the character of the Lydian coins actually obtained is indicative of a higher antiquity than attaches to any Greek specimens. (See the article on Ancient Coins in the Encyclopædia Metropolitana, and compare Humphreys' Ancient Coins and Medals, p. 31.) Within a circuit of some thirty miles round Sardis, the ancient capital of Lydia, a number of gold and silver coins have been found of a peculiar type, and of the rudest character and execution. These coins have a device on one side only, the other being occupied by the punch mark, or *quadratum incusum*, which is the admitted sign of the earliest condition of the art. The masses of metal prepared for coinage were originally placed upon an anvil, with a rough excrescence protruding from it, having for its object to catch and hold the metal, while the impression was made by means of a die placed above, and struck with a hammer. This excrescence, a mere rude and rough square at first was gradually improved, being first divided



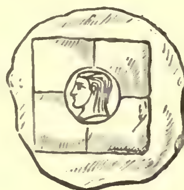
into compartments, and then ornamented with a pattern, until gradually it became a second device, retaining however to a late date its original *square* shape. In the Lydian coins the *quadratum incusum* is of the most archaic type, having neither pattern nor divisions, and presenting the appearance which might be produced by the impression of a broken nail.

A comparison of this with later forms will show clearly its rude and primitive character.











The device upon the Lydian coins is either a crowned figure of a king, armed with a bow and quiver—the pattern apparently from which the Persians took the emblem upon their Darics—(see note on Book vii. ch. 28) or the head of a lion—sometimes accompanied by that of a bull—as in a coin supposed by Mr. Borrell to have been struck by Crœsus.





The lion appears from Herodotus to have been a Lydian emblem. Crœsus sent the image of a lion to Delphi, among his other presents (Herod. i. 50); and an ancient myth connected the safety of the city with a certain miraculous lion borne to King Meles by his concubine (ib. i. 84). The animal was sacred to Cybêlé, who seems to have been the deity specially worshipped at Sardis (infra, v. 102). Cf. Sophocl. Philoct. 391–402), and who is generally represented as drawn by lions.

(Comp. Orphic Hymn, *ταυροφόνων ζεύξασα ταχύδρομον ἅρμα λεόντων.* Sophocl. l. s. c. Lucret. ii. 602. Virg. Æn. iii. 111–113.)

While the Persians, on their conquest of Lydia, appear to have adopted, with certain modifications, the human figure of the Lydian coins, the Greeks seem generally to have preferred the notion of an animal emblem, which they varied according to their religious belief or local circumstances. The Eginetans adopted the device of the sea-tortoise; the Argives that of the wolf; the Phocæans that of the seal (*Phoca*); the Clazomenians that of the winged boar; the Ephesians that of the bee; the Lampsacenes that of the sea-horse; the Samians that of the lion's scalp; the Cyzicenes and Sybarites that of the bull; the Agrigentines that of the crab; the Syracusans that of the dolphin; the Corinthians that of the Pegasus, or winged horse; the Phocians that of the ox's head; and the Athenians that of the owl, the sacred bird of Athênê. A similar practice was followed in Lycia, where the wild boar, the lion's scalp, the winged lion, the goat, and the griffin, are the emblems of distinct localities. A religious meaning appears for the most part to have attached to the emblem. Where an animal device was not used by the early Greeks, the head of a god was (commonly) substituted, as in the coins of Thasus and Naxos. Human figures and heads do not occur till a comparatively recent date, the earliest being those on the series of Macedonian coins, commencing with Alexander, the son of Amyntas, soon after the close of the Persian War. The shield of the Bœotians, and the silphium of Cyrênê (infra, iv 169), are remarkable; the latter, however, is not without certain parallels (see note *ad loc.*).

Before the introduction of coined money into Greece by Pheidon, it had been customary to use for commercial purposes, pieces of metal called ὀβελοὶ, or ὀβελίσκοι, literally, "spits," or "skewers." These are thought by Col. Leake (Num. Hellen. p. 1, App.), to have been "small pyramidal pieces of *silver;*" but the more general opinion is that they were long nails of *iron* or *copper*, capable of being actually used as spits in the Homeric fashion. This is borne out by their very small value (three-halfpence of our money), combined with the fact that six of them made the δραχμὴ, or *handful*, which implies that they were of a considerable size. A number of these spits were deposited by Pheidon in the temple of Juno, at Argos (Etym. Magn.), at the time when he superseded them by his coinage, which consisted of silver *obols* and *drachms*, of the same value and name with the primitive "spits" and "handfuls." These coins, and their divisions and multiples, extending from the λεπτὸν, or fifty-sixth part of an obol, to the τετράδραχμον, or piece of the value of four drachms,[1] continued to form the Greek currency down to the Roman conquest. Minæ and talents were not coins, but sums, or money of account. Copper was very little used, and gold scarcely at all, until the time of Alexander, excepting in the Asiatic states. Hence

[1] Decadrachms, or pieces of ten drachms, were also occasionally coined. Col. Rawlinson recently brought from the East a silver piece of this size, struck by Alexander the Great at Babylon, which is now in the British Museum.

the ordinary Greek word for money was "silver" (ἄργυρος, ἀργύριον—comp. the French use of *argent*); and money-changers were called ἀργυραμοιβοὶ; money-chests, ἀργυροθῆκαι; coiners, ἀργυροκοπιστῆρες, or ἀργυροκόποι; robbers, ἀργυροστερεῖς; ships employed in collecting money, ἀργυρολόγοι νῆες, &c. A gold coinage existed, however, among the Asiatic Greeks from an early date, as at Phocæa, Cyzicus, Lampsacus, Abydos, &c. It was copied from the Lydian, to which it conformed in weight and general character. The name *stater* (στατὴρ), which was attached in the time of Herodotus to the ordinary gold coin of Western Asia, whether Persian (iii. 130; vii. 28), Lydian (i. 54), or Greek (Boeckh. Corp. Ins. 150; Thuc. iv. 52), and which means "standard," is said to have been originally applied to the silver didrachm, the prevailing coin of the early currencies; whence it passed to the ordinary gold coin, which was about equal to the didrachm in weight. The original and full name was "the gold stater" (στατὴρ χρυσοῦς), whence, by the usual process of abbreviation, the coin came to be called indifferently, στατὴρ, and χρυσοῦς. (Compare with the last the Latin *aureus.*) Double staters were also coined occasionally. Subdivisions of the stater, sixths (ἕκται), and twelfths (ἡμίεκτα), were likewise in use, which were made of *electrum*, a natural amalgam of gold and silver, common in Asia (Soph. Antig. 1038. Plin. H. N. xxiii. 4), and which seem to have been largely in circulation among the Ionian cities. The staters of Crœsus were known to the Greeks as "Crœsians" (Κροισεῖοι, Pollux), and were probably of peculiar purity. Those of Cyzicus were highly valued, and were current at Athens and elsewhere. Hence perhaps the proverb—βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ—the bull being the device of the Cyzicenes. The staters of Phocæa were in bad repute (Hesych. ad voc. Φωκαΐς); they seem to have been light in weight and of debased metal. (See upon the whole subject of ancient coins, Col. Leake's Numismata Hellenica; Eckhel's Doctrina Nummorum Veterum; Mionnet's Description de Médailles Antiques; Humphreys' Ancient Coins and Medals; and Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, s. v. Argentum, Aurum, Hecte Nummus, and Stater.)

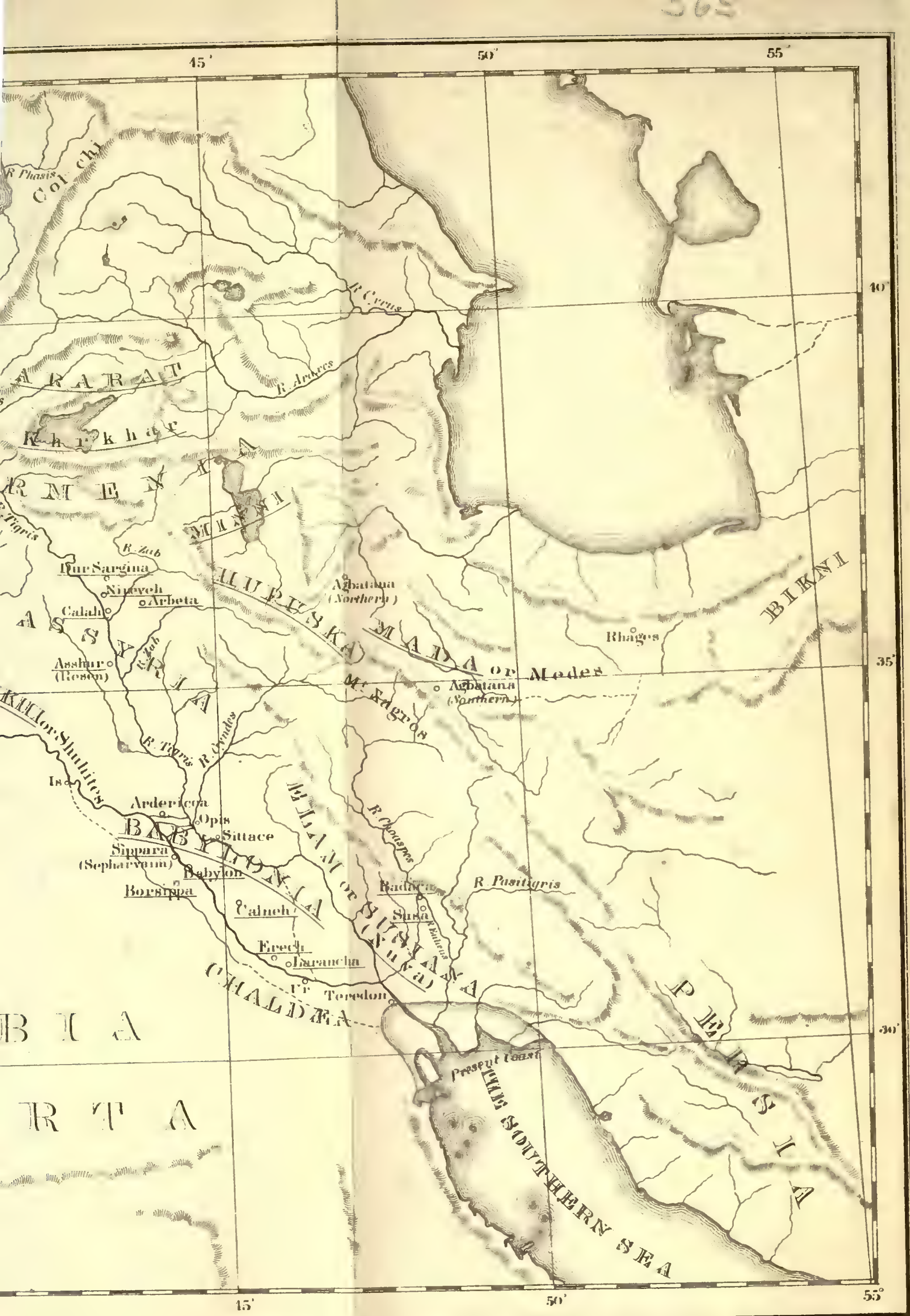
END OF VOL. I.

WESTERN ASIA
IN THE
ASSYRIAN PERIOD
About B.C. 900 - 625.

N.B. The names underlined are contained in the Inscriptions.

25° 30° 35°

Sinope
Heraclea Pontica
PAPHLAGONIA
Chalcedon
BITHYNIA
Mt. Olympus
R. Halys
R. Iris
R. Sangarius
MYSIA
R. Rhyndacus
LYDIA
R. Hermus
PHRYGIA
Lesbos I.
Chios I.
Samos I.
R. Mæander
CARIA
Cos I.
Xanthus
LYCIA
Phaselis
Pamphylia
Pisidia
Mt. Taurus
Rhodos I.
Carpathos I.
Creta I.
MUSKAI or Moschi
TUPLAI or Tibareni
Mazaca
Khilak
Cilicia
Mt. Amanus (Khamana)
Patena
R. Aranta (Orontes)
Aphrodisia
Soli
Salamis
Idalium
Ammochosta
Citium
Paphos
Cyprus I. (Yavnan)
Aradus
Hamath
KHATTI or Hittites
Mt. Lebanon (Labnanu)
Gubal
Tadmor
Sidon
Sarepta
Tyre
Ecdippa
Akko
Damascus
THE WESTERN SEA
Samaria (Beth Khumri)
Joppa
Ekron
Azotus
Ascalon
Jerusalem
JUDÆA (Yehuda)
Gaza (Khazita)
Idumæa (Udumu)
SYRIA



Sarony, Major & Knapp Lith. N.Y.

HISTORICAL WORKS.

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